Plate I.



Hamilton Del! *Caldwall Sculp!*

MARS delivering **ARMS** to **BRITANNIA**, points to a distant View of **SHIPPING** the Source of her future **GLORY.**

London Jany 1st 1779 Publish'd as the Act directs by A. Donaldson St Pauls Churchyard.

A NEW MAP of ASIA, from the best AUTHORITIES. By John Lodge.

NORTHERN OCEAN
EUROPEAN RUSSIA
SIBERIAN EMPIRE
EASTERN TARTARY
WESTERN TARTARY
Kobi or Sandy Desert
CHINA
TIBET
MOGOLS
INDIAN EMPIRE
ARABIA
PERSIA
EUROPEAN TURKEY
AFRICA
INDIAN OCEAN
THE EASTERN ISLES
Sea of Kamtschatka
Sea of Korea
Yellow Sea
Gulf of Siam
Gulf of Bengal
Red Sea
Persian Gulf
Arabian Sea
Caspian Sea
Black Sea
Mediterranean Sea
Moscow
Petersburg
Archangel
Astracan
Orenburg
Tobolski
Tomsk
Yakutsk
Okotsk
Irkutsk
Nankin
Pekin
Canton
Delhi
Agra
Lahore
Ispahan
Bagdat
Aleppo
Damascus
Jerusalem
Mecca
Medina
Constantinople
Smyrna
Cairo
Suez
Bombay
Goa
Calicut
Ceylon I.
Japan I.
Formosa I.
Philippine Islands
Borneo
Sumatra
New Guinea
Nova Zembla
Kamtschatka
Behring's Str.
Tropic of Cancer
Equinoctial Line

LIVES

OF THE

BRITISH ADMIRALS:

CONTAINING A NEW AND ACCURATE

NAVAL HISTORY,

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIODS.

BY DR. J. CAMPBELL.

WITH A CONTINUATION DOWN TO THE YEAR 1779;

INCLUDING THE

NAVAL TRANSACTIONS OF THE LATE AND PRESENT WAR, AND AN ACCOUNT OF THE RECENT DISCOVERIES IN THE SOUTHERN HEMISPHERE.

WRITTEN UNDER THE INSPECTION OF

DOCTOR BERKENHOUT.

THE WHOLE ILLUSTRATED WITH CORRECT MAPS, AND FRONTISPIECES ENGRAVED FROM ORIGINAL DESIGNS.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

A NEW EDITION.

VOL. I.

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M. DCC. LXXXI.

BRITISH MUSEUM

PREFACE.

THE general utility and great importance of naval hiſtory to the inhabitants of Britain, is obvious from our being ſeated in an iſland; whence it is evident, that to navigation we owe our very being as a people. Next to this is the conſideration, that we are a commercial nation, from whence we equally derive internal and external advantages, have enlarged our correſpondence to the utmoſt limits of the globe, whither we have carried our own commodities and manufactures, and have brought from them whatever was eſteemed either valuable or ſingular. The great figure we make in the world, and the wide extent of our power and influence, is due to our naval ſtrength; to which we ſtand indebted for our flouriſhing plantations, the ſpreading the Britiſh fame, and, which is of far greater conſequence, Britiſh freedom, through every quarter of the univerſe. Theſe are the glorious trophies of maritime empire, and the fruits of that dominion over the ſea, which was claimed by the earlieſt poſſeſſors of this iſland, and has been derived by an uninterrupted ſucceſſion of NOBLE ATCHIEVEMENTS on that element to our own times, in which the FLEET of BRITAIN may be truly ſaid to have no rival.

The preſerving a regular and well-connected detail of that long ſeries of events, by which that mighty empire has been gradually attained, was the original cauſe of detaching this from our general hiſtories, in which, while it lay involved, there was, as indeed of neceſſity there muſt be, no little obſcurity. In order to remove

which, and to place things in a full and conſpicuous point of view, it became neceſſary to collate and compare not only our own but foreign hiſtorians, and, when this was done, to conſult a number of other authors, who have incidentally treated of ſuch matters as had any relation to the ſubject; that from thence thoſe circumſtances might be drawn, which might illuſtrate and explain the ſeveral parts of the hiſtory of our marine. Theſe would have been often eſteemed trifling or tedious, improper or impertinent, in general hiſtories, and would neceſſarily have ſwelled them beyond their juſt bounds. But when collected with care, and ranged in their proper order, in conjunction with thoſe parts of our political hiſtory which were requiſite to their being thoroughly underſtood, they became equally curious and uſeful, and furniſhed the reader with an agreeable variety of pleaſing and intereſting events, and contributed not a little to cheriſh and preſerve that heroic ſpirit, which is the ſource of every gallant enterprize, and which excites private men to deſpiſe eaſe and pleaſure, and to brave perils and dangers of every kind, in defence of public ſafety, or for promoting public good.

In order to do this effectually, it ſeemed requiſite to interſperſe the memoirs or perſonal hiſtories of thoſe illuſtrious men, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in this method of rendering ſervice to their country. It appeared to be a tribute juſtly due to thoſe ſervices, and at the ſame time expedient for the ſatisfaction of the reader, who muſt naturally deſire to be more intimately acquainted with thoſe to whom the nation ſtood indebted for her diſcoveries or her conqueſts. Beſides, it gave an opportunity to diſcuſs minutely ſome points of conſequence, that otherwiſe might have embarraſſed the narrative, to vindicate ſome great characters from injurious aſperſions,

aſperſions, and to anſwer many other purpoſes that ſerve to throw light upon the whole deſign. But to avoid, as far as poſſible, the confounding naval hiſtory with theſe memoirs, it was found expedient to place them at the end of every reign; and the greateſt attention poſſible has been beſtowed, to prevent any unneceſſary repetition, or intermixing ſuch circumſtances of their lives, as had no connection with the character in which they are here conſidered. We have alſo been more ſuccinct in ſome, and have omitted the lives of others, which have been written at large elſewhere, or are to be met with in our biographical collections, and this chiefly to keep within due bounds; which was one of the greateſt difficulties in our taſk, and which it was requiſite to mention, to obviate an objection that has been ſometimes made, without reflecting on the impoſſibility of producing every thing, relative to ſo copious a ſubject, within the narrow compaſs of a portable library, principally intended for the furniture of a cabin.

All the original writers, all the ancient hiſtorians, and all the foreign authors that have been conſulted in this work, are diſtinctly and preciſely cited; ſo that the reader may have recourſe to them with the greateſt facility, and diſcern from thence the ſeveral authorities upon which the facts are founded that are here recorded. This is a point of very great importance, and is perhaps the moſt conſiderable improvement, in writing hiſtory, that has been made by the moderns; becauſe certainty is of far greater conſequence than elegance of compoſition, and a judicious peruſer will be always better ſatisfied with knowing whence the informations came, than with reading the moſt florid account without any vouchers for what it contains. He alſo ſees, and can from thence judge, of the propriety with

which the materials have been gathered; and when he knows by whom things are aſſerted, he likewiſe knows the meaſure of credit that is due to them. Add to this, that if he has been fortunate enough to meet either with books, or with paſſages in books, that have eſcaped the author, for he would be weak indeed who pretended to infallibility in matters of this kind, he has an opportunity of pointing out theſe for the benefit of the public, which he never could have had if the authorities were concealed, or ſo looſely quoted as not to be found with eaſe.

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LIVES
OF THE
ADMIRALS:
INCLUDING A NEW AND ACCURATE
NAVAL HISTORY.

CHAP. I.

The Naval History of the ancient Britons, before they were invaded by the Romans, during the continuance of their empire in Britain, and afterwards to the coming of the Saxons.

Containing the transactions of about 1740 years.

THE ancient history of Britain, or rather of the Britons, before the coming of Cæsar into this island, is, we must allow, not a little obscure, as well in respect to their exploits by sea, as in regard to the succession of their princes, and the settlement of their civil government at home; but this matter is carried much too far, when it is asserted, that the histories of those times deserve not either reading or notice; that they are mere fables and idle tales, void of all authority or probability.

It is true, that this lofty style is highly taking with critics, who very readily reject what they cannot understand; but this may be sometimes too hastily done, as I conceive it is here. Camden[a] disliked the British history of Geoffrey of Mon-

[a] Britannia, p. 6, 7. edit. 1594, 4to. See a refutation of Camden's objections in Mr. Thomson's copious preface to his translation of Geoffrey of Monmouth's history; and the most learned Sir John Price's defence of that history.

mouth, and his authority drew others to treat it with abſolute contempt. But, ſince his time, through the indefatigable labours of many induſtrious men, other ancient authors have been publiſhed, which plainly ſhew, that much true hiſtory is to be met with, even in that book, though embarraſſed with fiction. Beſides, it is now out of diſpute, that Geoffrey was no forger, or inventor of that hiſtory; but that he really tranſlated it out of the Britiſh language, in which tongue it is ſtill extant [b].

From this hiſtory, which in many circumſtances is ſupported by others of better authority, we have various paſſages in relation to the naval power of the Britons, before Cæſar's expedition. Now, that theſe are not altogether incredible, muſt appear from the reaſon of the thing, on one hand; and, on the other, from what may be cited from writers of unqueſtionable credit.

Two arguments reſult from our very ſituation; for, firſt, the people, whoever they were, Gauls or Trojans, who planted this country, muſt have come to it by ſea, and conſequently muſt have had ſome ſkill in maritime affairs, even prior to their ſettling here. Secondly, the ſurrounding ſeas, the convenient ports, and the proſpect of the oppoſite ſhore, muſt, doubtleſs, have encouraged them, when ſettled here, to practiſe, and thereby extend that ſkill in navigation, which, as I have ſaid, they could not but have poſſeſſed before they came hither. Hence I think it might have been rationally concluded, that our Britiſh anceſtors had performed ſomething worthy of notice at ſea, before the Roman invaſion, even though there had been no records to atteſt their actions.

Polybius [c] mentions this iſland and its commodities, Lucretius [d] alſo takes notice of it, and theſe were both writers elder than Cæſar. The author [e] of the book *De Mundo*, which goes commonly under the name of Ariſtotle, ſpeaks of the Britiſh iſlands, and diſtinguiſhes between Albion and Hierna, that is, between England and Ireland. Athenæus [f] tells us, out of Meſchion, that the main-maſt of King Hiero's great ſhip was found by a ſwine-herd in the mountains of Britain, and by Phi-

[b] Uſſerii Britan. Eccl. Primordia. See alſo Lewis's Britiſh hiſtory.
[c] Hiſt. lib. xi. [d] De Nat. Rer. lib. iii. [e] Ariſtot. opera, tom. ii. p. 206. edit. Aurel. Allobrog. 1606. [f] Deipnoſophiſt.

leas

leas Tauromenites conveyed into Sicily; and Solinus[g] ſpeaks of an altar engraven with Greek characters, which Ulyſſes met with in Caledonia. It is not eaſy to conceive how ſo remote a country ſhould be ſo well known in thoſe times, if the Britons had not both power and commerce by ſea. But, to put this matter out of diſpute, the learned Mr. Selden[h] owns himſelf convinced, even by Cæſar's writings, that the ancient Britons had a conſiderable ſea force; which he conceives was either weakened, or totally deſtroyed in the defeat which Cæſar gave to the Veneti, to whoſe aſſiſtance it was ſent.

Having thus ſhown, that, for any thing the critics know to the contrary, the facts preſerved by our Britiſh hiſtorians may be at leaſt in ſome meaſure true, I ſhall proceed to mention thoſe that are for my purpoſe, inſiſting on ſuch arguments as offer themſelves in ſupport of theſe tranſactions; there being, as I conceive, as much honour to be acquired from the retrieving truth out of our fabulous ſtories, as in extracting it from Greek poets, or from oriental authors; which has, however, been the buſineſs of moſt of the greateſt men famed for learning amongſt us. This I ſay, not to leſſen their reputation, or raiſe my own, but out of a deſign to vindicate that of my country; by ſhewing that the inhabitants of this iſland have always been, what I hope they always will be, lords of thoſe ſeas which ſurround it.

The firſt naval expedition, celebrated by Britiſh writers, is that of the planting this iſland by Brito, or Brute[i], of which there is a large, and, in many of its circumſtances, no doubt, a fabulous account, in Geoffrey of Monmouth[k]; but that the ſtory had a ground of truth, may be eaſily proved. That this iſland was inhabited as early as this expedition is placed, appears from the trade of the Phenicians, and from its being ſo populous at the time of Cæſar's invaſion. That the ſtory of Brute was no invention of Geoffrey's, is clear, from our having the ſame account in Henry of Huntingdon[l], who did not borrow from him; and in Giraldus Cambrenſis[m], who, though he

[g] Polyhiſt. cap. 35. [h] Mare Clauſum, lib. ii. cap. 2. [i] A. A. C. 1195. [k] Hiſt. Brit. lib. i. Alured. Beverl. Annal. lib. i. p. 10, 11, 12. Ric. Yiti. Hiſt. Britan. lib. i. [l] Proem. Hiſt. & in Epiſt. ad Guarin. [m] Cambriæ Deſcriptio, cap. 7. apud Camden. Angl. Norman, &c.

condemns the Britiſh hiſtory publiſhed by Geoffrey of Monmouth, yet in the ſame breath aſſerts the ſtory of Brute; and, which is ſtill more to the purpoſe, from the authority of Saxon writers, whoſe teſtimony, in this caſe, is of unqueſtionable credit. As to the objection, that foreign writers knew nothing of this, it may in ſome meaſure be removed, by obſerving, that, as they give very bad accounts of their own originals, we need not either wonder at, or regret, their giving none of ours. Beſides this, Ammianus Marcellinus [n] takes notice, that part of the flying Trojans landed in Gaul, whence, our ancient hiſtory ſays, they came hither. If ſo, then they poſſeſſed this iſland in right of their naval power; which dominion, as it began in them, ſo it ſhall be our principal buſineſs to ſhew it has by their poſterity been ever ſince maintained.

One of the moſt early exploits after this, was that of King Belinus [o], who is ſaid to have taken the king of Denmark priſoner, and to have obliged him to become tributary. Afterwards, paſſing with his brother Brennus into Gaul [p], they, with the joint forces of that country and their own, invaded Italy, and ſacked Rome; after which [q], Belinus returned home, and reigned here with great glory. That this ſtory is liable to ſome exceptions muſt be owned; and, indeed, what hiſtory of ſo great antiquity is not? But that it is not altogether improbable, appears from hence, that Pauſanias [r], a learned Greek author, ſpeaking of the expedition of the Gauls under Brennus into Greece, ſays, that they called their order of drawing up ſquadrons of horſe, three in front, *trimarchia*, which is pure Britiſh; for *tri*, in that language, ſignifies three, and *march* a horſe. Gorguntius [s], the ſon of Belinus, attacked the king of Denmark, (which muſt have been by ſea), ſlew him, and conquered his country [t]. Theſe were the exploits of the inhabitants of the ſouthern part of the iſle. As for the Scots, they appear to have had a very conſiderable naval force, by which they held in ſubjection all the adjacent iſles, long before the coming of Cæſar; and this corroborates the other facts ſtrongly.

The commerce of the Britons could not but be very conſiderable, even in theſe early times; for, beſides the trade they drove

[n] Hiſt. lib. xv. [o] Gal. Mon. Hiſt. Brit. lib. iii. cap. 2. Allured. Beverl. lib. 1. p. 16. Vit. Hiſt. lib. iii. [p] A. A. C. 388. [q] A. A. C. 387. [r] Lib. x. [s] Hiſt. Brit. lib. iii. cap. 2. [t] A. A. C. 375.

with

with the Carthaginians in the weſtern part of the iſland [u], they alſo trafficked with the northern nations, as appears by the flight of Brennus [w], when he quarrelled with his brother, to a king of Norway; for it cannot be ſuppoſed he would retire to an abſolute ſtranger, or, if he had, that he ſhould ſo ſoon return with a potent fleet. Their intercourſe with all the maritime provinces of Gaul is indiſputable; nor is it a light argument of their perfect acquaintance with the arts and ſciences then known, that the youth of thoſe provinces were ſent hither for inſtruction. But what is moſt to our purpoſe, and which clearly demonſtrates that at this time they had the dominion of their own ſeas in the moſt abſolute degree, is, what Cæſar himſelf ſays [x], *viz.* That he could get no information concerning the country, or ports of Britain, becauſe the inhabitants permitted none but merchants to viſit their iſle, and even reſtrained thoſe from travelling up into the country. The impoſing ſuch rules ſhews the power of which they were then poſſeſſed.

It is indeed objected, that Cæſar and other ancient authors [y] ſpeak but in mean terms of the Britiſh veſſels, telling us, they were made of wicker covered with hides, which, therefore, were very unfit to have oppoſed the Roman fleet; and this they ſuppoſe to be the reaſon, that the Britons never eſſayed to grapple with the Romans at ſea. There is, however, nothing ſolid in this; for one of the reaſons why Cæſar inclined to attack Britain, was, becauſe its inhabitants ſuccoured the Gauls both by land and ſea; the fleets, therefore, that they ſent for this purpoſe, were certainly ſtout ſhips, and not the leathern boats which they uſed in fiſhing on their own coaſts, and to the uſe of which the Romans afterwards confined them. The true cauſe why they did not oppoſe the Romans by ſea, was the previous loſs of the beſt part of their fleet, which they had ſent to the aſſiſtance of the Veneti [z]. As for the Scots [a], they were engaged in reducing the iſles, which a little before had thrown off their yoke, as their own hiſtorian tells us; and, after all, Gildas [b] ſeverely reflects upon this very circumſtance of their not drawing together a fleet;

[u] Strabo, Georg. lib. i. [w] Hiſt. Brit. lib. iii. cap. 2. [x] De Bello Gallico, lib. iv. cap. 18. [y] De Bello Civil. lib. i. cap. 54. Solin. Polyhiſt. cap. 35. Lucan. Pharſal. lib. iv. [z] Selden. Mare Clauſum, lib. ii. cap. 2. [a] Johan. de Fordun. Scotichron. lib. ii. cap. 14. [b] Epiſt. de Excidio Britan.

which

which would have been abſolutely abſurd, if he had known the Britons at that time had no ſhips of war. To ſum up all, Cæſar's own relation[c] is ſufficient to ſhew, that there is nothing preſſing on this objection, but that the Britons made ſuch a defence as their circumſtances would allow, and the nature of his attempt required.

This expedition of Cæſar may ſeem to fall without the limits of this work, ſince they contended with him not at ſea, but on ſhore. It was, however, a naval expedition on his ſide, and undertaken chiefly for the ſake of ſecuring the dominion of the ſea to the Romans: wherefore I conceive, it will not be thought an unjuſtifiable digreſſion in me to mention ſome remarkable circumſtances. Cæſar's firſt expedition[d] from Gaul was with a fleet of eighty ſhips, and a few gallies, on board of which he embarked two legions[e]. He attempted to land on the oppoſite coaſt of Kent, where he found a Britiſh army ready to receive him, who behaved ſo exceedingly well, that even theſe Roman veterans were aſtoniſhed, and, contrary to their uſual cuſtom, betrayed a diſlike to fighting: whence we may juſtly infer, that this was not the firſt time the Britons ever had to do with invaders. The emperor Julian[f], a writer of diſtinguiſhed parts, introduces Julius as leaping from his ſhip to encourage his frighted ſoldiers; but Cæſar himſelf tells us, that it was the ſtandard-bearer of the tenth legion, who, by this deſperate action, encouraged the army to gain the ſhore, from which, with much difficulty, they drove the Britiſh inhabitants[g]. After this, Cæſar encamped on Barham Downs, where he waited a ſupply; in which, meeting with ſome diſappointment, the Britons again gave him battle, and, as he owns, were repulſed with difficulty enough; inſomuch that, when he had repaired his fleet, he judged it the wiſeſt thing he could do to return to Gaul; and this accordingly he did, and took the farther precaution of embarking his forces at midnight[h]. Happy had it been for the Britons, if, after ſo glorious a conteſt for the preſervation of their freedom, they had concerted proper meaſures for giving him as good a reception, in caſe of his making a ſecond attempt;

[c] De Bello Gallico, lib. v. cap. 2. [d] A. A. C. 52. [e] Hiſt. Brit. lib. iv. cap. 1. Vit. Hiſt. lib. iv. Cæſ. de Bello Gallico, lib. v. [f] Cæſ. ib. [g] Cæſ. de Bello Gallico, lib. iv. cap. 25. Hiſt. Britan. lib. iv. cap. 3. [h] De Bello Gallico, lib. v. Hiſt. Britan. lib. iv. cap. 5.

but

but they were deficient in diſcretion, though not in valour, and, quarrelling amongſt themſelves, Mandubratius, a traitor to his country, fled to Gaul, in order to invite him again[l].

Cæſar was at that time returned to Rome; but his lieutenants in Gaul were providing a navy according to his directions, which conſiſted of no leſs than 800 ſail, on board of which, when he came back, Cæſar embarked a numerous army for Britain. He landed as before in Kent[k], without meeting any reſiſtance, the Britons being aſtoniſhed at the ſight of ten times the force with which they had before conteſted. The Romans marched as far as the river Stoure, where, in a ſhort ſpace, the Britiſh monarch Caſwallan engaged them with a formidable army. In this battle the Romans forced their enemies to retreat; but in the evening the Britons boldly attacked the Roman camp, and, when they found themſelves unable to keep it, charged quite through the forces appointed to defend it, and recovered their faſtneſſes. Cæſar marching forwards toward the Thames, Caſwallan cauſed the ford where he was to paſs to be ſtuck full of ſharp ſtakes, remaining with his army on the oppoſite ſhore, in order to have taken advantage of that confuſion this contrivance muſt have occaſioned; but the deſign was betrayed, and Cæſar paſſed ſomewhat higher. The place, however, retains the name of Coway Stakes, near Oatlands, and is another proof that the Britons knew how to exert their force by land and by water. After this, Caſwallan managed the war without fighting ſet battles, till Cæſar ſtormed his capital, which is ſuppoſed to have been Verulam, near St. Alban's, and that ſome of the Britiſh princes ſubmitted to Cæſar, when he alſo thought proper to make terms[l]; which Cæſar readily granted him, that he might be rid of this buſineſs with honour, which, if we believe his own commentaries, he effected; but we know Aſinius Pollio[m] ſaid, thoſe memoirs were written with little accuracy, and ſmall regard to truth; and Suetonius, as to this particular action, tells us, that he was fairly beaten by the Britons[n]; which may derive ſome credit to what our own hiſtories ſay of this matter.

[l] De Bello Gallico, lib. v. Hiſt. Britan. lib. iv. cap. 7, 8. [k] A. A. C. 51.
[l] Hiſt. Britan. lib. iv. cap. 8, 11. Vit. Hiſt. lib. iv. Cæſ. de Bello Gallic. lib. v.
[m] Apud Sueton. in vit. Jul. Cæſ. cap. 56. [n] In vit. Jul. Cæſ. cap. 25. Lucan. Pharſal. lib. xi. Hor. Epod. vii.

On

On his return to Rome, Cæſar conſecrated to Venus a military ornament, embroidered with Britiſh pearl [o], a circumſtance ſlight in appearance, but of conſequence to my purpoſe, ſince by this conſecration it is intimated, that Cæſar arrogated to himſelf the dominion of the ſea; whence *vincula dare oceano*, to give laws to the ocean, and *Britannos ſubjugare*, to ſubdue the Britons, became convertible terms with ſubſequent authors, who all endeavour to place Cæſar's Britiſh expedition in this, as in far the moſt glorious light [p].

Auguſtus, when he had ſettled the empire, thought of paying this iſland a viſit [q], but arriving in Gaul, he heard there of the revolt of the Pannonians, which obliged him to change his deſign [r]. Seven years after, however, he reſumed it, and came again into Gaul, where ambaſſadors from Britain met him; and, on their promiſing to pay tribute to him, he deſiſted a ſecond time [s]. Finding, next year, that they did not keep their words, he prepared a third time for the invaſion of Britain: but the inhabitants prevented him, by ſending ambaſſadors, who offered, in the Capitol, ſacrifices to the Roman gods, ſwore obedience in the temple of Mars, promiſed to pay tribute duly, and, which is more to our purpoſe, undertook to yield certain duties for the goods by them exported: which is a plain indication, that the Romans chiefly ſought an acknowledgment of naval dominion, or ſuperiority at ſea [t]. During the reign of Tiberius, the Britons kept fair with the Romans, by their prudence in this particular; for when ſome of the ſoldiers of Germanicus had been wrecked on their coaſt, they not only received them kindly, but ſent them back to him ſafely. Thus theſe wiſe emperors maintained the reputation of the Roman power, without running any further hazards againſt a people martial in their diſpoſitions, unenervated by luxury, tenacious of liberty, and yet uſeful as allies [u].

The felicity of this country was then, as indeed it generally is, owing to the wiſdom, courage, and public ſpirit of its prince. The name of this excellent monarch was Cunobeline, who reigned many years, and with great reputation; but in the lat-

[o] Solin. Polyhiſt. cap. 54. [p] Selden. Mare Clauſum, p. 1288. int. oper. tom. iv. [q] A. A. C. 1. [r] Hor. Carm. lib. i. od. 35. [s] A. D. 8. [t] Langhorn's introduction to the hiſtory of England, p. 83. Hor. lib. iii. od. 5. [u] Tacit. Annal lib. ii.

ter part of his life, there fell out a misfortune in his family, which proved fatal to his ſubjects. One of his ſons, whom the Latin writers call Adminius, behaved ſo ill, that his father was obliged to baniſh him; and he, like an abandoned traitor, repaired to Caligula, who had ſucceeded Tiberius in the empire, and excited him to invade his country in his worthleſs quarrel [w]. Nothing could be more welcome to that vain, and yet puſillanimous prince, than this application: he, therefore, made ſuch preparations, as if he really intended to ſubdue the whole iſland [x]. But weighing very maturely the danger of ſuch an enterpriſe, reſolved to content himſelf with an imaginary conqueſt. He ſent the letters of Adminius to the Roman ſenate, as teſtimonies of the ſubmiſſion of the Britons; he built a mighty watch-tower upon the coaſt fronting Norfolk, as a monument of his pretended ſubjugation of the Britons, which, in after times, ſerved for a kind of Pharos, and was called in the language of the natives *Brittenhuis, i. e. Domus Britannica*, the Britiſh houſe; and, to complete all, he drew down his army to the ſea-ſhore, and having diſpoſed them in battalia, he then commanded them to fill their helmets with cockle and other ſhells, calling them the ſpoils of the ocean, due to the Capitol, and to the palace [y]; which act of his, though it ſufficiently ſpoke his vanity, yet it farther demonſtrates, that the dominion of Britain and the empire of the ocean were held to be the ſame thing: and the greater Caligula's folly was, in thus arrogating to himſelf a victory he had never acquired, the more glorious we muſt imagine that conqueſt would have been, the very notion of which made him ſo vain. Cunobeline did not long outlive this emperor; yet he was ſo happy as to die before the Romans ſet foot as enemies again in Britain.

He was ſucceeded by his ſon, whom the Britiſh writers ſtyle Gwyder [z], a brave and generous prince, of whom the Latin hiſtorians ſay nothing; becauſe the Romans reaped no great honour by their wars againſt him. He, in the very beginning of his reign, refuſed to pay them tribute, on account that ſome fugitives, who fled to the Romans, had not been delivered up; which ſhews that the Britons were incapable of tamely bearing

[w] Vit. Hiſt. lib. iv. Hiſt. Britan. lib. iv. cap. 2. [x] A. D. 41.
[y] Vit. Hiſt. lib. iv. Sueton. in Calig. cap. 44. Oroſ. lib. vii. cap. 5.
[z] Hiſt. Britan. lib. iv. cap. 12.

injuries, even from the lords of the world. Among these fugitives was one Bericus, a man of parts, but a traitor; he encouraged the Emperor Claudius to think of invading and subduing Britain [a]. Accordingly he sent over his lieutenants, who began and prosecuted the war with success, and afterwards crossing the sea himself, subdued a great part of South Britain [b], through the valour of his legions, and the intestine divisions of the Britons, who, had they been united, would undoubtedly have compelled him to quit the island [c]. For this conquest the emperor triumphed, and his lieutenant A. Plautius was allowed an ovation. On account of this victory he was complimented, by the poets of his time, as the conqueror of the ocean, and the sovereign of the sea. Suetonius [d] tells us, that among the spoils of his enemies, he placed a naval crown by the civic, in testimony of his having vanquished the ocean; and Seneca the tragedian celebrates this victory in the following lines [e]; which at once express how high an idea was then entertained of so extraordinary a discovery, and how much glory was supposed to arise from this maritime victory.

En, qui Britannis primus imposuit jugum,
Ignota tantis classibus texit freta.

By him first vanquish'd, were the Britons shown,
And Roman navies sail'd thro' seas unknown.

Yet we must not suppose, notwithstanding these pompous marks of conquest, that the Britons were absolutely subdued: the contrary of this appears plainly from the British histories; and not obscurely even from the Roman writers. Arviragus, who is supposed to have been the youngest son of Cunobeline, inherited the virtues, as well as the dominions of his father, and after long harassing the Romans as an enemy, consented at last, upon honourable terms, to become their friend. That this martial monarch had rendered himself exceedingly formidable to Rome, might, if all other proofs of it were lost, be deduced from the following passage in Juvenal, where, bitterly inveigh-

[a] Matt. Westm. ad. A. D. 44. [b] A. D. 45. [c] Dio. Hist. lib. lx. Sueton. in Claud. cap. 17. [d] In vit. Claud. cap. 17. [e] In Octavia.

ing

ing againſt the gluttony of Domitian, he introduces one predicting, from the taking of an overgrown turbot[f];

Regem aliquem capies, aut de temone Britanno
Excidet Arviragus.—

Some king you'll take, or from the Britiſh throne
Shall proud Arviragus come tumbling down.

The irony of this paſſage could not have been ſharp or cutting, if this Britiſh king had not been a very potent prince, and one whoſe reputation was at once thoroughly eſtabliſhed, and univerſally known.

Thus are we imperceptibly fallen as low as the reign of Domitian; yet ſome paſſages there are remarkable enough to oblige us to return to the mention of thoſe reigns, which intervene between his and that of Claudius. The glorious enterprize of Boadicea, who, in the time of Nero, attempted and almoſt atchieved the driving the Romans entirely out of Britain, having no relation to maritime affairs, falls not within my province. Under the reign of Veſpaſian, who had himſelf commanded with great reputation in this iſland[g], Julius Agricola was ſent to preſide here[h]. He was a wiſe governor, as well as an excellent officer; ſignalized himſelf in the beginning of his adminiſtration by the reduction of Mona or Angleſey[i], with the aſſiſtance, however, of Britiſh troops, who paſſed the narrow arm of the ſea, which divides that iſland from Britain, on horſeback, and thereby ſurpriſed the inhabitants, ſo that they were vanquiſhed as much at leaſt by fear as by force. Under the reign of Titus, Agricola projected a noble ſcheme; that of fixing and ſecuring the bounds of the Roman empire in Britain, ſo as to defend its ſubjects from the inroad of the barbarous nations inhabiting the northern part of the iſland[k]. I ſpeak this in conformity to the language of the authors from whoſe relations I write, and not with any intention of blemiſhing the reputation of thoſe gallant people, who ſo worthily defended their liberty againſt the Romans. In the proſecution of this deſign, Agricola advanced farther north than any of his predeceſſors had hitherto

f Sat. iv. Hiſt. Britan. lib. iv. cap. 14. Vit. Hiſt. lib. iv. See alſo Lewis's Britiſh hiſtory, and Cooper's chronicle, fol. 96.
g Tacit. in Agric.
h A. C. 72.
i Idem, ibid. Vit. Hiſt. lib. iv.
k Tacit. in Agric.

done[l]; and obſerving that two eſtuaries, or intruding arms of the ſea, almoſt cut in ſunder one part of the iſland from the other, he reſolved to fortify this iſthmus, and thereby ſhut out the Scots and Picts, which he accordingly performed[m]. In Latin authors theſe arms of the ſea are called *Glota* and *Bodotria*, which moſt of our writers render the friths of Dunbritton and Edinburgh; but they are with greater propriety ſtyled the friths of Clyde and of Forth.

Having thus ſecured the Roman province from all danger, he began to make the neceſſary diſpoſitions for invading Ireland, as well as for examining and ſubduing the remaining part of Britain. With this view he fitted out a conſiderable fleet, and ordered it to ſail northwards, looking into all the creeks and bays, in order to gain an exact knowledge of the coaſt, while himſelf and the army marched forward by land: this exceedingly alarmed the northern nations, who, as the Roman writers obſerve, gave all for loſt, now the ſecrets of their ſea were diſcovered. The Caledonians defended themſelves with great obſtinacy againſt Agricola, but with indifferent ſucceſs; and, in the mean time, were terribly haraſſed by the fleet, which put now into one port, then into another, and at length ſurrounded the iſland, and, if we may believe the Roman authors[n], ſubdued the Orcades, or iſlands of Orkney[o]. However, it is certain, that, after having completed their deſign, this navy returned to the Portus Trutulenſis, or, as it ought rather to be read, Rutupenſis, which is conceived to be Richborough near Sandwich. This expedition gained great honour to Julius Agricola, and was looked upon, in thoſe days, as a moſt heroic act, the boundaries of Britain being eſteemed by the Romans the very utmoſt limits of the world, as appears plainly from the accounts we have in Tacitus: and if any doubts remain as to his impartiality, ſince Agricola was his near relation, we may put the fact out of diſpute by citing what Juvenal ſays on the ſame topic[p].

——————*Arma quidem ultra*
Littora Juvernæ promovimus, et modo captas
Orcadas, ac minima contentos nocte Britannos.

[l] A D. 85. [m] Idem, ibid. [n] Idem, ibid. [o] A. D. 72.
[p] Sat. ij.

We

We fame beyond Juverna[q] have purſu'd,
And ev'n the diſtant Orkneys have ſubdu'd;
Our forces now remoteſt Britons fright,
In northern climes content with little night.

Hiſtory informs us, that this expedition of Agricola was in the ſummer, which accounts for the laſt line, ſince in that ſeaſon the Romans certainly found the days very long in the northern part of the iſle; whence they concluded, that the inhabitants were content with a ſlender proportion of reſt: which ſeems to be the true meaning of their being ſatisfied with a ſhort night. The tyrant Domitian, taking umbrage at the great exploits of this excellent perſon, recalled him to Rome, and there removed him by poiſon[r].

Under the reigns of the ſucceeding emperors, Nerva and Trajan, there happened little of conſequence in this iſland; but the Emperor Adrian, who ſucceeded Trajan, underſtanding that the northern nations made frequent incurſions into the Roman province, came over hither; and, after gaining frequent advantages over them, he reſolved to take the ſame method which Agricola had formerly done of bounding the frontier province by a wall, or military entrenchment; which he accordingly caſt up, and, as the manner of thoſe times was, ſtrongly fortified[s]. This wall is ſaid to have extended about eighty Italian miles, from Eden in Cumberland to Tyne in Northumberland; though others ſay, it was from Gabroſentum, now Gateſhead, or Gateſhend, in the biſhopric of Durham, to Carliſle, thereby abandoning a tract of country, ſeventy miles long and one hundred and forty broad, to the Scots and Picts; yet, on his return to Rome, he cauſed a new coin to be ſtruck, whereon he is ſtyled, the Reſtorer of Britain[t]. In the reign of Antonius Pius, one Lollius Urbicus acted as his lieutenant in Britain, who was very ſucceſsful in his wars againſt the northern nations[u], and who, having driven them beyond the friths of Clyde and Forth, re-edified Agricola's wall, and reſtored the Roman province to its full extent[x]. About this time, Sejus Saturninus was archigubernus of the Roman fleet here[y]; but whether we are to un-

[q] Ireland. [r] Tacit. in vit. Agric. [s] A. D. 123. [t] Dio hiſt. lib. lxix. Spartian in vit. Adrian. cap. ii. Bed. lib. i. cap. 5. [u] Jul. Capitolin. in vit. Anton. [x] A. D. 142. [y] Pandect. lib. xlvi. tit. ad ſenatuſconſult. Trebellian.

derſtand

derſtand thereby, that he was admiral, or arch-pilot, is doubtful. In ſucceeding times, the Scots and Picts recovered the country they had loſt, and gained ſo many advantages over the Romans, that the Emperor Severus came hither in perſon, and with infinite difficulty, repulſed theſe invaders [z], loſing no leſs than fifty thouſand men in the war; and at laſt was content to re-edify Adrian's wall, which he fortified with ſtrong towers or bulwarks, aſſuming thereupon the ſurname of Britannicus Maximus [a]. He died at York, and, his body being burnt at Ackham, there is ſtill to be ſeen a great mount of earth raiſed upon that occaſion, and called by the inhabitants Sever's hill [b].

In the ſucceeding diſtractions of the Roman empire, Britain, like the reſt of its provinces, fell into the hands of various maſters, ſtyled, by their adherents, Emperors, and by the reſt of the world Tyrants. Amongſt theſe, there is one who deſerves to be remembered in this hiſtory; ſince, how bad ſoever his title might be, he made a good prince to the Britons, and, which is ſtill more to our purpoſe, carried the maritime power of this country ſo high, as not only to vindicate his own independency, but alſo to ſtrike a terror into the whole Roman empire: it is true, many hiſtorians treat him as an uſurper, a thing that appears to be a little hard; ſince thoſe they ſtyle emperors had no other title than what they derived from fighting on land, which ſeems to afford him ſome colour of right, in virtue of his power by ſea. But, be that as it will, his hiſtory is ſufficient to ſhew, that the Britons in the Roman provinces were, at this time, remarkable for their ſkill in naval affairs, and were able to equip ſuch fleets as made them terrible to their neighbours.

Dioclesian and Maximian having ſhared the empire between them, the latter, who poſſeſſed the weſtern parts, finding the coaſts much haraſſed by pirates of ſeveral nations, but chiefly Saxons and Franks, made choice of one Caius Carauſius [c], a man of known valour, to command the Roman fleet for ſcouring the ſeas. Moſt writers ſay, that this man was a Menapian by birth, and of very mean deſcent [d]: certain Scottiſh authors

[a] A. D. 210. [z] Herod. lib. iii. Spartian in Severo. Dio. hiſtor. lib. lxxvi. [b] Vit. hiſt. lib. v. Oroſ. lib. vii. cap. 16. Eutrop. lib. viii. Bed. lib. v. cap. 5. Langhorn's introduction to the hiſtory of England, p. 123.
[c] A. D. 288. [d] Nennius apud Camden. in Rom. Britan. Aurel. Victor. cap. 39.

claim

claim him for their countryman [e], and with great appearance of truth. This charge he executed with equal courage and conduct; but, as the Roman hiſtorians alledge, not ſo honourably as he ought: yet, if we conſider his future actions, and that theſe writers were the creatures of thoſe emperors againſt whom he fought, we may ſafely doubt, whether the character they give Carauſius ought to prejudice him in our opinions. They tell us, that, inſtead of chaſtiſing the pirates as his duty directed, he too frequently admitted them to compoſition, and, finding this policy diſcovered, he had recourſe to another, neglecting to take them, till they had enriched themſelves by a multitude of prizes, and then ſeizing them, with their ill-got wealth, applied it to his own uſe. Maximian, informed of theſe practices, conceived a ſuſpicion of his intending to ſet up for himſelf; which ſcheme, if this officer really had in his head, he furthered by endeavouring to prevent it. The method he took, was, by commiſſioning a perſon to aſſaſſinate Carauſius; which failing, this cunning commander improved to his advantage; for, croſſing with a ſtrong ſquadron of ſhips over into Britain, he there perſuaded a great part of the Roman army, and the Britons in general, to embrace his party, and ſo, aſſuming the purple robe, he declared himſelf emperor, and maintained that dignity againſt all the power with which his rivals could oppoſe him. Beſides this iſland, he held the port of Geſſoriacum, now Bulloigne in France, and the adjacent coaſt, whence he ſo haraſſed Gaul, Italy, and Spain, by his fleets, that, however averſe Maximian might be to ſuch a partner, he was at length compelled to purchaſe peace, by owning this man for emperor in Britain: and there are ſtill extant ſome of his coins, having on one ſide his head, with this inſcription, IMP. CARAUSIUS, P. F. AUG. On the reverſe, the portraitures of two emperors joining hands, alluding to this agreement with Maximian. This coin is of ſilver, and found no where but in Britain [f].

However he acquired the empire, it is on all hands agreed, that he held it very worthily; for he governed the Britons with great juſtice and equity, maintained the dominion of the ſea againſt all competitors with much reſolution; and, when the nor-

[e] Fordun. Scotichronicon. lib. ii. cap. 38. See Dr. Stukeley's medallic hiſtory of Carauſius. [f] Eutrop. lib. ix. Bed. hiſt. lib. i. cap. 6. Aurel. Victor. in Cæſarib. Speed's chronicle, p. 254.

thern

thern nations, that is to ſay, the Scots and Picts, began to vex his ſubjects with incurſions, he made war upon them, and having beat them in many engagements, he recovered all that the Romans had ever held in Britain, and, as ſome ſay, erected, as a mark of his conqueſt, that celebrated monument of antiquity, called Arthur's Oven; though others affirm this to be a temple of the god Terminus, and erected by another hand. When he had thus ſignalized his courage and conduct at their expence, he made peace with theſe nations, wiſely foreſeeing that he ſhould, ſome time or other, ſtand in need of their aſſiſtance againſt the Roman emperors, who, he knew, waited only for a favourable opportunity of diſcloſing their hatred againſt him[8]. He took care likewiſe by all means poſſible to increaſe his fleet; and, which ſhews him to be a very politic prince, he negotiated a treaty with the Franks, and other nations, who were ſeated on the Thracian Boſphorus, and who were become famous for their power at ſea; whereby it was ſtipulated, that they ſhould ſend a ſtrong fleet into the Mediterranean, which, paſſing through the ſtreights of Gibraltar, ſhould join his navy in the Britiſh ſeas, and act in conjunction againſt the Romans. This, certainly, is a tranſaction worthy of being recorded in our naval hiſtory, unleſs we have ſo far loſt the ſpirit of our anceſtors, as to be proud rather of being ſlaves to Rome, than of conteſting the ſovereignty of the ſea with that haughty people.

The Romans, juſtly alarmed at ſo formidable a confederacy, which in an inſtant deprived them of any ſafe paſſage by ſea, began to provide for putting a ſpeedy end to this war. In order to this, Conſtantius and Maximian both applied themſelves to raiſing forces by ſea and land. The former undertook to march with an army into the territory poſſeſſed by the enemy in Gaul; while the latter, from the naval magazines on the Rhine, fitted out a fleet of a thouſand ſail. While this was doing, Conſtantius beſieged Carauſius in Bulloigne, who, having the ſea open, defended himſelf without much trouble, and thereby convinced his enemies, that, while he held this advantage, their ſiege would be to little purpoſe; but Conſtantius having found a way to block up the port by a work of a new contrivance, Carauſius

8 Hiſt. Brit. lib. v. cap. 3. Vit. hiſt. lib. v. Fordun. Scotichronicon, lib. ii. cap. 37, 38, 39. Bed. lib. i. cap. 6.

had no means of ſafety left but by breaking through the Roman camp, with a few gallant followers. This he performed in a dark night; and, embarking in a ſmall ſhip, croſſed over to Britain, where he had a ſtrong fleet and a powerful army. He quickly repented of this wrong ſtep, when he was informed, that the very night after his departure, the ſea had carried away all the works of the Romans, and left the port open. The next thing Conſtantius did, was to draw together all the ſhips that could be had from every part of his dominions; and having ſtationed ſtrong ſquadrons on the coaſt of Britain, Spain, and Gaul, to prevent Carauſius from joining his confederates, he ſailed in perſon with the reſt of his fleet through the ſtreights of Gibraltar, to meet the Franks, whom he defeated ſo abſolutely, and purſued his victory ſo cloſely, that there was not a man of them left [h]. In the interim Carauſius employed his time in preparing the beſt he could for the defence of Britain; but one Allectus, a conſiderable officer in his ſervice, and whom he had always treated as an intimate friend, ſuppoſing that his death would put him in poſſeſſion of all his power, treacherouſly murdered him, when he had reigned ſeven years, and then aſſumed the purple [i].

This Allectus was far from having either the capacity or the fortune of his predeceſſor, though all our hiſtorians agree, that he kept his dominions and his forces. He was for ſome time ſuperior in power at ſea; but he employed that ſuperiority rather as a pirate than as a prince, ſending out his ſquadrons to ſpoil the adjacent coaſts of Gaul, and to interrupt the trade of all the Roman provinces. Conſtantius ſaw this with impatience, but at the ſame time took all the neceſſary precautions for putting an end to it. At length he found himſelf ſtrong enough to fight Allectus by ſea, and, with this view, ſailed from the coaſt of Gaul towards that of Britain. Allectus, with a navy no way inferior to his, lay then at the Iſle of Wight, whence, on the firſt intelligence of the departure of the Roman fleet, he ſtood to ſea, in order to intercept it; but it ſo happened, that Conſtantius, by means of a fog, paſſed him, and landed ſafely in Britain; which he had no ſooner done, than, from a foreſight that

[h] Eutrop. lib. ix. Bed. lib. i. cap. 6. Oroſ. lib. vii. cap. 25. Paul. Diac. lib. x. cap. 41. Aurel. Vict. cap. 39. Fordun. Scotichronicon, lib. xi. cap. 40.

[i] A. D. 294.

the Britiſh fleet would infallibly beat his in a fair ſea-fight, he cauſed his ſhips to be ſet on fire, that his ſoldiers might have no hopes of eſcaping, but by beating their enemies. Allectus quickly returned to Britain, and put himſelf at the head of a ſmall body of troops; but perceiving that the hearts of the people were entirely alienated from him, and that he was thereby become inferior on land to thoſe over whom he had a ſuperiority at ſea, he grew in a manner diſtracted; and, engaging raſhly with Aſclepiodotus, who commanded a party of Roman troops, his forces were routed, and himſelf having thrown away his purple robe, after a deſperate defence, was ſlain [k]. He held the empire, or rather bore the title of emperor, about three years; and there is yet extant a gold coin of his with this inſcription, IMP. C. ALECTUS, P. F. AUG: on the reverſe, SALUS AUG! He ſeems to have loſt himſelf by his raſhneſs; for he certainly fought before the main body of his troops came up. Theſe conſiſted of foreigners of all nations, drawn to his ſervice from the hopes of pay, and who, as ſoon as they knew of his misfortune, reſolved to ſatisfy their expectations by plundering thoſe they came to preſerve. With this view they poſſeſſed themſelves of London; but, as they entered the city, a new miſchance befel them. Part of the Roman army, ſevered from the grand fleet at ſea by the miſt before mentioned, landed at the mouth of the Thames, and entered the city immediately after them. Upon this an engagement enſued, wherein the foreigners were defeated, and cut to pieces; their commander, whoſe name was Gallus, endeavouring to ſave himſelf by flight, was puſhed into and drowned in a little brook, called from thence, in the Britiſh tongue, Nant-Gall, and by the Saxons, Walbrook [m].

In ſucceeding times, when the government of the Roman empire came to be better ſettled, proper officers were appointed for maintaining both civil and military government in Britain; but, above all, due care was taken of naval affairs, and garriſons were placed in various ports, and particularly at thoſe which follow, *viz.* Othona, which Camden took to be Haſtings in Suſſex; Dubris, which certainly was Dover; Lemmanis, which

[k] A. D. 296. [l] Aurel. Victor. in Cæſarib. Eutrop. ubi ſupra. Eumen. Paneg. Conſtant. Cæſar. Speed's chronicle, p. 255. Lewis's hiſtory of Britain, p. 120. [m] Hiſt. Britan. lib. v. cap. 4. Vit. Hiſt. lib. v. Camden. Deſcript. Britan. in Trinobant. Speed's chronicle, p. 255. Lewis's hiſtory of Britain, p. 120.

was

was either Hythe in Kent, or ſome place near it, perhaps Lime-hill; Branodunum, Brancheſter in Norfolk, not far from the waſhes; Gariannonum, Yarmouth; Regulbium, Reculver in Kent; Rittupis or Rittupæ, Richborough near Sandwich; Anderia, Newenden in Kent; and the port of the Adurni, now Alkrington or Ederington, near Shoreham in Suſſex[n].

Conſtantine the Great, as he was born in this iſland, ſo he was extremely careful of its concerns[o]. On his death, and the diviſion of the empire among his ſons, it fell to the ſhare of Conſtantine the eldeſt. After his murder, his younger brothers, Conſtantius and Conſtans, were both here, and Gratianus was by them made general of Britain[p]. The Emperor Julian ſent over Lupicinus to repreſs the Scots, in which he was very ſucceſsful[q]. Under the emperors Valentinianus and Valens, Theodoſius performed great things in this iſland, and, having recovered the country between the two walls, he erected it into a province by itſelf, and called it Valentia[r]. After this, Maximus was general of the Roman forces in this iſland, who, having vanquiſhed the Scots and Picts, was declared emperor by his army[s]. He, carrying on great wars on the continent, tranſported thither the flower of the Britiſh youth, which was one principal cauſe of the misfortune that befel his country; for, after a reign of ſix years, he was vanquiſhed, and put to death in Italy; and ſo Britain returned to the obedience of the Roman emperors[t]. The Emperor Theodoſius ſent over Chryſanthus, who governed here very worthily all the time of his reign[u]. In the nonage of the emperor Honorius, new diſturbances were created by the Scots and Picts, which induced Stilico, who was the emperor's guardian, to ſend Victorinus to command here, who, having expelled the invaders, refortified the wall, and placed a legion in garriſon to defend it; the ſame worthy perſon took care alſo to reſtore the maritime force of the iſland, whereby he ſecured it from the inſults of thoſe piratical nations, who now began to infeſt the ſea. Claudian, in his panegyric on Stilico, attributes

[n] Selden. Mare Clauſum, lib. ii. cap. 6, 7. [o] Zoſim. Europ. vit. hiſt. lib. vi. [p] Pauli Diaconi hiſt. lib. xi. cap. 18. Victor in Valentin. Ammian. Marcellini hiſt. lib. xiv. [q] Bed. lib. i. cap. 1. Ammiani Marcellini, lib. xx. [r] Idem, lib. xxvii. Claudian de bello Getico, et in laud. Theodoſii. [s] A. D. 381. [t] Zoſim. hiſt. lib. iv. Fordun. Scotichronicon, lib. ii. cap. 42. [u] Pomponius Lætus in Theodoſio.

all this to him, becauſe done by his order, and by an officer acting under his authority; for thus he introduces the iſle of Britain ſpeaking to his patron[x]:

Me quoque vicinis pereuntem gentibus, inquit,
Munivit Stilico, totam quum Scotus Iernen
Movit, & infeſto ſpumavit remige Thetis.
Illius effectum curis, ne bella timerem
Scotica, nec Pictum tremerem, ne littore toto
Proſpicerem dubiis venientem Saxona ventis[y].

Me too, by neighbours when almoſt devour'd,
Thou, Stilico, ſuſtain'd—though Ireland pour'd
Her Scots abroad, and cover'd all the ſea
With hoſtile fleets.—But now, reſtor'd by thee,
Thoſe Scots, though join'd with Picts, I fear no more,
Nor dread each changing wind ſhould bring the Saxons o'er.

But when Alarick the Goth made his firſt irruption into Italy, Victorinus with his legion was recalled out of Britain[z]; and, the affairs of the empire falling continually from bad to worſe, the Roman forces he left behind thought themſelves at liberty to elect, in conjunction with the Britons, a prince of their own, or, as the phraſe was in thoſe times, an emperor. Accordingly they choſe and murdered two in leſs than ſix months[a]: then they ſet up one Conſtantine merely for his name's ſake[b], who in a ſhort time aſpired to greater things than the bare dominion of Britain. On this account he, like his predeceſſor Maximus, aſſembled the utmoſt force of the iſland, and paſſed therewith over into Gaul, where, by the help of theſe forces and his fleet, he performed many great things, till the emperor Honorius made war againſt, and ſubdued him[c]. The Britons, in the mean time, were brought to the laſt extremity by the Scots and Picts; inſomuch that the remainder of the Romans, giving the country for loſt, at leaſt for the preſent, buried their treaſures, and tranſported themſelves to other parts[d]. However, even after this, on their humble application to Honorius, Ætius, general of the forces in Gaul, had orders to ſend over a legion; which he

[x] A. D. 396. [y] Paneg. ſecund. de laud. Stilic. [z] Camden. Roman. Britan. Gulielm. Malmeſbur. de geſtis reg. Angl. lib. i. cap. 1. [a] Zoſ. hiſt. lib. iv. Bed. lib. i. cap. 9. [b] A. D. 407. [c] Beda, lib. i. cap. 1. Zoſim. lib. xi. cap. 13. Oroſ. lib. vii. cap. 42. [d] Chron. Saxon. ad ann. 418.

did,

did, and repeated the same favour some years afterwards [e]. This last legion was commanded by one Gallio, who, having repaired, or rather rebuilt the wall originally raised by Severus, and fortified the coast against the sudden invasions of the pirates who then infested the British seas, plainly told the people, that the affairs of the empire would not permit them to pass over any more, but that for the future they must think of defending themselves as well as they could: and after many exhortations to behave with constancy and courage in the cause of their country, he embarked all the Roman troops [f], and left the Britons to their fortunes [g].

Thus, about four hundred and eighty years, according to the computation of the learned Selden, or four hundred and seventy, as the Saxon chronicle informs us, after the first invasion of this island by Julius Cæsar, the Romans quitted it, and all the rights they could pretend to [h]. For, this being a voluntary abdication, nothing can be plainer, than that they left the Britons as free as they found them. And as it is evident, that this nation exercised the dominion over the circumambient seas before the coming of the Romans, who likewise contended, that the possession of this island gave them a title to the like sovereignty, nothing can be more apparent than that it now reverted to the Britons. I say, nothing can be more evident, if we admit that the Romans acquired any right by conquest; which may seem doubtful, since they never subdued the whole island; and if so, the British title to this dominion remained unimpeached. We are next to inquire, what the effects were of this desertion of the isle by the Romans, and in what situation the naval affair of the Britons remained, when they were thus left to themselves. A difficult task indeed, considering the dubious authority of the authors whom we are to use; but a task necessary to be performed; since, as the dominion of the sea must have rested some where, we shall do our best to shew it rested with them.

The Scots and Picts no sooner understood that the Britons were abandoned by the Romans, than they began to form designs not only of pillaging, as they were wont to do, the sou-

[e] Pauli Diaconi hist. miscel. lib. xiv. [f] A. D. 430. [g] Bed. lib. i. cap. 12. Gildas de excid. Britan. Fordun. Scotichronicon, lib. iii. cap. 12. Zosim. hist. lib. vi. Chron. Saxon. ad. ann. 435. [h] Mare Clausum, lib. ii. cap. 9.

thern part of the iſland, but for making an abſolute conqueſt thereof, or at leaſt of a good part of it, which accordingly they attempted with a numerous army, and with a great fleet. The firſt thing they did, was to demoliſh the wall, that it might be no obſtacle to future incurſions [i]; then, landing their forces behind the Britons, they ſo aſtoniſhed them with numbers, that they relinquiſhed all thoughts of defence. Theſe inroads having deſtroyed the chief cities, and interrupted agriculture, a famine enſued, which, however grievous to the Britons in one reſpect, was yet of ſervice to them in another; for it deſtroyed multitudes of their enemies, compelled the reſt to retreat, and ſo gave them time to recollect themſelves [k]. The iſſue of their deliberations was the ſending over the biſhop of London into Armorica, or Britanny, in France, to demand aſſiſtance of their brethren ſettled there; and the reaſon aſſigned for this, in the Britiſh hiſtory, is very juſt and reaſonable; for the biſhop was charged to repreſent the chief cauſe of their weakneſs, to be the planting of that country, by the emperor Maximus, and the leaving there the greateſt part of the Britiſh navy. This repreſentation had a proper effect upon the king of Britanny; who, though he could not himſelf paſs over to the aſſiſtance of his countrymen, yet he ſent over his brother Conſtantine, with a ſquadron of ſtout ſhips, and two thouſand men. This Conſtantine was crowned their king by the Britons, and by them ſurnamed the Deliverer, becauſe he fought valiantly and ſucceſsfully againſt their enemies, and ruled worthily for ten years [l].

I know very well, that many of our beſt writers reject this Conſtantine, and would perſuade us, that there never was any ſuch prince; but that the whole is a fiction of the author of the Britiſh hiſtory. This notion, however, is ſo thoroughly refuted by a very learned writer, who long ſtudied, and perfectly underſtood, the Britiſh records, that I cannot conceive any impartial critic will cenſure my following his opinion, when they have carefully peruſed, and duly weighed his reaſons [m]: but what chiefly prevailed upon me to follow the Britiſh hiſtory in

[i] A. D. 433. [k] Hiſt. Britan. lib. cap. 3. Vit. hiſt. lib. vii. Alured. Beverl. lib. 1. Johan. de Fordun. Scotichron. lib. iii. cap. 11.

[l] Hiſt. Brit. lib. vi. cap. 4, 5. Vit. hiſt. lib. vii. Cooper's chronicle, fol. 138.

[m] See Lewis's ancient hiſt. of Great Britain, p. 157.

this

this point is, the authority of the Saxon annals, publiſhed by the late learned biſhop of London. For theſe annals place the retreat of the Romans in 435, and the coming of the Saxons in 443, which is the very year after this King Conſtantine died; and though theſe annals do not mention him, yet, as they tell us nothing of what paſſed in that interval, I can ſee no cauſe why we ſhould not rather follow the account given us by the Britiſh authors, of things which happened in this ſpace of time, than leave ſuch a chaſm in our hiſtory, merely becauſe other authors, who, none of them profeſs to write of the ſucceſſion of the Britiſh kings, ſay nothing of this prince. Eſpecially, ſince the Scotch hiſtorians own him, and there are other convincing proofs, from Britiſh records, of his having really reigned here; though perhaps there may be ſome error as to the length of his reign.

At the time of his deceaſe he left three ſons, Conſtans, Aurelius Ambroſius, and Uter, ſurnamed Pendragon. Conſtans, the eldeſt, was a very weak man, and by his father deſtined to be a monk; the other two were children. Vortigern, a Britiſh nobleman of great power, took Conſtans out of his monaſtery, and, to ſerve his own purpoſes, made him king. He governed for a time in his name; and, when he thought himſelf ſtrong enough to rule without him, he cauſed him to be put to death, and then ſeized the kingdom: the children of Conſtantine flying to Britanny [n]. This Vortigern it was, who, as the Saxon authors tell us, invited their countrymen over into Britain. He was, as all writers agree, a very bad prince, who, by his tyrannical government, encouraged the Scots and Picts again to invade the ſouthern parts of the iſland, and ſo alienated the minds of his ſubjects from him, that he durſt not rely on their aſſiſtance, even for the defence of their country: this is ſo rational an account of his ſtrong inclination to foreigners, for which he is unanimouſly upbraided by all our authentic hiſtorians, that I cannot doubt its being truth [o]. The firſt Saxons who arrived, were Horſa and Hengiſt, two brothers, with their followers; by whoſe aſſiſtance Vortigern repulſed the Scots and Picts, and ſettled himſelf effectually in the kingdom. To fix

[n] A D. 438. [o] Hiſt. Britan. lib. vi. cap. 9. Vit. hiſt. lib. vii. Bed. hiſt. eccl. lib. i. Gildas de Excidio Britan. G. Malmeſb. de geſtis reg. Angl. lib. i.

them,

them, without whoſe aſſiſtance his ſecurity could not continue here, he gave them lands in Kent, where they landed; as alſo in the north, after they had beaten his enemies. Theſe Saxons came over in three ſhips; but, having thriven ſo well here, Hengiſt, who was a wiſe man, prevailed upon the king, firſt to give him leave to build a caſtle, and then to bring over a freſh ſupply of his countrymen, which he accordingly did, in a ſquadron of eighteen ſhips. With them came over Rowena, the daughter of Hengiſt, a very beautiful and artful woman, whom Vortigern married, quitting, for her ſake, his former queen, by whom he had three ſons; and, inviting over, by her ſuggeſtions, a vaſt number of Saxons, he thereby ſo irritated the Britons, that they reſolved to depoſe him; which accordingly they did, and ſet up his ſon [p].

The name of this young prince was Vortimer, a brave and worthy man [q]. He immediately raiſed an army, and, as faſt as he could, equipped a fleet, while his degenerate father meanly fided with ſtrangers againſt his ſubjects. The Britiſh writers ſay, that Vortimer defeated the Saxons in four battles; the firſt on the river Derwent; the ſecond at Ailesford, in Kent, where Horſa was ſlain; the third was on the ſea-ſhore, on the loſs of which they fled to the iſle of Thanet, where they thought they ſhould have been ſafe; but Vortimer having now revived the ſpirits of his ſubjects, and withal got together a conſiderable fleet, the Saxons found themſelves obliged to try their fortune in a naval engagement, in which they were beaten for the fourth time, and obliged to fly home, leaving their wives and children behind them in the iſle of Thanet, nor had they ever returned if Vortimer had lived; but he was ſhortly after poiſoned, by the contrivance of his mother-in-law [r]. It is true, the Saxon chronicle takes no notice of any of theſe battles, except that of Ailesford; wherein they ſay they were victorious, but acknowledge that Horſa was there killed; which conceſſion, with the circumſtance of the Saxons never owning they were beat at all, ſeems to ſupport the credit of the Britiſh hiſtory.

[p] Chronicon. Saxon. ad. ann. Dom. 449. Witichin. de rebus Saxon. lib. i. Hiſt. Brit. lib. iv. cap. 10, 11, 12. [q] A. D. 463. [r] Hiſt. Brit. lib. iv. cap. 13, 14. Vit. hiſt. lib. vii.

After the death of Vortimer, the Britons unaccountably invited Vortigern again to the throne. He, perſiſting in his old ſentiments, recalled Hengiſt, who ſoon brought over ſuch crowds of Saxons, that when the king would have reſtrained him, it was not in his power; inſomuch, that after ſome fruitleſs ſtruggles, he at length fled into Wales, and left the beſt part of the iſland to their mercy: and thus, as their own writers agree, not more by their own valour, than by the weakneſs of an uxorious king, the Saxons firſt ſeated themſelves in Britain.

In this period of time, Aurelius Ambroſius, the ſecond ſon of Conſtantine, was become a man; and being invited by the Britons to proſecute his claim to the crown, he got together a good fleet, and embarking thereon ten thouſand men, landed at Totneſs[s]. The firſt thing he did was to purſue Vortigern, whom he defeated and deſtroyed; and then turned his arms againſt the Saxons, whom he defeated alſo in ſeveral battles: and in one of them ſlew the famous Hengiſt, either in fight, or, as the Britiſh hiſtory reports, after he had made him priſoner[t]. It is true, there is no notice taken of this in the Saxon annals; but then they ſay nothing of what happened in that year; but tell us in the next, that Eſca ſucceeded Hengiſt, which is a circumſtance very favourable to the account which we have given; ſince, as we before obſerved, there is no inſtance of their commemorating any defeat, though in ſetting down their victories they are very exact. Upon this victory, Aurelius made a peace with the Saxons, and was, not long after, at their inſtigation poiſoned. It is very remarkable, that Paulus Diaconus[u] mentions this Britiſh king, and tells us, that by his valour he ſupported his ſinking country.

Uther, ſurnamed Pendragon, that is, dragon's head, from his bearing the head of a dragon in his enſigns[w], ſucceeded his brother, and carried on the war againſt the Saxons ſucceſsfully ſometimes, and at others was much diſtreſſed by them; ſo that he was conſtrained to treat them as the French afterwards did the Normans; that is, to yield them provinces, and content himſelf with homage, inſtead of abſolute ſovereignty;

[s] A. D. 481. [t] Hiſt. Britan. lib. viii. cap. 5, 6, 7. Vit. Hiſt. lib. vii.
[u] Hiſt. Miſcel. lib. xvi. [w] A. D. 500.

and therefore, under his reign, we find ſeveral Saxon principalities eſtabliſhed in this iſland. It likewiſe appears from the Saxon annals, that ſeveral battles were fought againſt the Britons in his reign, though he is never mentioned; becauſe, in thoſe annals, they ſpeak of no Britiſh princes, except ſuch as were by them either beaten or killed. In his reign alſo the kingdom was invaded from Ireland; but by the courage of this prince the enemy was repulſed, and the public tranquillity reſtored; to preſerve which, he equipt a very conſiderable fleet, and this, together with his dominions, he left to his ſon the famous Arthur [x].

This prince, whoſe glory, like that of many other martial monarchs, turns more to his prejudice than advantage, by giving an air of fable to his hiſtory, and bringing his real deeds in queſtion, through the extravagant pains beſtowed by thoſe who recorded them; this worthy prince, I ſay, atchieved great things, and intended greater [y]. Our learned antiquary Leland long ago vindicated the reputation of his victories againſt the cavils of the critics; who, becauſe they do not find things exactly written in barbarous times, when indeed it is well they were written at all, will have them to be abſolute fables; as if the memory of facts could not outlive their circumſtances, the contrary of which every day demonſtrates to be a truth. My deſign will not permit me to ſay more upon this ſubject; nor indeed had I ſaid ſo much, if Arthur had not been one of the moſt eminent of our naval heroes. For he, as the Britiſh hiſtory informs us, which Mr. Selden did not diſdain to tranſcribe, annexed to his kingdom of Britain the ſix inſular provinces, *viz.* Ireland, Iceland, Gothland, the Orcades or Orkneys, Norway, and Denmark [z], which throwing off the yoke under the reign of his ſucceſſor, were once more recovered by King Malgo, though held by the Britons after that but for a little time.

Thus we have brought down the naval hiſtory of this ancient nation to the time of its declenſion, and their being compelled by the Saxons to retire into Wales, and the counties adjacent thereto, where, according to their own hiſtorians, the Britons

[x] Hiſt. Britan. lib. vii. cap. 24. Vit. hiſt. lib. vii. [y] A. D. 537.
[z] Hiſt. Britan. lib. ix. cap. 10. Vit. hiſt. lib. viii.

for

for ſeveral ages preſerved ſome maritime ſtrength. If any one ſhould eſteem this ſo much time thrown away, and ſhould ſurmiſe that it had been better we had begun our hiſtory lower, that we might have written with more certainty; the anſwer is ready, and I hope ſatisfactory. Many of our wiſeſt antiquaries are of opinion, that we derive our excellent conſtitution from the Britons, their laws being tranſlated by the command of the Saxon princes, and incorporated with their own. If then their conſtitution might be the model of ours, why not their naval dominion the ſource of ours? We are the deſcendants of the Saxons; but then they were the ſucceſſors of the Britons, and did not think it beneath them to claim under them in this reſpect. Thus the glorious King Edward I. in a letter he wrote to the Pope, in aſſerting his ſovereignty over Scotland, derives it from the conqueſt of Arthur; ſo that, it ſeems, his acts were matter of record and hiſtory then; though in the eyes of ſome they paſs for fables now. On the whole, therefore, if it be right to trace a title as high as poſſible, that is, as high as vouchers can be found to ſupport it, we are well juſtified as to the pains we have taken; and as to the certainty of later records, as we ſtate them in their proper periods, we loſe nothing by ſhewing whence they are derived.

It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that we follow ſome very great authorities, in paying this reſpect to the Britiſh hiſtory. Camden himſelf, though he ſuſpects it in the groſs, yet ſupports many hiſtorical paſſages in his great work of the deſcription of Britain, from Nennius and other Britiſh writers. The Scottiſh hiſtorian Buchanan, though he treats the work of Geoffrey of Monmouth with great contempt, yet acknowledging the hiſtory of Arthur, gives more light into ſome parts of it than any other author. The profound Selden, who ſtudied our antiquities with equal application and judgment, proceeds likewiſe in this tract. To conclude, the immortal Shakeſpear, whoſe works proclaim him as true a patriot as he was a poet, ſhewed a ſtrong inclination to preſerve the memory of our Britiſh worthies, by dedicating to their honour ſeveral of his plays, ſuch as, the tragedy of King Lear, Cymbeline, Locrine, &c. and the ſublime Milton had thoughts of doing the ſame; though he ſeems to have altered his mind when he wrote his hiſtory.

If ſo little certainty occur in what the world has generally eſteemed matters of moment, we may very well ſuppoſe, that there is leſs ſtill to be gleaned from ancient writers, within this period, in reference to commerce; yet ſomething there is, for what was there, ſave the thirſt of gain, that could eſtabliſh a regular intercourſe between countries ſo diſtant as Phœnicia and the Britiſh iſles: yet ſuch a correſpondence there was, nor are we left quite in the dark as to the motives upon which it was founded. The Phœnicians, in thoſe early days the greateſt traders in the world, viſited theſe iſlands for the ſake of their tin, which was excellent in its kind, and of which they had great plenty, and for this reaſon they beſtowed upon them the name of Caſſiterides [a], the reader will permit me to give him two inſtances with reſpect to the commercial ſpirit of thoſe ages, which are equally inſtructive and entertaining.

It was in Spain, in which the Phœnicians had potent colonies and fruitful territories, that they fixed the ſtaple of their trade with thoſe iſlands before-mentioned, and ſo jealous, it ſeems, they were of having their route to the Britiſh Indies diſcovered, that a ſhip laden with tin being chaced by a Roman veſſel of greater force, the captain and owner wilfully run her on ſhore, that he might have a chance for drawing his eager enemy into the ſame misfortune, or at leaſt, be ſecure of preventing his rich cargo from falling into his hands, and thereby tempt the Romans to think of opening a paſſage to thoſe iſlands themſelves. This conduct of his was not only approved, but applauded by his countrymen, who made him ample ſatisfaction for his cargo. We are indebted for this intelligence to Strabo [b], one of the moſt learned and authentic writers of antiquity. The other paſſage is to be met with in Solinus [c], who aſſures us, that

[a] Strabo, Gregor. lib. iii. p. 147. Theſe iſlands are ſtyled Caſſiterides from the Greek word κασσίτερος which ſignifies tin; juſt as from the Latin word *ſtannum* we have formed ſtanneries to ſignify tin works. In the like manner among the Indian nation called the Drangi, there was a city named Caſſiteron from its being a great mart for tin. Stephanus, *de urbibus*, alſo mentions in the Indian ſea an iſland called Caſſitera for the ſame reaſon.

[b] Geogr. lib. iii. p. 175. Where we have expreſs mention, that the Romans were exceedingly ſolicitous to intercept ſome of theſe tin ſhips.

[c] De Britannis, cap. xxv. He ſays, they have no markets there, and will not deal with ſtrangers otherwiſe than by barter. But Strabo, in the place before cited, mentions them as a ſober and civilized people, who wore commonly black garments, and particularly an inner or under robe reaching down to their ancles, girt under their breaſts with a girdle, and walking commonly with ſtaves in their hands.

the

the inhabitants of the Caſſiterides would not part with their valuable commodities for money; but inſiſted upon having goods for goods; now this could not ariſe from a ſpirit of barbarity, for the uſe of money was known to the Britons, though the metal they made uſe of for that purpoſe was either copper or iron, but flowed from a ſpirit of traffic; and there is nothing abſurd in ſuppoſing, that they either re-exported theſe foreign commodities, or manufactured ſome of them, and then ſold them to other nations[d]; there being no greater ſkill required for that than for extracting and refining metals.

The goods and commodities of Britain in thoſe early days were corn, cattle, hides, hounds, pearls, lead, tin, ſilver, and gold. The two firſt metals were of their own growth; but for the two laſt, I preſume they had them from other nations, in exchange. In proceſs of time, when, by their intercourſe with the Romans, they were grown more polite, the Britons no doubt extended their trade; and though we have no authorities to enable us to give a diſtinct account of this matter, yet there is a paſſage in Tacitus which proves it in the general very ſtrongly; for he aſſures us, that the people of Cornwall, by their conſtant intercourſe with traders, became more courteous and civil than the reſt of their countrymen[e]. And the ſame obſervation occurs in another ancient writer[f]; ſo that notwithſtanding the obſcurity in which this ſubject is involved, we have the cleareſt certainty, that our anceſtors, even in the moſt remote ages, knew the value of their native commodities, and, in conſequence of that knowledge, procured for their own uſe thoſe of other nations; and therefore theſe facts, drawn from Greek and Latin writers, whoſe authorities alone will paſs for evidence with the critics, ought at leaſt to have ſo much weight as to render what is ſaid to the ſame purpoſe in the Britiſh hiſtory of our intercourſe with the northern nations, not either ſo incredible or ridiculous as ſome would repreſent it.

There can be no doubt made, that when the Romans had fully ſubdued all the ſouthern part of this iſle, and had introdu-

[d] I might have cited Strabo alſo in ſupport of what is here advanced. He informs us, that notwithſtanding all the precautions taken by the Phœnicians, this navigation could not be long concealed from the Romans. Publius Craſſus was the firſt of their captains who viſited theſe iſles, who found the inhabitants very much addicted to peace and commerce by ſea.

[e] Tacit. in vit. Agric. [f] Diodor. Sicul.

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ced their cuſtoms and manners among the natives, they muſt have made a great change in the face of affairs, by bringing in a more elegant and ſumptuous way of living, which conſequently was favourable to trade; and we have juſt reaſons to believe, cauſed abundance of good towns to be erected in places held convenient in that reſpect[g]. It is the conjecture of a moſt learned and judicious prelate, that London, called by the Romans *Auguſta*, owed its riſe to this[h]; but for my part, I rather believe, that it was a fortreſs and port too in the time of the Britons, and that it was afterwards altered, re-built, and re-peopled by the Romans. We may form ſome judgment as to the ſize of towns in thoſe days, by what ſeveral hiſtorians relate of the miſchief done here, and at Verulam, by the Britons, when they endeavoured to throw off the Roman yoke under Queen Boadicea. They then deſtroyed both Verulam and London, and in theſe two places they cut off, as one hiſtorian ſays, ſeventy thouſand[i], or, as another affirms, eighty thouſand citizens[k]. Now, at that time, it is agreed, that London was not ſo conſiderable a place as Verulam, and beſides, the Roman general had withdrawn out of London all who were willing to quit the place; ſo that, as Tacitus expreſsly tells us, there were none left behind, except ſuch as, through age and infirmities, were unable to leave it, or ſuch as were ſo taken with the delights of it, that even the approaching danger could not induce them to leave it[l]. If therefore, under theſe circumſtances, ſuch numbers were killed in two places only, we muſt conclude from thence, that the country, under the obedience of the Romans, was very populous. Yet in ſucceeding times, when they were bleſſed with a long and general peace, the Roman dominion much farther extended, and beyond all compariſon better ſettled, the ſouthern parts of Britain muſt have attained to a far more flouriſhing condition.

g See what our learned Camden ſays upon this ſubject, in his admirable Britannia, ſpeaking of the Romans in Britain.

h Biſhop Stillingfleet, in his diſcourſe concerning the antiquity of London, in the ſecond volume of his Eccleſiaſtical Caſes.

i Tacitus in Vit. Agric. See alſo our excellent countryman Mr. Bolton, in his moſt judicious and elegant work, entitled, Nero Cæſar.

k Dio in Xiphilin. p. 168. See alſo Eutrop. epitom. hiſt. Rom. lib. vii.

l It is obſerved by Tacitus, that it was the great opulence of theſe places which expoſed them to the fury of the Britons.

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We have very large, and very accurate accounts of the ſeveral colonies planted, the many fortreſſes raiſed, and the diſpoſition of the great roads, which, with infinite diligence, and no leſs ſkill, the Romans cauſed to be raiſed through all parts of England. We have very learned and very curious diſſertations upon their inſcriptions, coins, and other antiquities, which have eſcaped the ſharp teeth of time, and have been preſerved to our day; all which plainly ſhew, that they were a very ingenious and polite, as well as a great, a wiſe, and a brave people[m].

But ſtill there ſeems to be wanting a political view of the Roman government in Britain, and of its effects, towards which, as occaſion offered, we have given ſome hints in this chapter; but the thing moſt evidently deſerves to be conſidered much more at large; and if it was attempted by any learned and able perſon, it would, without queſtion, afford both entertainment and inſtruction.

This would be now a much eaſier taſk than in former times, when ſo little was known of thoſe matters, that muſt be previouſly underſtood, before any certain and diſtinct notions can be formed about it; but when theſe matters are tolerably well ſettled, and when there is no longer any difficulty of obtaining a tolerable view of the ſtate of Britain, while it remained a Roman province, it would be much more uſeful to endeavour at collecting a rational view of their government, civil and military, the number of the inhabitants of their ſeveral towns diſtinguiſhed into proper claſſes, the ſtrength of their forces maintained here at different times, the ſeveral improvements that were made while they were in poſſeſſion of the iſland; for that they did make improvements, their hiſtorians affirm, and the monuments ſtill remaining prove; all which would contribute to give the generality of readers better ideas of the Roman power and wiſdom, than they are like to attain from the peruſing dry diſcourſes, about the difference of letters upon inſcriptions, or the uſe of this or that inſtrument in ſacrifices[n]. That during the flouriſhing ſtate of the Roman empire, their provinces here had a full ſhare of this proſperity, and that the Britons, who

[m] See the many diſcourſes of our famous antiquaries, Camden, Selden, Burton, &c. but more eſpecially Horſeley's Britannia Romana.

[n] I do not pretend to condemn theſe inquiries, but only intimate my wiſh they were applied to ſome more material points.

lived in ſubjection, copied their manners, till they were corrupted by their luxury; which, with the ſhare they had frequently taken in the civil wars of the empire, rendered them an eaſy prey to barbarous invaders, is commonly known, and well enough underſtood; but as to the particulars before mentioned, which would enable us to make a compariſon between the condition of the people in this iſland then, and in ſucceeding times, we know very little, and our want of knowledge in this reſpect, has been the ſource of a great variety of errors, that one would wiſh to ſee confuted and expoſed as they deſerve [o].

[o] What gives me concern is, to ſee our writers ſo enthuſiaſtically fond of Roman power, and ſo unreaſonably ſevere upon the ancient Britons.

LIVES

LIVES OF THE ADMIRALS:

INCLUDING A NEW AND ACCURATE NAVAL HISTORY.

CHAP. II.

The Naval Hiſtory of the Saxons, from their firſt ſeating themſelves in this iſland, to their being ſubdued by the Danes.

Containing the ſpace of about 500 years.

WE have very copious accounts of the ancient Saxons, before they tranſported themſelves out of Germany, as well in other authors as their own[a]. They defended themſelves againſt the Romans with equal firmneſs and ſucceſs, manifeſting the love of liberty, not only by a generous contempt of death in the field, but alſo by ſtudiouſly avoiding luxury in times of peace: for which they are deſervedly famous[b]. On the declenſion of the Roman empire, they became noted for their piracies at ſea, inſomuch that the emperors were forced to create a new officer here in Britain, called, the Count of the Saxon coaſt, purely to repel their invaſions[c]. In ſucceeding

[a] Witichindus de rebus Saxon. Tacit. de morib. German. Sidon. Apollinar. Ammian. Marcellin. hiſt. lib. xxviii. Bed. hiſt. eccleſ. lib. i. cap. xv.

[b] Tacit. ubi ſupra. Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xiv. cap. 3.

[c] Notit. dignitat. occid. cap. 72. Imp. Scaliger ad Auſon. lib. ii. cap. 6. & Guliel. Camden. in Britan. p. 96.

times, they infeſted the coaſts of France as well as Britain, and began to threaten greater exploits than they had hitherto undertaken[d]. We muſt, however, obſerve, that they were ſtyled pirates only by their enemies, who felt the effects of their arms; for, as to themſelves, they looked on this courſe of life as a noble and neceſſary employment, for reaſons which will preſently appear.

The Saxon writers ſay, that they were invited into Britain by King Vortigern, in order to aſſiſt him againſt the Scots and Picts; but, as we before obſerved, the Britiſh hiſtorians differ from them in this particular, and aſſert, Hengiſt and Horſa landing with their forces in Kent, King Vortigern, who was then at Canterbury, ſent for them, and received them into his ſervice, without any previous invitation. This account is very natural, and the circumſtances attending it highly deſerve the reader's notice. As ſoon as they were brought before him, ſays my author[e], he caſt his eyes upon the two brothers, who excelled all the reſt both in nobility and gracefulneſs of perſon; and, having taken a view of the whole company, aſked them of what country they were, and what was the occaſion of their coming into his kingdom? To whom Hengiſt, (whoſe years and wiſdom entitled him to a precedence), in the name of the reſt, made the following anſwer: Moſt noble king, Saxony, which is one of the countries of Germany, was the place of our birth, and the occaſion of our coming was to offer our ſervice to you or ſome other prince: for we were driven out of our native country for no other reaſon, but that the eſtabliſhed uſage of the kingdom required it. It is the cuſtom of that place, that, when it comes to be overſtocked with people, our princes from the provinces meet together, and command all the youth of the kingdom to aſſemble before them: then, caſting lots, they make choice of the ſtrongeſt and ableſt of them to go into foreign climates to procure them a ſubſiſtence, and free their native country from a ſuperfluous multitude of people. Our region, therefore, of late being actually overſtocked, our princes met, and, after lots caſt, made choice of the youth

[d] Ethelwerd. hiſt. lib. i. Henric. Huntingd. lib. ii. Sidon. Apollinar. lib. viii. Epiſt. ad Numantium. [e] Hiſt. Britan. lib. vi. cap. 10. Vit. hiſt. lib. viii. Chron. Saxon. ad A. D. 443.

which

which you ſee in your preſence, and have obliged us to obey the cuſtom that had been eſtabliſhed of old. And us two brothers, Hengiſt and Horſa, they made generals over them, out of reſpect to our anceſtors who enjoyed the ſame honour. In obedience, therefore, to laws ſo long held ſacred, we put out to ſea, and, under the happy guidance of Woden, (Mercury), have arrived in your kingdom.

The Saxon annals acknowledge, that Hengiſt and Horſa came with no more than three ſhips, but that the fertility of the Britiſh ſoil, and the vices of the inhabitants, induced them to think of ſending for more of their countrymen, in hopes of ſeating themſelves here [f]. Another of their hiſtorians gives ſtill a fairer and fuller account of this matter. The Saxons, ſays he, made for ſome time a civil return to the Britons for their friendſhip; but by degrees, perceiving the country to be of a large extent, the ſoil fruitful, and the inhabitants little inclined to feats of arms; conſidering further, that themſelves and many of their brethren were deſtitute of ſettled habitations, they began to find fault with their pay, to murmur at the quantity of proviſions that were furniſhed them; and daily increaſing their numbers, they at laſt, on theſe frivolous pretences, made peace with the Scots and Picts, and, in conjunction with them, turned their arms upon the unhappy Britons [g]. In order to have a juſt notion of this matter, the reader muſt be informed, that two Saxon chiefs, Ocha and Ebiſſa, with forty ſtout ſhips, had waſted the Orkneys, and afterwards ſeated themſelves and their followers in the weſtern iſles and coaſts of Scotland, which, on the invitation of Hengiſt, they quitted, to ſhare in his riſing fortunes [h]. Though moſt of our writers call theſe invaders by the common name of Saxons, yet, in truth, there were three German nations, whence iſſued thoſe ſwarm of foreigners, who now took poſſeſſion of this iſland, *viz.* the Saxons, Angles, and Jutes. The Saxons erected here three principalities, *viz.* the Eaſt, South, and Weſt Saxons. The Angles were, for ſome time, diſtinguiſhed into Eaſt Angles, Mid Angles, Mercians, and Northumbrians. As for the Jutes, they ſettled in Kent

[f] Chron. Saxon. ad A. D. 449. [g] Witichindus de rebus Saxon. lib. ix. cap. 2. Vit. hiſt. lib. vii. [h] Nennius hiſt. Britan.

and in the iſle of Wight; and, in this laſt-mentioned place, their poſterity remained ſo long unmixed, that, ſeveral ages after, the Weſt Saxons called the inhabitants of that iſland Jutes[i].

For ſome conſiderable ſpace from their firſt ſettlement, they encouraged freſh ſupplies, and ſometimes whole colonies to come over; but, after they had ſecured their poſſeſſions, and fixed their reſpective principalities, they turned their views entirely to the care of things at home, and very imprudently concluded, that keeping up great armies would ſecure them from foreign invaſion. It was near three hundred years before they became abſolute lords of that part of the iſland, which they called England[k]; and in this ſpace, one Saxon prince or other entertaining all new comers in his ſervice, with a view of defending his own dominions, or encroaching on thoſe of his neighbours, there were few rovers on the coaſt. But in proceſs of time the Saxons changed their policy, and, by ſtudying to keep the iſland to themſelves, created a greater miſchief than that which they endeavoured to avoid; for, while they received and employed foreigners in their wars, their inteſtine diviſions did not depopulate their kingdoms, one evil balancing the other. Yet now the conſequence of this management, and their altering their conduct, brought upon them a greater miſchief; for it drew over ſuch ſhoals of ſtrangers in hopes of employment and ſettlement, that the Saxons, in their own defence, were obliged to fortify their coaſt. Though they had the example of the Britons before them, they ſuffered themſelves to be diſtreſſed for want of a naval ſtrength, not having learned as yet that unerring maxim in policy, that power is beſt preſerved by the uſe of thoſe means by which it was obtained.

In one thing they either followed the old Britiſh model, or brought the like cuſtom with them from Germany, *viz.* allowing a pre-eminence to one of their princes, who, while the reſt governed only within their reſpective dominions, had the ſuperiority over the whole, and thence, by way of diſtinction, was

i Chronicon. Saxon. p. 12, 13. Gul. Malmeſb. de geſtis reg. Angl. lib. i. cap. 1. Henric. Huntingdon. hiſt. lib. ii. Vit. hiſt. lib. viii. k Chronic. Saxon, ad ann. Dom. 743.

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ſtyled king of the Engliſhmen[l]. This office, in ſome ſort, reſembled that of a dictator, and, like it, was ſometimes uſeful, ſometimes detrimental, and at laſt fatal to the people. Offa, the eleventh king of the Mercians, having attained this dignity, began to ſhew a diſpoſition of ruling abſolutely over his neighbours; for which he was better qualified than any of his predeceſſors, having parts, as well as power, ſuperior to moſt of his contemporaries[m]. His ambition, however, united the Britiſh princes in Wales, and the Saxon kings in England, in an alliance againſt him; but he baffled their united force as much by his wiſdom as by the ſtrength and ſucceſs of his arms. To ſecure himſelf againſt the incurſions of the Britons, he threw up a ſtrong entrenchment, which began near the mouth of the river Dee, and, running along the mountains, ended at the fall of the Wye, near Briſtol. This ſtupenduous work the Britons called, in their own language, *Clawdh Offa*, and the remains of it are ſtill known by the name of Offa's ditch[n]; and having thus ſecured himſelf on this ſide, he turned his forces againſt his Saxon neighbours. They, in their diſtreſs, applied themſelves to Charles the Great, king of France, for protection, who wrote letters in a high ſtyle to Offa, exhorting, or rather commanding him to deſiſt from his enterprizes. But theſe, inſtead of producing the deſired effect, engaged that magnanimous prince to turn his thoughts on the proper means of ſecuring his dominions from foreign attempts, which he ſoon ſaw could no other way be done than by keeping up a naval force. He therefore applied himſelf to the raiſing a conſiderable fleet; which rendered him ſo formidable, that Charles, who was already very powerful, and who became afterwards emperor, and in a manner lord of the continent, was glad to embrace his friendſhip; and accordingly an alliance was negotiated between them by Alcuinus, or Albinus, a perſon diſtinguiſhed for his great learning, and other accompliſhments, of which we have ſtill remaining many authentic teſtimonies[o]. This ſtep procured Offa both peace and reputation during the remainder of his

[l] See Speed's chronicle in his account of the Saxon government. [m] A. D. 755. [n] Gulielm. Malmeſb. de geſtis reg. Angl. lib. ii. Ethelwerd, chronic. lib. ii. cap. 19. Roger Hovend. p. 409. [o] Gulielm. Malmeſb. de geſtis reg. Angl. lib. i. cap. 5. Alcuin. oper. in epiſt. p. 1669.

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life; ſo that, in ſpite of the efforts of his enemies, he died quietly, after a glorious reign of thirty-nine years [p], leaving to his ſucceſſors this uſeful leſſon, that he who will be ſecure on land muſt be ſupreme at ſea [q].

It muſt be obſerved, that it was under the reign of this prince that the Danes firſt ſet foot in England; and, if they had always met with ſuch a reception as they then did, they had very probably abandoned all hopes of fixing here; for they were immediately forced to put to ſea, and ſome of them were ſlain [r]. A little after his death, they began to infeſt the coaſt of Northumberland, where they did incredible miſchief, ſpreading themſelves over the country like locuſts, and when they had eaten up all they could meet with, where they firſt landed, hoiſted ſail for ſome new place. It happened unfortunately, that the remains of the Britons had ſtill ſo inveterate a hatred againſt the Saxons, that, inſtead of joining with them to repreſs theſe new invaders, which was certainly their intereſt, they, on the contrary, aſſiſted them againſt their old oppreſſors. Ecgbryht king of the Weſt Saxons, having raiſed himſelf to the ſovereignty of England, equipped a fleet, and defeated a Daniſh ſquadron of thirty-five ſhips, at Charmouth in Dorſetſhire, with prodigious ſlaughter; yet this did not hinder them, two years after, from landing with a vaſt force in Wales, where they were joined by their confederates the Britons. King Ecgbryht oppoſed them both with a fleet and army; and though he was not able to do much by ſea, yet, coming to a general engagement on ſhore, he broke entirely the enemy, compelling the Britons to fly to the mountains, and the Danes to their ſhips [s]. This kind of war was long continued, and exceedingly weakened the Saxons. Their authentic chronicle informs us, that King Ethelſtan, in the life-time of his father, commanded the Britiſh fleet, and, off Sandwich, defeated the Danes in a bloody battle, taking nine of their ſhips, and obliging the reſt to leave the coaſt; yet, ſoon after, they returned with 350 ſail, and, landing, took Canterbury and other places, and afterwards London [t]. From this time forward

[p] A. D. 795. [q] Chronicon. Saxon. p. 65. [r] Ibid. ad ann. Dom. 787. [s] Ibid. ad ann. Dom. 833, 835. [t] Ibid. ad ann. Dom. 851.

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the Saxons in a manner abandoned all thoughts of naval affairs, and ſought only how to fortify their cities, and defend themſelves as well as they could againſt their barbarous enemies after they were landed. This was a fatal miſtake; for, by thus permitting the enemy to land without interruption, ſmall bodies of Danes, whom they might eaſily have cut off, had they attacked them ſeparately, united themſelves into irreſiſtible armies; and being by degrees accuſtomed to conqueſt, and driving the inhabitants from the coaſts, they at laſt thought of ſettling, and, being themſelves equally proud and lazy, made a kind of ſlaves of the country people, obliging them to plow, ſow, and reap for them as their maſters.

Such was the ſituation of things during the reigns of Ethelwolf, Ethelbert, and Ethelred; ſo that, when Alfred or Elfred came to the throne[u], he had, properly ſpeaking, a kingdom without ſubjects. The country was deſtroyed, all the cities and great towns demoliſhed, and the people worn out by continual fatigue, having been ſometimes compelled to fight nine or ten battles in a year. In ſhort, their wealth, their ſtrength, their ſpirits were exhauſted; and, inſtead of attempting to defend themſelves as they were wont, they began every where to ſubmit to the Danes, and to embrace rather a ſettled ſlavery, than a precarious freedom, in a country now become a deſert, and where it was a difficult matter to find ſubſiſtence, even when for a ſmall time releaſed from the fear of enemies. The king, though in this low condition, did not deſpair of the public ſafety, but with equal vigour and prudence applied himſelf at once to the management of the war, and to the conduct of public affairs; ſo that, in a ſhort time, encouraged by his example, the Saxons began to reſume their ſpirits, and in many battles defeated the Danes, compelling them, as often as it was in their power, to quit the country, and, when they found this impracticable, permitting them to live amongſt them upon reaſonable conditions, and in a regular way[w].

[u] A. D. 871. [w] Aſſer. Meneven. in vit. Alfræd. Mag. Malmeſb. de geſtis reg. Angl. lib. ii. cap. 4. Henric. Huntingdon. Hiſt. lib. v. p. 349. Roger Hoved. p. 416. Ethelwerdi Chronicon. lib. iv. cap. 3. Chronicon. Saxon. p. 82.

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There were two maxims which the king ſteadily purſued, and thereby extricated himſelf from his troubles. The firſt was, fighting the enemy, if poſſible, at ſea; of which we have frequent inſtances in the Saxon chronicle, and almoſt always with advantage; by the ſteady purſuit of which method he had conſtantly a fleet, and conſiderable numbers of experienced ſailors. But, as it was impoſſible to guard all the coaſts of his dominions, and, as the enemies ſquadrons were frequently ſuperior to his own, he was ſometimes obliged to fight on ſhore; and in this caſe he likewiſe uſed all imaginable expedition, that the enemy might not have time either to gain intelligence or to get refreſhment. His other maxim was, to have always in his court the ableſt men, not only in the ſciences but alſo in the arts, and to converſe with them frequently and familiarly. By this means he came to the knowledge of many things, by a compariſon of informations, of which even thoſe from whom he learned them were ignorant; and by his ſuperior judgment ſo adapted the intelligence he received as to render his ſmall force ſucceſsful, both at ſea and land, againſt his numerous enemies.

In maritime affairs he was particularly ſkilful; and, as we have authentic memoirs of his reign, one cannot but be amazed at the ſagacity he diſcovered in providing a kind of ſhips of a new conſtruction, deviſed by himſelf; which gave him infinite advantages over people continually practiſed in naval armaments, and whoſe experience, therefore, ought to have rendered them his ſuperiors in navigation. He conſidered with himſelf, that, as the fleets of theſe invaders were frequently built in a hurry, haſtily drawn together, meanly provided in reſpect to victuals and rigging, and crowded with men, a few ſhips of a larger ſize, built in a new manner, of well-ſeaſoned materials, thoroughly ſupplied with ammunition and proviſion, and manned by expert ſeamen, muſt at firſt ſight ſurpriſe, and, in the courſe of an engagement, deſtroy numbers without any great hazard to themſelves. In purſuance of this project, he cauſed a certain number of ſhips to be built, capable of holding, each, ſixty rowers, and, as in that, double in all other reſpects to the largeſt ſhips then in uſe. Theſe he ſent to ſea, with an expreſs prohibition not either to receive or give quar-

ter; but to put to death all who fell into their power[x]. Inſtructions perfectly ſuited to the deſign on which theſe ſhips were fitted out, and to the circumſtances the king's affairs then were in. In ſaying this, we only copy ancient authors, who are loud in the praiſes of Alfred, and take abundance of pains to poſſeſs their readers with high ideas of his wiſdom, courage, and other virtues. But it will, perhaps, be more ſatisfactory, the nature of this work eſpecially conſidered, to examine this matter a little more cloſely, and thereby convince ſuch as will pay a proper attention, that things were really as theſe writers have ſtated them; and that there was ſomething truly uſeful, and at the ſame time very extraordinary, in his invention; which, as we have ſhewn, was entirely due to his ſagacity and penetration.

The learned Sir John Spelman, who wrote an accurate life of this famous prince, ſeems to be in much uncertainty on this ſubject: he is not able to determine, whether they were ſhips or gallies; nor can he well reconcile the height of the veſſels to the number of rowers; but, after having intimated many doubts, and cleared none of them, he leaves the reader in that perplexity into which he brought him[y]. In the firſt place, then, it appears from good authority that they were gallies; which takes away all difficulty about the rowers, ſince in the Mediterranean theſe ſort of veſſels are common, becauſe they are convenient; or the ſame reaſon which inclined King Alfred to make uſe of them, the facility of running with them cloſe under ſhore, or up into creeks. That they might be longer, higher, and yet ſwifter, than the veſſels in common uſe, in a duplicate proportion, which is the true ſenſe of what ancient writers ſay of them, may be eaſily conceived; and thence their great utility aroſe. We have ſeen that, in point of numbers, the king had no hope of equalling his enemies; by this contrivance, he removed that difficulty which ſeemed otherwiſe inſuperable. For, with a ſquadron of theſe ſhips, he was not afraid of attacking twice or thrice the ſame number of the enemy; becauſe the force of his ſhips rendered thoſe on board

[x] Chronic. Saxon. pag. 98. Henric. Huntingd. hiſtor. lib. v. Gul. Malmeſb. de geſtis regum Anglorum, lib. ii. cap. 4. Rog. Hoveden, p. 420.

[y] Life of King Alfred the Great, p. 150, 151.

them able to deal with as many as they could grapple with; and, in caſe of the enemy's having either the weather-gage, or ſome other accidental advantage, their ſwiftneſs enabled them to bear away; as, on the other hand, the ports were all their own. As to their inſtructions, we cannot call them cruel; becauſe, whatever their enemies might think of themſelves, they were certainly eſteemed by the Saxons, and with good reaſon, enemies to mankind; incapable, as experience had convinced them, of keeping faith, and therefore altogether unworthy of mercy. On the other hand, this ſeverity was neceſſary for two reaſons; firſt, in reſpect to ſelf-defence. Theſe ſhips, though large in compariſon of other veſſels, were, however, not large enough to contain priſoners with any ſafety; for we cannot apprehend that they carried, excluſive of rowers, above a hundred and twenty men, if ſo many. Secondly, it was prudent for example ſake, in order to ſtrike a terror into theſe rovers, that they might be thereby hindered from infeſting this iſland, and inclined rather to proſecute their deſigns on ſome other coaſt. Add to all this another circumſtance, preſerved to us in the Saxon chronicle, and Alfred's wiſdom will from thence moſt inconteſtibly appear. Theſe gallies were built after quite another model than Friſian or Daniſh ſhips [z]: ſo that they were wholly ſtrange to the enemy, who for a long time knew not how to board them, though their courage might be great, and themſelves, for the age in which they lived, able ſeamen.

But it is now time to deſcend to facts, of which ſome are very well worth the reader's notice [a]. The ſame year that a few of theſe ſhips were firſt built [b], ſix pirates of an unuſual bigneſs infeſted the iſle of Wight, and the coaſts of Devonſhire. The king immediately ordered nine of his new veſſels in queſt of them, with inſtructions to get, if poſſible, between them and the ſhore. Three of the pirates, as ſoon as they perceived them, ran a-ground: but the other three ſtood out to ſea, and boldly engaged the king's ſhips. Of theſe, two were taken, and all the men killed: the third indeed eſcaped, but with five men only. They then attacked the ſhips which ran a-ground, and killed a great number

[z] Chronic. Saxon. A. D. 897. [a] Henric. Huntingd. hiſt. int. ſcript. poſt Bedam. p. 350, 351. Rog. Hoveden, p. 420, 421. Chron Saxon. p. 98. Chron. Joan. Brompton, int. x. hiſtor. ad A. D. 897. [b] A. D. 897.

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of men. At length the tide took them off, but in ſo battered and leaky a condition, that it was with much difficulty they reached the coaſt of the ſouth Saxons, where, again running on ſhore two of their veſſels, the men endeavoured to eſcape, but were taken, and carried to Wincheſter, and there, by order of the king, were hanged. The third veſſel, though the men in her were grievouſly wounded, eſcaped; and, in this ſingle year, not leſs than twenty ſhips, with all the men on board them, were deſtroyed, on the ſouth coaſt only; which ſufficiently demonſtrates, what mighty advantages were derived from this happy invention of the king. If the reader ſhould enquire how this ſuperiority at ſea was loſt, we muſt obſerve, that it was very late in the king's life before his experience furniſhed him with light ſufficient for this noble deſign, which very probably his ſucceſſors wanted ſkill to proſecute, though, as will be hereafter ſeen, they were moved by his example to make great efforts for preſerving their territories on ſhore, by maintaining the ſovereignty of the ſea.

Though this care of his own fleet was very commendable, yet the concern he ſhewed for the improvement of navigation, the extending the commerce of his ſubjects, and the diſcovering and deſcribing far-diſtant countries, deſerves ſtill higher commendation, becauſe the firſt might be, in ſome meaſure, aſcribed to neceſſity, and ended only in the good of his own kingdom; whereas the latter was inconteſtably the fruit of an heroic genius, and might have been of uſe to all the nations of Europe. It was in order to farther theſe views, that he kept conſtantly in his court, at a very great expence, the moſt eminent men for worth and knowledge of all nations, ſuch as Gauls, Franks, Germans, Friſons, Armoric Britons, beſides the inhabitants of every corner of the Britiſh iſles; of whom he enquired, and from whom he learned whatever was known in thoſe days, which the ſequel will prove, was more than any of the moderns imagine. Two inſtances have been tranſmitted, with authentic circumſtances, from his time to ours. The firſt, his ſending certain perſons to diſcover the utmoſt extent of the Arctic regions, and the poſſibility of a paſſage on that ſide to the north-eaſt. The other, his correſpondence with the Indies. Facts ſo extraordinary in themſelves, of ſuch high importance in reſpect to the ſubject of

which this work treats, and hitherto left in ſuch obſcurity, by thoſe who ought to have given us a better account of them, that I preſume my dwelling upon them will be conſidered rather as a juſt tribute to Alfred's glorious memory, and to the honour of this nation, than as a tedious or unneceſſary digreſſion.

Sir John Spelman, who, as I before obſerved, conſidering the time in which he wrote, hath left us an excellent hiſtory of this monarch, tells us [c], that he had been informed, there was in the Cotton library a memorial of a voyage of one Octher a Dane, performed, by this king's procurement, for the diſcovery of a north-eaſt paſſage. This paper, he ſays, he could never ſee; but he judged, and I think with reaſon, that it contained nothing more than the relation of that voyage, printed in the collections of Hakluyt and Purchas, which are in every body's hands; and, if there had been no better account of the matter, even that would have deſerved much attention. There is, however, a much more perfect copy of this relation, inſerted in the Saxon verſion of Oroſius, made by King Alfred himſelf [d], whereby it appears, that Ohther, for ſo he is called in this authentic manuſcript, was a native of Halgoland, which lies in 66° of north latitude; a man of great ſubſtance, of more than ordinary ſkill in navigation, and perfectly acquainted with the commerce of the north. He ſurveyed the coaſts of Norway and Lapland by the direction of King Alfred, and preſented him not only with a clear deſcription of thoſe countries and their inhabitants, but alſo brought him ſome of the horſe-whale's teeth, which were then eſteemed more valuable than ivory, and gave him a good account of the whale-fiſhing. This probably encouraged the king to ſend Wulfſtan an Engliſhman to view theſe northern countries, of which he alſo gave him a relation. Both theſe narratives are written with ſuch accuracy in point of geography, ſo much plainneſs and probability in reſpect to facts, and are intermixed with ſuch juſt and prudent obſervations, that

[c] Life of King Ælfred the Great, p. 151.

[d] There is a fair copy of this among Junius's MSS. in the Bodleian library. The narrative here mentioned, together with a Latin tranſlation of the Saxon original, is inſerted in the appendix to the Latin verſion of Sir John Spelman's life of Alfred, publiſhed by Walker, whence theſe facts are taken.

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whoever ſhall take the trouble of comparing them with what the famous Olaus Magnus, archbiſhop of Upſal, wrote many hundred years afterwards of the ſame countries [e], will ſtand amazed, and readily confeſs, that the age of Alfred was an age of good ſenſe, and far ſuperior in knowledge to thoſe which ſucceeded it, there being nothing of fable or improbability in what Ohther or Wulfſtan deliver, but all exactly conformable to what the diſcoveries of the laſt and preſent age have taught us. Hence I muſt beg leave to infer, that what we read of fleets ſent ſo far north by the Britons, is far from being ſo incredible as ſome critics would make us believe; for we can hardly imagine, that Alfred ſhould ever think of ſuch an expedition, without ſome previous informations; and that he might have theſe from the Britons will appear very probable, if we conſider what is related in their hiſtories, and that Aſſer of St. David's, a learned Briton, was one of this king's moſt intimate friends, and wrote the memoirs of his reign [f], addreſſed to himſelf, which are yet extant.

As to the Indian voyage, it was occaſioned chiefly by the king's charity, who, hearing of the diſtreſs of the Chriſtians of St. Thomas, reſolved to ſend them relief. The perſon he made choice of was one Suithelm, called in Latin *Sigelmus*, a prieſt, who honeſtly executed his commiſſion, and was ſo fortunate as to return back, bringing with him an immenſe treaſure of India goods, and amongſt them precious ſtones, perfumes, and other curioſities, of which the king made preſents to foreign princes: as the reward of ſo acceptable a ſervice, Sigelmus was made biſhop of Sherburn; and William of Malmeſbury, in his pontifical hiſtory, gives us a diſtinct account of this voyage, and tells us, it not only ſtruck with wonder ſuch as lived in the time when it was performed, but was conſidered with admiration even in the age in which he lived, adding, that Sigelmus had left to his church ſeveral of theſe Indian curioſities, as unqueſtionable evidences of ſo extraordinary a thing [g]. It is true that Aſſer of St. David's, whom we before mentioned, ſays nothing

[e] The title of this book is, *Hiſtoria de gentibus ſeptentrionalibus, &c.* It was printed originally at Rome in 1555 in folio, and there is an Engliſh tranſlation in 1658. [f] The laſt edition of this venerable work was printed at Oxford, A. D. 1722, 8vo. [g] Gul. Malmeſb. de geſtis pontific. Anglorum, lib. ii. p. 247, 248.

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of this Indian voyage, though he is very particular in whatever relates to the power, ſplendour, or reputation of that monarch. But it would be a raſh and unjuſt concluſion to argue from his ſilence, that no ſuch voyage was performed. Aſſer, as appears from a paſſage in his memoirs, wrote them in the year 893, at which time Sigelmus was not returned. But it is very remarkable, that under the year 887, which was that wherein Sigelmus ſet out, Aſſer celebrates the king's extenſive correſpondence, and the great court that was paid him by princes, and other perſons of eminence, in all parts of the world, and he particularly mentions letters from Abel patriarch of Jeruſalem, which he ſaw and read[h]; and theſe very probably were the very letters which occaſioned the king's ſending Sigelmus. Add to this, that Aſſer died ſoon after the return of this great traveller, who ſucceeded him in the biſhopric of Sherburn[i]; ſo that the whole of this narration is perfectly clear, and well connected. It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that theſe Chriſtians of St. Thomas inhabit the peninſula of India, and that the commodities which Sigelmus is ſaid to have brought back, are preciſely thoſe of their country. Sir John Spelman obſerves farther upon this ſubject, that the value and uſe of theſe curioſities being little known here, the king ſought out for artiſts of all ſorts, particularly goldſmiths and jewellers, for the working of them: and ſuch were the defects of thoſe times, and ſo excellent was the faculty of the king in every thing he turned his hand unto, as that even in thoſe works alſo, the artificers themſelves, and their arts, received improvement from his invention and direction, while they followed his genius, and manufactured that he deſigned for them[k]. And, as if there was ſomething peculiar in the fortune of this prince, we have ſtill remaining a proof of what is here advanced; I mean, a jewel richly wrought, dug up in the iſland of Athelney, which was the king's retreat, when he fled from the Danes, in the beginning of his reign, and where he afterwards founded a monaſtery. This curious relic is yet preſerved in the Aſhmolean collection of curioſities, and, beſides its excellent workmanſhip, hath a Saxon inſcription to this purpoſe, ÆLFREDUS ME

h Annal. rer. geſtar. Ælfredi Magni, p. 38. Chron. Joan. Brompton. ad A. D. 887. i Gul. Malmeſbur. ubi ſupra. k Spelman's life of Ælfred, p. 204.

JUSSIT

JUSSIT FABRICARI, *i. e.* Ælfred directed this to be made[l]. Having thus, to the utmoſt of my ability, cleared and juſtified theſe naval expeditions performed near a thouſand years ago, I return now to the thread of my hiſtory, and to an account of what the Saxons atchieved at ſea, after this wiſe monarch had ſhewn them the uſe and importance of a naval force.

Edward[m] ſucceeded his father Alfred, and proved a great prince; however, his government was diſturbed both by inteſtine diviſions, his couſin Ethelwald pretending to the kingdom, and by foreign invaſions of the Danes, who, at the requeſt of this Ethelwald, came, in the fourth year of the king's reign, in vaſt numbers into England. King Edward, finding it impoſſible to hinder their landing, drew together an army as ſoon as he could, and followed them into Kent, where he engaged them, and in a bloody battle killed Eric the Daniſh king, and Ethelwald who had ſtirred up this war. But, finding that he was ſtill incommoded with new ſwarms of theſe northern rovers, he had recourſe to his fleet; and, having drawn together a hundred ſhips upon the coaſt of Kent, he ſucceſsfully engaged the enemy, and forced the greateſt part of their fleet on ſhore; and then, landing himſelf, attacked their forces in a bloody battle, wherein, though he loſt abundance of men, yet he entirely defeated his enemies, killing moſt of their chief commanders upon the ſpot. By degrees he raiſed his reputation ſo high, not only by his military exploits, but by his gentle government and wiſe proviſion for his ſubjects ſafety, that all the petty princes throughout Britain congratulated him of their own accord on his ſucceſs, willingly owned him for their lord, and humbly deſired his protection. The very Danes, who were ſettled in the iſland, took the ſame method of ſecuring themſelves againſt his arms: but within a very ſhort ſpace from this extraordinary mark of good fortune, he died, and, in no long time after, his younger brother, who had ſucceed him[n].

Ethelſtan[o] ſucceeded his brother, and gave early proofs of his being the worthy grandſon of the great Alfred. He diſcovered, from his firſt aſcending the throne, a great diſlike to that policy, which his predeceſſors had uſed, of ſuffering the Danes and other

[l] Annal. Ælfredi Magni, p. 170, 171.
[m] A. D. 901.
[n] Chron. Saxon. p. 99.
[o] A. D. 925.

ſtrangers,

ſtrangers, who by force had ſeated themſelves in the iſland, to become legal poſſeſſors in conſideration of ſome ſmall acknowledgment, and a feigned ſubjection, which was ſure to laſt no longer than they had a fair opportunity of revolting. This was certainly a right maxim; and one may ſafely affirm this monarch was the greateſt politician, and at leaſt as great a captain as any of the Saxon kings. He wiſely judged, that there was no executing his ſcheme without a conſiderable force, and therefore he kept his army and his fleet in conſtant readineſs [p]. At the beginning of his reign he made, or rather renewed, the alliance ſubſiſting between his brethren and Conſtantine, then king of Scots, conceiving that, as their intereſts were the ſame, this would bind him to a due performance of the treaty; in which, however, he was miſtaken; for Conſtantine ſuddenly broke it, either out of caprice, or from an apprehenſion of Ethelſtan's power. Immediately upon this the Saxon invaded Scotland with a royal army, and waſted its coaſts with a mighty fleet; which brought Conſtantine to a ſubmiſſion much againſt his will, as he diſcovered ſome years after. As ſoon as Ethelſtan was retired, the Scot began to intrigue with the Britons on one ſide, and with Anlaff, whom moſt of our hiſtorians ſtyle king of Ireland, but who in reality was a Daniſh prince, ſettled there by conqueſt, on the other. In conſequence of theſe negociations, the Britons marched northwards with a great army, where they were joined by the whole force of the Scots; Anlaff coming at the ſame time to their aſſiſtance with a more numerous fleet than had been ſeen in thoſe ſeas. Ethelſtan, inſtead of being dejected at the ſight of ſo many and ſo powerful enemies, reſolved to decide the quarrel by attacking them both by ſea and land at the ſame time, which he accordingly performed with equal valour and ſucceſs. In this battle there fell five kings, and ſeven Daniſh chiefs [q]. It was the bloodieſt engagement that, till then, had ever happened in this iſland; and in the Saxon chronicle there is a moſt elegant account of it. By this grand defeat King Ethelſtan effectually carried his point, and rendered himſelf the moſt abſolute monarch that had ever reigned in Britain [r]. The uſe he made of his vic-

[p] Chron. S x. p. 3. Gul. Malmeſbur. de geſtis reg. Anglor. lib. ii. c. 6. Hen. Huntingd. lib. v. p. 351. Roger Hoveden. p. 422.

[q] A. D. 938.

[r] Chron. Saxon. p. 112, 113, 114.

tory, was effectually to ſecure his dominions, by taking from the petty princes ſuch places as he judged to be dangerous in their hands; and, in all probability, he would have thoroughly eſtabliſhed the Saxon power, if he had long ſurvived; but he died about a year after, having ſwayed the ſceptre, ſome ſay fourteen, others ſixteen years.

Edmund[s]; his brother, ſucceeded him in the throne, and found himſelf under a neceſſity of conteſting the poſſeſſion of it with his old enemy Anlaff and his aſſociates, whom he defeated, and with whom he afterwards made peace; but, finding that there was no dependence upon the faith either of the Daniſh or Britiſh princes ſeated in the north, he ſeized on the kingdom of Northumberland, and added it to his own dominions, giving Cumberland to the king of Scots as his feudatory. He had no great occaſion for naval armaments, the fame of his brother's power preſerving him from foreign invaſions; ſo that, after a ſhort reign, he left his crown to his brother Edred[t]. This prince had ſcarce aſſumed the regal dignity, before he was aſſailed by his old enemies the Scots and Danes, againſt whom he had not ſo great ſucceſs as his brethren; not through any fault of his, but rather by the treaſonable practices of ſome of his powerful ſubjects. His nephew Edwy ſtepped after him into the throne; and, diſobliging the monks, they have tranſmitted to poſterity an account of nothing but his vices[u]. It ſhould ſeem, however, that, during the reign of all theſe kings, the naval power of the Saxons was continually increaſing, of which we ſhall ſee immediate proof; and to this we may aſcribe their not being plagued with any of thoſe invaſions from the north, which had ſo much diſturbed their predeceſſors.

Edgar[w], very juſtly ſtyled the Great, ſucceeded his brother Edwy; and, from his firſt aſcending the throne, demonſtrated himſelf worthy of being the heir of Alfred and Ethelſtan. He thoroughly underſtood, and ſucceſsfully purſued their maxims; for he applied himſelf, from the beginning of his reign, to the raiſing a mighty maritime force, and to the keeping in due ſubjection all the petty princes. In one thing only he was blameable; that he gave too much into foreign cuſtoms, and indul-

[s] A. D. 941.
[t] Gul. Malmeſb. de geſt. reg. Ang. lib. ii. c. 7.
[u] Speed's chronicle, p. 369.
[w] A. D. 957.

ged the Danes in living promiſcuouſly with his own people; which gave them an opportunity of knowing thoroughly the ſtate of all parts of the nation, of which they made a very bad uſe in ſucceeding times. In all probability, he was led into this error by his love to peace, which indeed he enjoyed, much more than any of his anceſtors had done. But he enjoyed it as a king of this iſland ought to enjoy it; not in a lazy fruition of pleaſure, unworthy a prince; but by aſſiduouſly applying himſelf to affairs of ſtate, and by an activity of which few other kings are capable, even in times of the greateſt danger. But it is neceſſary to enter into particulars, ſince we are now come to the reign of that king who moſt clearly vindicated his right to the dominion of the ſea, and who valued himſelf on his having juſtly acquired the truly glorious title of Protector of commerce.

As to his fleet, all writers agree, that it was far ſuperior to any of his predeceſſors, as well as much more powerful than thoſe of all the other European princes put together; but they are by no means of the ſame mind, as to the number of ſhips of which it was compoſed. Some fix it at three thouſand ſix hundred [x]; others at four thouſand [y]; and there wants not authority to carry it ſo high as four thouſand eight hundred [z]. However, the firſt ſeems to be the moſt probable number; and therefore to it we ſhall keep. Theſe ſhips he divided into three fleets, each of twelve hundred ſail, and them he conſtantly ſtationed; one on the eaſt, another on the weſt, and the third on the north coaſt of the kingdom: neither was he ſatisfied with barely making ſuch a proviſion; he would likewiſe ſee that it anſwered the ends for which he intended it. In order to this, every year, after Eaſter, he went on board the fleet ſtationed on the eaſtern coaſt; and, ſailing weſt, he ſcoured all the channels, looked into every creek and bay, from the Thames mouth to the Land's end in Cornwall: then, quitting theſe ſhips, he went on board the weſtern fleet, with which, ſteering his courſe to the northward, he did the like, not only on the Engliſh and Scotch coaſt, but alſo on thoſe of Ireland and the Hebrides,

[x] Roger Hoveden. p. 426. Florent. Wigorn. ad A. D. 975. [y] Chron. Joan Brompton. [z] Matthæus Florileg.

which

which lie between them and Britain: then, meeting the northern fleet, he ſailed in it to the Thames mouth [a]. Thus ſurrounding the iſland every ſummer, he rendered any invaſion impracticable, kept his ſailors in continual exerciſe, and effectually aſſerted his ſovereignty over the ſea. As a further proof of this, he once held his court at Cheſter; where, when all his feudatory princes had aſſembled, in order to do him homage, he cauſed them to enter a barge; and, ſitting four on one ſide, and four on the other, they rowed, while he ſteered the helm; paſſing thus in triumph, on the river Dee, from his palace to the monaſtery of St. John, where he landed, and received their oaths to be his faithful vaſſals, and to defend his rights by land and by ſea; and then, having made a ſpeech to them, he returned to his barge, and paſſed in the ſame manner back to his palace. The names of theſe princes were, Kenneth king of Scotland, Malcolm king of Cumberland, Maccuſius king of Man, and of the iſles, and five petty kings of the Britons. When the ceremony was over, the king was pleaſed to ſay, that his ſucceſſors might juſtly glory in the title of kings of the Engliſh, ſince, by this ſolemn act, he had ſet their prerogative above all diſpute [b]. John Fox blamed this ſpeech, as an inſtance of the king's pride and vanity [c], which was owing to a narrowneſs of mind; for ſurely the king intended no more than to ſecure his juſt rights, as his ſpeech declared, and thereby to diſtinguiſh between a wiſe act of policy, and a mere pompous parade.

In the winter, he travelled by land through all parts of his dominions, to ſee that juſtice was duly adminiſtered, to prevent his nobles from becoming oppreſſors, and to protect the meaneſt people from ſuffering wrong. Theſe were the arts by which he ſecured tranquillity to himſelf; while he kept foreigners in awe, and his ſubjects in quiet. By being always ready for war, he avoided it; ſo that, in his whole reign, there happened but one diſturbance, and that through the intemperate fury of the

[a] Hen. Huntingdon. hiſt. lib. v. Rog. Hoveden. Annal. p. 416, 417. Alured Beverlac. Annal. lib. viii. [b] Gul. Malmeſb. hiſt. lib. ii. cap. 8. p. 50. Florent. Wigorn. ad Ann. Dom. 347. Henric. Hunting. hiſt. lib. v. Roger Hoved. Annal. p. 426. Alured. Beverl. Annal. lib. viii. [c] In his acts and monuments.

Britons, who, while he was in the north, committed great diſorders in the weſt. On his return, he entered their country with a great army; and, that they might feel the effects of plundering, ſuffered his ſoldiers to take whatever they could find: but when he ſaw the people reduced to extreme miſery, he rewarded his army out of his own coffers, and obliged them to reſtore the ſpoils; by which he left thoſe, whom he found rebels, the moſt affectionate of all his ſubjects [d]. Well, therefore, might our ancient hiſtorians boaſt as they did of this prince; and ſay, that he was comparable to any of the heroes of antiquity. In truth, he far ſurpaſſed them; for whereas many of them became famous by acts of rapine and robbery, he eſtabliſhed his reputation on a nobler foundation, that of reigning ſixteen years without a thief found in his dominions on land, or a pirate heard of at ſea [e]. One thing more I muſt mention, as being much to my purpoſe, though ſlighted by many of our modern writers. It is the preamble of a decree of his, made in the fourteenth year of his reign; wherein his ſtyle runs thus: *Ego Edgarus, totius Albionis Baſileus, necnon maritimorum ſeu inſulanorum regum circumhabitantium, &c.* That is, I Edgar, monarch of all Albion, and ſovereign over all the princes of the adjacent iſles, *&c.* Which plainly aſſerts his naval dominion [f]. As he lived, ſo he died, in peace and full of glory [g]. Happy had it been for his ſucceſſors, if, with his dominions, they had inherited any portion of his ſpirit. But, alas! governed by women, and ridden by prieſts, they quickly broke to pieces that mighty power which he bequeathed them.

His ſon Edward, a child, ſucceeded him; but, by that time he had reigned three years, he was, by the contrivance of his mother-in-law, baſely murdered, to make way for her ſon Ethelred, who mounted the throne after his deceaſe, but who was entirely governed by this dowager-queen his mother [h]. In ſix years after the death of Edgar, the ſtrength of the nation was ſo far ſunk, that a Daniſh ſquadron, conſiſting of no more

[d] Ranulph. Higden. in Polychron. lib. vi. [e] Roger Hoved. p. 416. Florent. Wigorn. ad A. D. 947. Alured. Beverl. Annal. lib. viii. [f] Gulielm. Malmeſb. de geſt. reg. Ang. lib. ii. c. 8. [g] A. D. 975. [h] A. D. 978.

than

than ſeven ſhips, infeſted the coaſt, and plundered Southampton[i]; and, in a few years after, they ravaged and burned all the coaſt, inſomuch that, in 991, the king, by the advice of Siricus, archbiſhop of Canterbury, made a treaty with the Danes, and endeavoured to bribe them by a ſubſidy of ten thouſand pounds, to forbear plundering; which gave the firſt riſe to that infamous tribute called Danegeld[k]. This produced an effect which might have been eaſily foreſeen, though quite contrary to what was intended; for the Danes committed greater rapines than ever, ſuppoſing that the worſe they treated the king's ſubjects, the larger ſums they ſhould extort, for a promiſe to be gone. Thus the king was compelled to take that method at laſt, to which he ſhould have had recourſe at firſt, *viz.* raiſing an army, and fitting out a fleet. And now, when he had done this, his general betrayed him; whereby the Danes for that time eſcaped, though a little after they returned, and were defeated[l]. Theſe, however, were but ſlight miſchiefs to thoſe which followed; for, when it is once known that a kingdom is weakly governed, new enemies daily riſe. In A. D. 993. came Unlaff, a famous pirate, with a fleet of ninety-three ſhips, to Stanes; and, having waſted the country on both ſides the Thames, they went down the river again, and committed new outrages on the coaſt of Kent. The king ſent an army to oppoſe them, which they beat, and killed the general who commanded it: afterwards they landed in the mouth of the Humber, and committed freſh devaſtations. The next year Anlaff, duke of Norway, coming before London, with a fleet of ninety-four ſail, endeavoured to burn it; but the citizens defended themſelves ſo well, that, at length, he was forced to deſiſt; then marching into Kent and Hampſhire, he compelled the country people to furniſh horſes for his army; which put it in their power to commit ſuch horrid devaſtations, that the king, being unable to protect his ſubjects, had recourſe to a compoſition; and, having ſent commiſſioners to treat with Anlaff, it was agreed to give him ſixteen thouſand pounds, on condition that he ſhould never again ſet foot in England; and, which was

[i] Chron. Saxon. ad A. D. 981. [k] Ibid. 991. Gul. Malmeſb. de geſt. reg. Anglor. lib. ii. c. 10. Alured. Beverl. lib. viii. [l] Chron. Saxon. A. D. 992.

rare

rare amongſt men of his profeſſion, he religiouſly kept his word. In A. D. 997, a great fleet of ſtrangers entered the mouth of the Severn, ſpoiled all the adjacent countries with fire and ſword, and afterwards deſtroyed Cornwall and Devonſhire; and, having collected an immenſe booty, carried it off to their ſhips. The next year they committed the like outrages in Dorſetſhire, where an army ſent to oppoſe them did but little. In A. D. 999, they came into the Thames, and marching through Kent, the king met them at Canterbury with his forces, ſo that a battle enſued; wherein, through ſome ill management, the king was defeated with great loſs. This loſs ſeems to have rouzed the nobility; for, immediately thereupon, it was determined, in a great council, to raiſe a numerous army, and to fit out a ſtrong fleet, which was accordingly done: but the old management continuing, theſe mighty preparations, ſays my author, ended in nothing more than exhauſting the purſes, and breaking the ſpirits of the people; whereby their enemies were encouraged to trample on them more and more. The next year the fleet was hindered from acting all the ſummer by contrary winds, to the great loſs and diſſatisfaction of the people. In A. D. 1001, new diſorders of the ſame kind happened; and, one of the king's admirals deſerting with a great part of the fleet, he was conſtrained again to think of treating, which accordingly he did, and purchaſed peace for twenty-four thouſand pounds; and yet, the very next year, he found himſelf ſo ſtraitened, that he had no other way of ſetting his people at liberty, than by a general maſſacre of the Danes throughout England. This, however, proved but a temporary as well as barbarous expedient; for, in a few years, they were in as bad a condition as ever; inſomuch, that, through the fury of the Danes, and the treachery of his nobility, the king was able to do nothing but oppreſs his ſubjects, by raiſing vaſt ſums to be given to their enemies; for, in A. D. 1007, the Danes had thirty thouſand pounds at once[m].

Theſe oppreſſions convinced all the honeſt and loyal part of

[m] Chron. Saxon. p. 127—136. Gulielm. Malmeſb. de geſt. reg. Anglor. lib. 2. c. 10. Hen. Huntingd. hiſt. lib. 5. Alured. Beverl. annal. lib. viii. f. 114.

the

the nation, of the neceſſity of arming themſelves, and of exerting their utmoſt force to rid them of theſe barbarous gueſts. In order thereto, a new and general tax was laid, for raiſing and ſupporting a fleet and army. According to this ſcheme, every three hundred and ten hides of land were to find a ſtout ſhip, and every eight hides a coat of mail and helmet; by which a great force indeed was raiſed; and yet, through treachery, great as it was, had little effect[n]. It is plain, that this tax, or ſubſidy, was impoſed with judgment, and by common conſent: it grew, therefore, thenceforward, an annual charge upon the people, and is that tax we ſo often meet with in ancient writers, under the name of Danegeld; and from which Edward the Confeſſor is ſaid to have freed his ſubjects. The reader muſt diſtinguiſh this ſubſidy, raiſed upon the Engliſh nation, from the money occaſionally paid to the Danes; though they both go under the ſame denomination. The firſt was raiſed at ſuch times, and in ſuch proportions, as neceſſity required; and was properly enough called Danegeld, as it was given to pacify thoſe invaders. The ſecond was a regular, ſettled impoſition, not much unlike our land-tax, and was properly called, in the Saxon tongue, Heregyld, *i. e.* ſoldiers-money; and received the name of Danegeld, becauſe it was originally given to raiſe a force to withſtand the Danes. It amounted to a vaſt ſum in thoſe days; ſince the Saxon chronicle informs us, that by it, when firſt impoſed, there was a prodigious fleet ſet on foot, ſuch a one as till then had not been ſeen. Now, if we take this in a very limited ſenſe, and allow it to ſignify not a greater fleet than Edgar's, but ſuperior to any of his ſtationary ſquadrons, even this would be a very great thing[o]. The conſequence of clearing this point will appear in the ſucceeding part of the work: in the mean time let it be obſerved, that the nation ſubmitted to this grievous tax, in order to maintain a naval force, ſufficient to have preſerved the dominion of the ſea; which, queſtionleſs, might have been effected, had the money they gave been faithfully applied. But ſuch were the delays, ſuch the diſorder in all their military preparations, that the people were fleeced, the ſervice neglected, and the unfortunate

[n] Chron. Saxon. A. D. 1008.

[o] Selden. Mare Clauſum, lib. ii. c. 11.

King

King Ethelred, who, for any thing that appears in hiſtory, was a very brave, well-meaning prince, acquired the ſurname, or rather was ſtigmatized with the opprobrious nickname of the Unready. This is a diſagreeable ſubject, which nothing but the love of truth, and the deſire of preventing ſuch miſchiefs, by fairly expoſing their cauſes, could have prevailed upon me to have dwelt on ſo long. It was my duty as an hiſtorian; and, though a little unwillingly, I have honeſtly performed it.

It would, however, be to no purpoſe to ſwell this work with a long detail of the misfortunes which befel this prince, and his ſon the valiant Edmund, who for his many hardy acts in the ſervice of his country was ſurnamed Ironſides; ſince theſe are fully related in all our hiſtories: and indeed there is great reaſon to ſuſpect, that the ſtories we meet with therein are rather amplified than abridged. Two things, nevertheleſs, deſerve the reader's notice in this great revolution. The firſt, that after the ſpirits of the people had been once ſunk, by raiſing on them a great ſum of money to purchaſe peace, they never afterwards could be revived; but things daily declined, and the chief perſons in the realm ſought to ſecure an intereſt in the conqueror, by betraying thoſe whom they ought to have defended; ſo that the reduction of England was not ſo much owing to the number and force of the enemy, though theſe were very great, as to the treachery of the few, the dejection of the many, and the diſputes of both among themſelves; their naval force, even when they were loweſt, being more than ſufficient to have defended their coaſts, had it been properly conducted. But being ſometimes betrayed by their admirals, at others diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, every little accident diſcouraged them, and any conſiderable loſs diſheartened them quite. The conqueſt of ſuch men could not be hard. The ſecond obſervation I have to make is this; that no ſooner Swain, king of Denmark, found himſelf ſuperior at ſea, than he ſet up a title to the kingdom; which ſufficiently ſhews, that this iſland is never longer ſafe, than while it is the firſt maritime power: whence the importance of our navy is made too manifeſt to be denied, and by which we may be convinced, that as our freedom flows only from our conſtitution, ſo both muſt be defended by our fleets.

LIVES
OF THE
ADMIRALS:
INCLUDING A NEW AND ACCURATE
NAVAL HISTORY.

CHAP. III.

The Naval History of the Danes, from the peaceable settlement of Canutus on the throne to the restoration of the Saxon line; and from thence to the death of King Harold.

Containing the space of about 48 years.

THE writers of our ancient history, being many of them monks, did not well distinguish between foreign nations, but called all the invaders of this kingdom, from whatever quarter they came, Danes, because the first who troubled the Saxons in this way were of that nation. In like manner foreigners called them Normans, which seems to be a contraction of northern men. Their practice of scouring the northern seas, and plundering wherever they came, made them infamous in the eyes of others, though it passed among themselves for an honourable way of making war. The northern nations were always extremely populous; and, when they found themselves crowded, their custom was to equip a squadron of ships, on board of which went some of their chiefs, followed

by a body of ſuch men as were willing to run their fortunes. At this time they were pagans; and it muſt be owned, the ſtructure of their religion was very favourable to theſe ſort of enterprizes, repreſenting them rather as effects of heroiſm than as acts of robbery. In proceſs of time, as they grew more civilized, they began to change their notions, and effected ſettlements wherever they found themſelves ſtrong enough to make them. It is not our buſineſs to enter deeply into their hiſtory, ſince it is evident enough, that they attained their dominion here by their power at ſea, which is the only thing that brings them under our notice. But, if it were, there has been lately publiſhed at Copenhagen a very curious hiſtory of the acts of the Danes in foreign countries, particularly in England, Scotland, and Ireland, all of which they long haraſſed, made ſettlements in all, and were expelled from them all through their making an ill uſe of their power[a].

When Swain, king of Denmark, invaded this country about the year 1013, it was in revenge of the death of his countrymen; and there were at that time ſo many great men here of Daniſh extraction, and the reſt were ſo much diſaffected to their natural prince, that the foreign invader ſoon found encouragement to ſet up a title by election, as is, though ſomewhat obſcurely, intimated by ſome of our hiſtorians, but plainly and fully aſſerted by the Daniſh writers. Indeed, the defection at that time was ſo general, that Edmund abandoned his kingdom, and retired into Normandy; and, if Swain had lived, it is doubtful whether he might not have kept the poſſeſſion. But, he dying in the beginning of the next year, the Danes in England declared for Canutus his ſon, and the Saxons recalled King Edmund[b]. However, after the death of the laſt-mentioned prince, Canutus had a ſtrong party who adhered to him, eſpecially among the clergy; ſo that, at length, King Edmund Ironſide, by the perſuaſion of one Eadric, who had betrayed his father during his whole reign, entered into a treaty with Canutus, whereby it was agreed, that they ſhould reign joint-

[a] The title of this curious book runs thus: Geſta & veſtigia Danorum extra Daniam; præcipue in Oriente, Italia, Hiſpania, Gallia, Anglia, Scotia, Hibernia, Belgio, Germania, & Sclavonia. Maximam partem ipſis ſcriptorum, non exoticorum minus, quam domeſticorum, verbis adumbrata. Haſniæ, 1741, 8vo.

[b] Chron. Saxon. p. 144, 145.

ly: after which King Edmund did not live long, and ſo the whole fell to Canutus by ſurvivorſhip. Some of our authors indeed write, that Edmund was murdered by the contrivance of Eadric; but for this there ſeems to be no ſolid foundation. The Saxon annals ſay plainly, that he died on the feaſt of St. Andrew in the year 1016, and that he was buried with his grandfather King Edgar at Glaſtonbury [c].

Canutus [d] aſcended the throne by the general conſent of the nation, and, in the ſecond year of his reign, raiſed an extraordinary ſubſidy, or danegeld, in order to pay off his fleet. This amounted to 72,000 pounds for the reſt of the kingdom, and 11,000 pounds for the city of London; after which he ſent back his fleet and forces to Denmark, except forty ſhips which he kept to guard the coaſt. He was a very wiſe and brave prince, and, from the time he aſſumed the crown, did all that was in his power to conciliate the affection of his new ſubjects; which he ſo happily effected, that they ſerved him faithfully in his wars for the recovery of ſome part of his foreign dominions, which were loſt during his ſtay here. Thus, in 1027, he ſailed with a fleet of fifty ſhips, with Engliſh forces on board, into Norway, out of which having driven Olaf, who had ſet himſelf up for king, the next year he returned into England. Two years after, he invaded the Scots both by land and ſea, and obliged that king to ſubmit to his terms [e]: and, throughout his whole reign, this prince carried his prerogative in naval affairs as high as, or rather higher than any of his predeceſſors, as the learned Mr. Selden juſtly obſerves, and very fully proves from records and hiſtory [f]. Indeed it was very eaſy for him to do ſo, being king of Denmark and Norway as well as England.

He intended to have made his ſon Hardiknute, whom he had by Emma, the widow of his predeceſſor Ethelred, the heir of his kingdoms; but, he being in Denmark at the time of his deceaſe, his eldeſt ſon Harold [g], ſurnamed from his ſwiftneſs Harefoot, found means to raiſe a party amongſt the nobility, and

[c] Chron. Saxon. A. D. 1016. [d] A. D. 1017. [e] Pontan. hiſt. Dan. lib. v. Guliel. Malmeſb. de geſt. reg. Anglor. lib. ii. cap. 11. Alured. Beverl. annal. lib. viii. Ran. Higden. in Polychron. Chron. Saxon. p. 150—154. [f] Mare clauſum, lib. ii. cap. 12. [g] A. D. 1336.

poſſeſſed himſelf of the kingdom. Some writers tell us, that his brother Hardiknute prepared a great fleet with an intent to have invaded his dominions: but, as to this, the Saxon chronicle is ſilent; nor is there any thing memorable recorded in his reign. It is ſaid, that he raiſed the danegeld or ſubſidy for the maintenance of ſixteen ſhips, which was, it ſeems, the ſtated tax in the latter part of his father's reign; and, from what follows, it will appear, that this was a very reaſonable impoſition: but then it muſt be conſidered, that, in the days of King Canutus, his Engliſh ſubjects had nothing to fear; and from this circumſtance it is probable, that the caſe was the ſame under Harold [h]. He died after a reign of little more than four years, and was ſucceeded by his brother Hardiknute [i], who coming with a large fleet to take poſſeſſion of the kingdom, he that very year raiſed the danegeld to ſixty-two ſhips. The following year he levied 21,099 pounds, and fixed the ſubſidy for the future at thirty-two ſhips. His uncle Swain being in danger of loſing the kingdom of Norway, he ſent a fleet from England to his aſſiſtance, which did not, however, anſwer the end he propoſed; and a little after he died ſuddenly at a wedding, and with him ended the dominion of the Danes in England, in leſs than twenty-eight years after the coming of Canutus to the crown [k].

Edward the Confeſſor, the ſon of King Ethelbert and Queen Emma, ſucceeded his half-brother Hardiknute [l], and proved a very great prince in the opinion of the monks, and a very weak one in the ſentiments of better judges. In the beginning of his reign he kept up a fleet of thirty-five ſail; but afterwards falling out with the Earl Godwin and his ſons, their quarrels threw the whole kingdom into diſtraction; inſomuch that, in the year 1046, a piratical ſquadron, conſiſting of no more than twenty-five ſhips, commanded by Lothen and Yrling, came to Sandwich, where they landed the forces on board them, who immediately ſpoiled all the adjacent county, and carried off the prey they took to their ſhips. Afterwards they retired to the iſland of Thanet, intending from thence to have plundered the coaſt at their leiſure; but by this time the militia roſe, and not only prevented them from landing, but ſtraitened them ſo much

[h] Chron. Saxon. p. 154, 155. [i] A. D. 1039. [k] Ibid. p. 155, 156. [l] A. D. 1041.

where

where they were, that with great difficulty they escaped. Then, falling on the coasts of Suffolk and Norfolk, they committed the same outrages there, and at last sailed away to Flanders with the wealth they had got, without meeting with any interruption from the king's ships. The next year the king was himself at sea with a fleet, and was able to do little, Earl Godwin and his sons having almost all the power, while the king had an empty title, with which he was little contented. Swain, Earl Godwin's eldest son, falling out with his family as well as the king, committed great outrages on all the coast. His father too, being disobliged, had recourse to a naval armament, to oppose which, the king fitted out a fleet of fifty sail; but whether it was through the intrigues of the earl, or the weak management of the king, so it happened, that, after all these preparations, a treaty ensued, in consequence of which the earl once more entered the king's favour, and (with his sons) was declared the king's best subject: such was the doctrine of those times! After the death of this great nobleman, his sons Harold and Tostigo succeeded him in his dignities, and used them rather for their own conveniency than with any respect to the royal authority. It must, however, be owned, that they reduced the Britons, who had taken up arms under their king Griffith, who was killed in the action: yet Tostigo made so bad a governor in Northumberland, where the king had placed him, that the people expelled him; nor could he be restored, though his brother Harold was sent with an army for that purpose; which so disgusted him, that he sailed with a squadron of ships into Flanders, where, like his eldest brother Swain, he turned pirate, and began to think of pillaging by sea that country, the inhabitants of which would not suffer him to plunder them on land. In the midst of these confusions King Edward died[m] as weakly and irresolutely as he lived, without securing the succession to Edgar Atheling, his intended heir, and who had indeed a better title than himself; which threw the nation into great confusion, and gave Harold, the son of Earl Godwin, an opportunity of seizing the crown, to which he had little or no title[n]; an act equally fatal to himself and to the

[m] A. D. 1066. [n] Gul. Malmesb. de gest. reg. Angl. lib. ii. cap. 13. Hen. Huntingd. hist. lib. vi. p. 365. Roger Hoveden. annal. p. 439. Alured. Beverl. annal. lib. viii. Chron. Saxon. p. 154—171.

people,

people, ſince it occaſioned the Norman invaſion, and the abſolute excluſion of the Saxon line, the monarchs of which had deſerved ſo well of their country by making good laws, encouraging arts, and defending both by their arms. But, before we proceed to this revolution, it will be neceſſary to ſay ſomewhat of the character of Harold, as well as of his adminiſtration; for though he was a very ambitious, and conſequently a very bad man, yet he wanted not ſome qualities that were truly great, and worthy of a prince.

The principal perſons about King Edward at his death were ſuch as had been of Earl Godwin's faction, and therefore countenanced a report, ſpread by Harold, that the king had appointed him his ſucceſſor, which we find in the Saxon chronicle[o]: and yet, in that very book, there are many things which are inconſiſtent with this relation, ſuch as the owning that the king ſent for his couſin Edward, the father of Edgar Atheling[p], and that, after the death of Harold, Edgar ſhould have been king[q], though his right was no way helped by that circumſtance, but ſtood juſt as it did before at the time of King Edward's death. Such as ſay that Harold took the crown, as being more fit to wear it than an unexperienced boy, like Edgar, ſeem to ſpeak the truth[r]. Harold had all the qualities neceſſary to have rendered him popular in an elective kingdom. He was of a great family, equally allied to the Saxons and Danes, very brave in his perſon, and well verſed in the art of war, but, above all, jealous of the honour of the nation, and very deſirous of maintaining his independency on land and ſea[s]. He had, however, many difficulties to ſtruggle with. A great part of the nation were diſſatisfied with his title, and paid him an unwilling obedience. William, duke of Normany, laid claim to his crown, and began to raiſe an army to ſupport that claim: add to this, that his brother Toſtigo, who had quarrelled with the late king and his own father, appeared on the coaſts of Yorkſhire and Northumberland with a fleet of fifty ſail. Earl Edwin encountered him on his landing, defeated his army, and afterwards de-

[o] Chron. Saxon. p. 172. [p] Ibid. p 169. [q] Ibid. p. 173. [r] Rog. Hoved. hiſt. lib. vi. p. 367. Ingulph. hiſt. apud. ſcript. poſt. Bedam, p. 900. [s] Roger. Hoved. annal. prior. p. 447. Gul. Malemſb. de geſt. reg. Ang. lib. ii. cap. ult. Alured. Beverl. annal. lib. viii. p. 122.

ſtroyed

ſtroyed a great part of his fleet; ſo that, with no more than twelve ſhips, he eſcaped to Scotland [t].

On the firſt news of his brother's invaſion, Harold prepared to march northwards, in order to prevent, if poſſible, the fatal conſequences of this man's malice, whom he knew to have both courage and ability, conſiderable intereſt at home, and potent allies abroad; nor did he deſiſt from his deſign on the news of the check he had received by his late defeat, knowing that his reſtleſs temper would not ſuffer him to be long before he endeavoured to revenge this affront. Indeed, he found an opportunity ſooner than he could have expected; for he was ſcarce arrived in Scotland, before he heard of a new pretender to his brother's crown. This was Harold Harfager, that is, Fair-haired, king of Norway, who ſet up a title by deſcent, and, to ſupport it, put to ſea with a fleet of three hundred ſail, and a numerous army on board. With him Toſtigo joined, and, both ſailing up the Humber, landed their forces, and began to direct their march towards York. The two great earls, Edward and Morker, inſtantly aſſembled all the forces they could raiſe, in order to oppoſe them. A battle quickly enſued, in which thoſe lords were totally routed, and, in conſequence thereof, the king of Norway poſſeſſed himſelf of York. King Harold, no way diſcouraged at this ill news, ordered a fleet to be fitted out, and in the mean time marched in perſon againſt the enemy, who lay in an entrenched camp, which they conceived to be impregnable. But the king, opening the paſſage at Stanford-bridge, ever ſince ſtyled Battle-bridge, attacked them with ſuch vigour, that, after a long and bloody diſpute, he forced their entrenchments, killed Harold Harfager and Toſtigo upon the ſpot; and his admirals at ſea having like ſucceſs in beating the Norwegian fleet, Olaf, the ſon of Harold Harfager, was glad to capitulate, and conſent to embark the ſcattered remains of his army on board twenty veſſels, and to give up all the vaſt ſpoil they had taken, with the reſt of his father's navy, to the conqueror, which agreement or capitulation was preſently put in execution [u].

This was one of the greateſt victories that we find recorded

[t] Chron. Saxon. p. 172. Roger. Hoved. p. 447. Hen. Huntingd. hiſt. lib. vi.

[u] Chron. Saxon. p. 172. Gulielm. Malmſb. de geſt. reg. Ang. lib. ii. p. 94. Roger. Hoveden. p. 448. Ingulph. hiſt. p. 900.

by

by our hiſtorians; for, in the beginning of this expedition, the king of Denmark had conquered the Orkneys: and indeed, conſidering the force with which he invaded it, there was no ſmall probability of his reducing England. By this defeat the king entirely fruſtrated that deſign, and, beſides ridding himſelf of ſo formidable an enemy, acquired a vaſt treaſure, and greatly augmented his fleet: but, as ſucceſs generally ſhews a man in the trueſt point of light, ſo the king, on this occaſion, diſcovered ſome ill qualities which he had hitherto concealed; for, inſtead of dividing the rich booty he had taken, or ſo much as a part of it, amongſt his army, he laid hands upon the whole; which greatly weakened their affection to him, and made his ſoldiers leſs willing to hazard their lives in the ſervice of ſo hard a maſter. On the other hand, the duke of Normandy had been labouring, by a variety of methods, to draw together ſuch an army, and ſuch a fleet, as might enable him to proſecute the title he pretended to the Engliſh crown, which at laſt, by dint of mighty promiſes to foreigners as well as his own ſubjects, he accompliſhed. His forces, conſiſting of Normans, Flemings, Frenchmen, and Britons, he embarked on board a prodigious number of ſhips, few of which were of any great force, though all fit enough for tranſports. September 28, 1066, he landed ſafely at Pevenſey in Suſſex, and no ſooner ſaw his troops on ſhore, than he burnt his uſeleſs fleet, which he knew was no way able to engage that of the Engliſh; and having done this, and raiſed a ſtrong fortification, he penetrated farther into the country [w]. Harold had the news of this expedition quickly tranſmitted to him in the north, whence he marched with great diligence with his forces, fluſhed indeed with their late victory, but by ſo rude a ſervice much diminiſhed in their numbers, their ſpirits alſo abated by diſcontent. The king, however, taking counſel from the preſent ſituation of his affairs, behaved towards them more graciouſly than he had lately done, and by ſending for the nobility, and repreſenting to them the danger to which themſelves and their country, as well as himſelf and his title, were expoſed, gained conſiderable recruits: ſo that, by the time he arrived at London, his army was again become very conſi-

[w] Chroniques de Normandie. Ingulph. hiſt. Ord. Vital, &c.

derable; only his ſoldiers ſtood in need of refreſhment. But Harold, fearing ill effects from delays, and rejecting the propoſitions made him by an ambaſſador, ſent from Duke William to meet him at London, continued to move on towards Suſſex, in order to determine the fate of the kingdom by a deciſive battle, notwithſtanding his brother Grithus uſed many prudent arguments to diſſuade him, adviſing him to entruſt the army to his care, and to remain at London, in order to take proper meaſures, in caſe things went not ſo well as they could wiſh.

On the thirteenth of October the king arrived near Haſtings, where the enemy lay encamped; and, though ſome propoſals of peace were again made him, he remained firm to his firſt opinion of truſting the entire deciſion to the ſword. The next day, being Saturday, he diſpoſed his forces in order of battle, giving the van to the Kentiſh troops, and reſerving the Londoners for the center, where he fought in perſon with his two brothers. The duke of Normandy, on his ſide, did all that could be expected from a great captain, and one inured to arms from his very youth. The conteſt was long and bloody, ſuitable to the value of the prize which was to be the reward of the victor: but the Normans, making uſe of long bows, as yet not well known to the Engliſh, had thereby a great advantage, which turned the fortune of the day, and gave them a victory every way compleat. King Harold, drawing the choiceſt of his troops about his royal ſtandard, fought it out bravely to the laſt, falling by a ſhot he received under the left eye, which pierced to his brain. With him fell his brothers Grithus and Leofrick, and of private men 67,974. We need not wonder that this engagement alone ſecured the kingdom to Duke William, eſpecially if we reflect on the hard-fought battle in Yorkſhire but a few months before; for two ſuch actions might well exhauſt the ſtrength of a kingdom almoſt continually haraſſed, for ſome hundred years before, by the Danes[x]. Yet the Saxons, if they had been well united, might have had at leaſt another ſtruggle; but their inteſtine factions contributed as much to their ruin as the force of the invader: for one part of the nation adhering to Edgar Atheling, the

[x] Chron. Saxon. p. 172. Gulielm. Malmeſb. de geſt. reg. Angl. lib. iii. Hen. Huntingdon. hiſt. lib. vi. Roger. Hoveden. p. 448. Ingulph. hiſt. p. 900, 901.

undoubted heir of the crown, and another inclining to eſpouſe the party of the great Earls Edwin and Morker, this diviſion diſabled both. Thus ended that monarchy which, from the time of Hengiſt, had continued about ſix hundred years; and, as it began through perſonal valour, ſo the ſame ſpirit was preſerved even in its termination; for, as a learned writer of thoſe times informs us, the laſt King Harold was a man in gentleneſs of nature equalled by few, in martial virtue ſurpaſſed by none, having moſt of thoſe great qualities that render princes glorious, and who, if the event had correſponded with probability, ſeemed born to repair the decayed ſtate of his country[y]. He left behind him four ſons. It is very remarkable, that three of theſe, Godwin, Edmund, and Magnus, had intereſt enough, after the death of their father, to carry off the greateſt part of his fleet; which enabled them to make many attempts, as we ſhall hereafter ſee, againſt the power of the Normans: but, proving always unſucceſsful, they at length retired to Denmark, where they were kindly received, and where, tormented by a quick ſenſe of their misfortunes, they languiſhed out the remainder of their lives. I ſhould not have taken notice of this circumſtance, but that it ſerves to explain the ſucceeding part of our hiſtory, and ſhews how the Norman power at ſea came to be ſo low for a conſiderable ſpace after the conqueſt, as well as why the northern princes were ſo ready to give aſſiſtance to ſuch as undertook to diſturb this new poſſeſſor of the Engliſh crown; in which ſcheme we ſhall find perſons who had very different intereſts concurred, upon the old maxim in politics, that, in acting againſt a common enemy, the principles of particular parties may, and in prudence ought to be ſuſpended[z].

WE come now to take a view of the commerce of the Saxons, and to enquire into the uſe they made of that dominion of the ſea, to which they ſet up ſo loud a pretence. It ſo happens, indeed, that we have in this reſpect but very indifferent materials as to direct facts: but whoever will conſider what kind of men the writers of thoſe times were, and how unlikely they were to underſtand traffic, he will not ſo readily miſconſtruct their

y Florent. Wigorn. ad A. D. 1066. Malmeſb. Hunting. Hoveden. &c.

z Chron. Saxon. p. 173. Gul.

ſilence,

ſilence, as ſome critical writers have done; by which I mean, he will not conclude from thence, that the Saxons had little or no foreign trade, ſince, if they had ever ſo much, eccleſiaſtics were not like to be the beſt acquainted with it. However, it may be truly aſſerted, that the trade of the Saxons was very conſiderable before the Norman conqueſt, perhaps more conſiderable than for ſome time afterwards; and that this is not either a bold aſſertion, or a groundleſs conjecture, we ſhall be able to make out by a variety of arguments, which, for the honour of our country, deſerve to be duly examined.

In the firſt place, then, let us obſerve, that the correſpondence between our princes and thoſe of the continent, is one good argument in favour of the nation's commerce: for it cannot be believed, that the greateſt princes of Europe would either enter into treaties with obſcure and barbarous nations, beſtow their daughters on the princes of ſuch people, or receive from them their daughters to be partners in their beds and thrones. Yet we ſee, that Charles the Great of France entered into an alliance with King Offa, as he alſo did with the king of Scots; and, as to marriages, Ethelwolf, the father of King Alfred, married the daughter of the Emperor Charles the Bald; King Ethelred married Emma, daughter to the duke of Normandy; and as to the princeſſes of England, they were married all over Europe to the moſt illuſtrious ſovereigns: nay, even in their diſtreſs, when the ſons of Edmund Ironſide fled abroad for protection, one married the emperor's daughter, the other the daughter of the king of Hungary. Now it is impoſſible for us to conceive, how the worth and quality of ſuch perſons ſhould be known in theſe diſtant places, if there had not been an extenſive commerce between the ſubjects of the Engliſh kings and thoſe of theſe princes. Add to this, that Aſſerius Menevenſis informs us, that King Alfred's court was conſtantly crowded with perſons of diſtinction, and that he was extremely careful in procuring the beſt artiſts of all kinds from different parts. Again, the public and private buildings of the Saxons demonſtrate, that they were neither a rude nor unſociable people, but rather the contrary, ſince they were exceedingly elegant for the time in which they were raiſed: and we know by experience, that this kind of taſte is the pure effect of extenſive commerce.

We may likewiſe obſerve, that the very claiming the ſovereignty of the ſea is a plain indication of our driving a great trade upon it; ſince thoſe only deſire this dignity who know the importance of it: and as our claims in this reſpect are elder, and more explicit than thoſe of any other European nation, we muſt conclude, that the value of this right was earlier underſtood here than elſewhere. Theſe are general reaſons only; I will now offer ſome that are clearer and more particular.

We had greater opportunities of underſtanding naval affairs in this iſland, than perhaps any other nation ever had; for, before the Roman invaſion, the Britons had ſome ſkill in navigation, and had fitted out conſiderable fleets: they afterwards improved in this, as in all other arts, by adding the Latin learning to their own; whence we find them, under Carauſius, Maximus, and Conſtantine, able to bear up againſt all the maritime force of the Roman empire. The Saxons were not deſtitute of ſkill in naval affairs before their arrival here; for we read, that they diſtinguiſhed time by the ebbing and flowing of tides[a]; a kind of knowledge which, notwithſtanding all the boaſtings of the Greeks, Alexander's ſeamen had not acquired, even when he made his Indian expedition[b]; and in which it appears, that neither Cæſar, nor any of his ſoldiers, were well verſed at the time of his invading this iſland[c]. It was therefore highly natural, when theſe nations were in ſome meaſure mixed togther, and by degrees alſo blended with the Danes; I ſay, it was highly natural for them to puſh their genius, for maritime affairs, as far as it would go. And this leads me to another argument, which is drawn from the vaſt number of ſhips that it is apparent we had at all times, from the fleets fitted out by the Roman governors, and by the Saxon princes, eſpecially Alfred, Edgar, and Ethelred; ſince navies cannot be built in a ſeaſon or two, or, if they could, would prove of little uſe in a country deſtitute of ſeamen. Laſtly, our coin is a proof of our commerce. There were under the Saxon kings variety of mints, no leſs than ſeven in London; and the laws relating to coinage are very numerous. Now, ſince ſilver was never a commodity of our own, it follows, that this coinage

[a] Sidon. Apollinar. lib. viii. Ol. Worm. in Faſtis Danicis, lib. i. cap. 2.
[b] Arrian. Exped Alex. Mag. lib. xi. [c] De Bello Gallico, lib. v.

muſt

muſt have ariſen from the profits, or, to uſe a modern phraſe, from the balance of trade in our favour. I preſume I may add to this a law made by King Edgar, for reducing all weights, meaſures, *&c.* to one ſtandard. Now this was to remedy an inconvenience that muſt have crept in, by trading with different nations, and ſo introducing their meaſures; and the ſcope of the law on the other hand proves, that the legiſlature in thoſe days, had a juſt reſpect to commerce, and was inclined to do any thing which might facilitate it; all which, taken together, in my opinion, doth abundantly make good my aſſertion; and demonſtrates, as far as the brevity of this deſign will permit, the commercial genius of our anceſtors the Saxons, to whom we ſtand indebted for the chief prerogatives of our crown, I mean in compariſon with the other powers of Europe; and that generous ſpirit of freedom, which is the ſoul of our excellent conſtitution, and which the princes of the Norman line endeavoured, but in vain, to extinguiſh.

It may not be amiſs to remark, upon the publiſhing this work, I heard ſome perſons of good ſenſe, and great judgment, complain, that in ſome places I ſtudied brevity too much; and that, particularly, they would be glad to ſee this point of the Saxon navigation and commerce better explained: not that they at all doubted the truth of what I advanced upon the credit of our moſt learned and beſt hiſtorians; but that, being pleaſed with the hints given them upon theſe ſubjects, they were inclined to ſee them more largely handled. And for the ſake of ſuch perſons, I ſhall take the liberty of adding ſome reflections, which, till I knew that it was acceptable to my readers, I judged it a kind of preſumption in me to make.

The veſſels built by King Alfred for reſiſting the Danes, and which were ſo very ſerviceable in that reſpect, appearing to be a very ſingular and material point; ſome have wiſhed that I had more plainly deſcribed them, which I would moſt certainly have done, if it had been in my power. Thoſe veſſels were built, not only by the direction of the king, but in a new manner which was of his own invention: and the writers who have preſerved an account of them, though they are certainly competent witneſſes as to the fact, yet were they very far from being proper judges of the manner. They can tell us what the

the king did, and what were the effects of his doings; but how, or upon what principles, he conſtructed theſe new-invented ſhips of his, was out of their way to enquire; and, conſequently, what they could not be expected to declare. This being ſo, it would be a thing prepoſterous to pretend to lay it down as certain, that King Alfred's new ſhips were built in this manner, or in that: all that I intended to ſuggeſt, was, that the king built theſe ſhips longer than uſual, and in ſuch a proportion as made them at once ſtronger and ſwifter than any with which that age were acquainted.

The candid and ingenious reader will readily allow, that we had good reaſon to commend the ſuperior ſkill of the king, who made that a ſcience which to others was but a trade. There were, no doubt, in that age, abundance of ſhipwrights, who knew how to put veſſels together, ſo as to make them ſound and tight, and good ſailers too, as things went in thoſe times. Yet it does not appear, that the king aſked their advice; but, on the contrary, he directed their labours, and commanded that ſhips ſhould be built of a new and very different make from thoſe that were then in uſe. He was well acquainted with the Daniſh ſhips; and ſaw, that though they were very convenient for tranſporting troops, yet that very circumſtance might be turned to their diſadvantage, by employing againſt them veſſels of a different make, longer, higher, ſtronger, and of a very different proportion in reſpect to breadth; which is a plain proof, that he had made himſelf maſter of the principles of ſhip-building, and knew how to vary the form in conſtructing veſſels ſo, as to fit them for different uſes and ſervices: which, if the ignorance of thoſe times was half ſo groſs as modern writers are willing to repreſent, was certainly a very great and wonderful diſcovery.

It is alſo highly probable, that though the king gave directions to his ſhip-builders, and perhaps a model of the form in which he would have his new veſſels built; yet he did not acquaint them with the principles upon which he went, or explain to them the reaſons why veſſels, built in this new form, were ſwifter and ſtronger than thoſe of the enemy; but kept that within his own breaſt, as a great ſecret of ſtate. His naval architects might be, and in all probability were, men of as great

ſkill,

skill, and extenſive capacities as any of their times; but their knowledge was of a very different nature from that of the king; they might be great artiſts in their way, but were ſtill mechanics; and though they knew how to build what were eſteemed the beſt ſhips in this part of the world, yet were they far enough from penetrating into the cauſes of things, or apprehending clearly the reaſons upon which thoſe rules were founded, by which they were guided in their profeſſion, and which experience had gradually introduced.

We have the greater preſumption that this was the true ſtate of the caſe, from the other circumſtance, that the king made great improvements in the art of building ſhips for traffick. Hence we plainly diſcern, that what he contrived was not the effects of experience, or application of what he had ſeen or heard others performed, to his own affairs, or a thing that flowed from a lucky thought which was found to anſwer upon trial; but aroſe entirely from his great ſagacity, which enabled him to ſee to the very bottom of his art, and put it in his power to aſſign the juſt proportions of veſſels deſtined for any purpoſes whatever, as his ſhipwrights were capable of building and equipping veſſels of any demenſions, provided they had the draught of ſuch veſſels given them, in caſe they were of a new invention. Theſe trading veſſels were, without doubt, of a form differing from thoſe warlike galleys that were fitted out againſt the Danes, and, conſequently, not near ſo coſtly; for broad, large, and capacious veſſels, ſuch as are fit for carrying almoſt all ſorts of merchandize, eſpecially bulky and coarſe goods, are, in every reſpect, far leſs expenſive than veſſels built for ſtrength and nimble ſailing.

I ſhall be extremely well pleaſed if theſe additional thoughts, upon ſo important a point of hiſtory, give the ſatisfaction deſired, which I hope it will; more eſpecially if it be conſidered, that I propoſe to treat theſe points as an hiſtorian, and am therefore concerned to ſtate facts clearly, and from good authorities; not to write diſſertations upon ſuch ſubjects as may be fairly preſumed to lie equally out of the reach of my own and the peruſer's curioſity. Whatever Alfred's ſkill in naval architecture might be, there is very little room to doubt, that the practical part of it continued long after his deceaſe, and

proved

proved no inconſiderable cauſe of the maritime force of his ſucceſſors. All this time, however, the Danes were exerciſing themſelves in naval expeditions; and as their ſtrength and courage increaſed, ſo, by the introduction of luxury, and its perpetual companion civil diſſentions, the power and public ſpirit of the Saxons declined.

It may, however, be remarked in their favour, excluſive of what has been ſaid before upon that ſubject, that they certainly cultivated the arts of peace and commerce with equal induſtry and ſucceſs. All that part of this iſland under their dominion was thoroughly peopled, and full of great towns, adorned, according to the mode of thoſe times, with fair churches and great monaſteries, which were at once teſtimonies of the piety and wealth of that nation. Their eccleſiaſtics and nobility frequently travelled into foreign regions, and brought from thence rarities of all ſorts to enrich their own country, the flouriſhing condition of which was what principally allured the Danes, who had the ſame appetite for riches, though they took a different method of procuring them, and ſpoiled, by force of arms, ſuch as were grown opulent through the long continuance of peace.

We muſt likewiſe obſerve, that the incorporations of cities and boroughs was the work of the Saxons, as manifeſtly appears from the very terms that are ſtill in uſe, and which are not to be underſtood or explained, but from a competent knowledge of their language and hiſtory. This is at once a clear and moſt conſpicuous teſtimony of the true ſpirit of that government, which, while in its vigour, provided for the ſafety and proſperity of the people, by ſecuring the liberties and properties, and by encouraging the induſtry and integrity of all ranks and degrees of men; which was the true reaſon that the laws of Edward the Confeſſor, that is, the laws and conſtitutions of his predeceſſors, collected and reſtored by him, were ſo univerſally approved and contended for by the Engliſh nation, as their peculiar bleſſings and birth-rights after the conqueſt; as will be ſeen in the ſucceeding chapters.

But, above all, traders, artificers, and manufacturers of every kind, were eſpecially protected and encouraged under the Saxon government. They had their reſpective guilds or ſo-

cieties for regulating and promoting their affairs; and it is very remarkable, that there was no leſs attention paid to the eſtabliſhment and extenſion of theſe leſſer fraternities, calculated to maintain order and juſtice amongſt ſuch as got their living by their labour, than of the larger corporations; which is a truth that all who are aquainted with our records and ancient hiſtories will readily admit: and therefore it would be very unneceſſary for us to inſiſt longer upon this topic, though it was very material to mention it.

The Danes, after the firſt fury of war was over, and when they came to be united to, and incorporated with the Saxons, began by degrees to embrace their notions, and viſit foreign nations, as well in a commercial as in a hoſtile manner; and though their hiſtorians are more inclined to preſerve the memory of the latter than the former, yet there is nothing clearer than this matter of fact, by which the ſubjects of the Daniſh monarchs were enabled to pay thoſe prodigious taxes that from time to time were levied upon them, and by which the treaſury of Canutus the Great was ſo amply ſupplied, that, when he took a journey to Rome, he made a more magnificent appearance there than any Chriſtian prince, who, in thoſe ſuperſtitious times, had honoured that capital with his preſence; and is recorded to have ſpent and given away ſuch immenſe ſums of money as filled all Europe with amazement.

But though the Danes, ſettled in England, departed from the manners of their countrymen, yet thoſe who remained at home retained, in a great meaſure, the martial ſpirit of their anceſtors, and held in the higheſt contempt every kind of trade except that of war. We ſhall ſee, however, that, notwithſtanding they long kept up a claim to this country, they were never able to recover it; becauſe, after a few diſappointments, their naval power ſunk, and they were no longer capable of equipping ſuch fleets as were requiſite for the undertaking ſuch expeditions. I mention this circumſtance here, that the reader may have an opportunity of obſerving how ſoon a naval force is worn out, when employed only to ſerve the purpoſes of ambition; and this, notwithſtanding all the care and pains that can be taken to keep up the ſpirits of a nation, and ſupport an exact

diſcipline: for Canutus the Great enacted and publiſhed a body of laws for that end, which they would certainly have anſwered, if the thing had been poſſible in nature. This obſervation will very much confirm what has been before advanced, in reſpect to the great fleets that, for the courſe of above a century, were maintained by the Saxons for the defence of their coaſts. Theſe were certainly ſupplied with ſeamen from the ſhips employed in commerce, the only effectual and laſting method of maintaining maritime power.

It will not appear any formidable objection to this, that the Danes ſettled in Normandy grew ſo ſtrong as not only to maintain their poſſeſſion of that country, but to attempt and ſucceed in their ſcheme of invading this; for they had in a great degree altered their meaſures, and, by the conveniency of their ports, fallen into a conſiderable ſhare of commerce, as appears both from their hiſtory and laws. It is true, the old martial ſpirit reigned amongſt their nobility, who ſtill diſdained any other profeſſion than that of arms; yet this did not hinder a great part of their people from addicting themſelves to quite another courſe of life, by which they drew ſuch wealth into that country as enabled their dukes to live in ſplendour and magnificence, and furniſhed them with the means of making ſuch powerful armaments as could never have been ſet on foot but by princes, whoſe authority upon ſuch occaſions could extract out of their ſubjects coffers thoſe treaſures that by their induſtry they had obtained. The ſpoils derived from military excurſions, and the riches accruing from predatory expeditions, are quickly waſted, and, from the inſtability of fortune, ſeldom admit of recruits; but in countries bleſſed with commerce, though the madneſs of princes may occaſionally laviſh away great ſums, yet the returns of peace give their ſubjects an opportunity of recovering again, and repairing the breaches that have been made by ſuch miſtakes.

Hitherto I have treated things more largely than I propoſe to do in my accounts of the ſubſequent reigns down to that of Henry VII. becauſe this period hath been much neglected; and, from an unwillingneſs to ſearch into the records of antiquity, we have been made to believe, that, before the Roman

conqueſt,

conqueſt, the inhabitants of Britain were an inconſiderable people, which we have ſhewn to be very falſe. But, from the time of William ſurnamed the Conqueror, our modern hiſtories are more fruitful; and therefore we may be allowed a greater brevity there. However, we ſhall take notice of every thing that is material, or that may contribute to the reader's having a juſt notion of the ſtate our naval affairs were in under the reign of our monarchs reſpectively, as well as of the remarkable expeditions in their times.

LIVES OF THE ADMIRALS:

INCLUDING A NEW AND ACCURATE NAVAL HISTORY.

CHAP. IV.

The Naval Hiſtory of England during the reigns of the princes of the Norman race, *viz.* William ſtyled the Conqueror, William Rufus, Henry Beauclerk, and Stephen.

Containing the ſpace of about 88 years.

OF all the foreign princes who, in a courſe of ages, have aſcended the Engliſh throne, William, duke of Normandy, ſeemed to promiſe the beſt, in regard to the maintenance of the honour and dignity of the crown which he aſſumed. He was in the prime of his life, if we conſider him as a prince, being about forty-three years of age when he came hither; had been a ſovereign from his very childhood, and maintained his right in the duchy of Normandy againſt the king of France, and other troubleſome neighbours, with ſuch conſtancy and courage, as at length procured him ſucceſs, and fixed him in the full enjoyment of the dominions left him by his father[a]. He had many opportunities of being acquainted with the Eng-

[a] Oder. Vital. Guliel. Gemetic. Les Chroniques de Normandie.

liſh,

liſh, before his coming hither, by the near relation between King Edward the Confeſſor, and his father Duke Robert; and the long ſtay that king made in Normandy, whilſt the power of the Danes ſubſiſted in England. This occaſioned a great intercourſe between the Engliſh and Normans during the reign of that king, who rendered himſelf ſuſpected to the former, by his extraordinary kindneſs to the latter; which might poſſibly grow from a mixture of fear, as well as love, ſince he had no other ſupport againſt the power of Earl Godwin. This it was that induced him to invite Duke William hither in his lifetime; and, accordingly, he made him a viſit[b]: and this was, undoubtedly, the chief motive of his feeding him with hopes of being his heir. As to the title of King William, it is not requiſite that we ſhould enter into a minute diſcuſſion of it; and therefore it will be ſufficient to obſerve, that he claimed three different ways. Firſt, by donation from King Edward; ſecondly, by right of arms; whence, in ſucceeding times, he was ſurnamed The Conqueror; and thirdly, by election: to which ſome have added a fourth title, by grant from the pope; though this was no more than an approbation of the firſt. However he came by the crown, he certainly condeſcended to have his right recognized by the people, and promiſed ſolemnly, at his coronation, to govern as his Saxon predeceſſors had done: though he afterwards did not act quite ſo conformably to his oath as his ſubjects expected. To ſay the truth, he was of a ſtern and arbitrary diſpoſition, which did not very well agree with the temper of the nation; and from this diſcordancy between the king's humour and his ſubjects ſentiments, as to their own rights, ſprung the many diſorders which happened during his reign, and the miſeries brought thereby upon the people; of which we have ample accounts in the hiſtories of thoſe times[c].

He was too wiſe a king not to diſcern the importance of a naval power, and too high-ſpirited a prince to ſuffer any of the prerogatives claimed by his predeceſſors to be at all prejudiced by his conduct. But in the beginning of his reign he

[b] Chroniques de Normandie, fol. 54. [c] Chronic. Saxon. Ingulph. Hiſtor. Guliel. Malmeſb. Henric. Huntingd. Roger Hoveden. Eadmer. Alured. Beverl. Simeon. Dunelm. Joan. Brompton.

found

found himſelf, as we have before obſerved, under great difficulties in this point. He, at his coming from Normandy, aſſembled all the ſhipping that could poſſibly be had, as appears by his delaying his expedition for ſome time for want of veſſels; as alſo from the number employed, which was not leſs than nine hundred; and all theſe, as we have heard, he burned. The greateſt part of the Engliſh navy was carried away by the ſons of Harold, and other malecontents, ſo that he could hardly bring together even an inconſiderable fleet; and yet the king reſolved to take ſome care of a matter of ſo great importance, before his return into Normandy. With this view he paſſed into Kent, where the natives, having firſt procured a recognition of their rights, delivered up to him the caſtle and port of Dover, which was what he principally wanted. Here he placed a ſtrong garriſon; and, having by this time collected ſome ſhips, appointed a ſquadron for the guard of theſe coaſts; and embarked a part of his army, with the chief perſons in England, whom he carried with him as hoſtages for Normandy; intending to come back, as he did, with a greater force, to ſecure himſelf againſt any defection of his new ſubjects, as well as from foreign invaſions, with both which he was threatened[d].

In the third year of his reign[e], that ſtorm which he had foreſeen burſt upon his dominions, and, under any other prince but himſelf, would, in all probability, have been fatal. Our modern hiſtorians, eſpecially, relate this ſo lamely, that their readers can ſcarce form any juſt idea of the danger the nation was in; which is one reaſon for our giving a detail of it: and beſides this, it is of ſo great conſequence to the ſubject of which we are treating, and ſo fully proves the impoſſibility of keeping Britain without a ſuperior force at ſea, that it would be inexcuſeable in us either to omit or curtail it. Immediately after his return from Normandy, the king began to treat the Engliſh ſomewhat ſeverely; whereupon many of the moſt conſiderable perſons retired out of the kingdom; ſome one way, ſome another. The two great Earls Edwin and Morker, with many others of the nobility, and not a few of the clergy, went into

[d] Chron. Saxon. ad A. D. 1067. Gul. Malmſb. de geſtis reg. Anglor. lib. iii. Hen. Huntingd. lib. vii. Ingulph. Hiſt. p. 900, 901.

[e] A. D. 1069.

Scotland;

Scotland; where Edgar Etheling and his family took ſhelter, and from whence they very ſoon invaded the north part of England [f]. Other lords fled to Denmark to King Swain II. who had always kept up a claim to the Engliſh crown, and who, therefore, readily yielded credit to their aſſurances, that, if he would but ſend a force ſufficient to give them encouragement, the Engliſh, eſpecially in the northern parts, would throw off the Norman yoke, and declare for him. He, therefore, equipped a conſiderable fleet, (ſome copies of the Saxon chronicle ſay 240, others make them 300 ſail), and ſent them under the command of his brother-in-law Oſborn, his ſons Harold and Canutus, and ſome of the Engliſh fugitives, well provided with all things neceſſary, and with a conſiderable body of forces on board: ſo that nothing leſs than ſubduing the whole kingdom was the intent of this expedition [g].

Few undertakings of ſuch conſequence, and wherein ſo many perſons of different intereſts were concerned, had, in the beginning, ſo good ſucceſs as that of which we are ſpeaking; for the Daniſh fleet, having favourable winds and fair weather, came ſafely into the mouth of the Humber, and there debarked their forces about the middle of Auguſt, A. D. 1069, as we are told by Matthew Paris [h]. They were immediately joined by Edgar Etheling, the Earls Edward and Morker, the famous Earl Waltheof, and many other perſons of diſtinction, with a great army, compoſed of Engliſh and Scots, and then moved directly towards York, which King William had cauſed to be ſtrongly fortified. The governor, whoſe name was Mallet, reſolved to make an obſtinate defence. With this view he ordered part of the ſuburbs to be ſet on fire, that the Danes might not lodge in them on their approach; but, through ſome negligence, the fire caught the city, and burnt a great part of it before it could be extinguiſhed, which gave the Danes an opportunity of gaining it almoſt without a ſtroke: after which they attacked the citadel, took it, and put three thouſand Normans to the ſword. On this ſucceſs, as the Daniſh writers ſay, Earl Waltheof was left there with a ſtrong garriſon, and the main body marched directly to-

[f] Chron. Saxon. A. D. 1098. Hiſt. Dan. A. D. 1068.

[g] Chron. Saxon. A. D. 1068. Pontanus,

[h] Hiſt. Angl. vol. i. p. 6.

wards

wards London [i]. The king, however, advanced to meet them with a conſiderable army, waſting and ſpoiling the northern countries, which he conceived well affected to the enemy, and, as ſome alledge, fought with, and gave a check to the invaders: but our graveſt hiſtorians report the fact quite otherwiſe. They ſay, that, finding his troops much inferior to the enemy, he entered into a private treaty with Oſborn the Daniſh general, and offered him an immenſe ſum of money for himſelf, with free leave to plunder the northern coaſts, if he would be content to retire with his forces in the ſpring; which he accordingly accepted: ſo the king ſpoiling one way to revenge the infidelity of his northern ſubjects, and the Danes plundering the other, they in the beginning of the next year returned to their fleet in the Humber, and, embarking their forces, returned home [k]. But Swain, king of Denmark, being ſoon informed that his hopes were fruſtrated by the covetouſneſs and treachery of his brother, rather than by the force of the Normans, he baniſhed him, as he well deſerved [l]. Thus ended an expedition which might have produced another revolution in our affairs, if the king's prudence had not been as great as his courage. The next year, the Saxon chronicles tell us, the Danes landed again in the iſle of Ely, to which abundance of malecontents had reſorted; but, being able to do little, Swain made a treaty with the king of England: but his fleet ſailing homewards, laden with booty, a great part of it was forced into Ireland, and many of the ſhips, with all their treaſure on board them, foundered at ſea [m]. But as to this, the Daniſh writers are ſilent.

About the ſame time [n], the ſons of the late King Harold came out of Ireland with a fleet of ſixty-five ſail, and landed in Somerſetſhire, where they committed great depredations; till Ednoth, who had been an old ſervant of their father, marched againſt them, beat their forces, and obliged them to retire [o]. They made a ſecond attempt the year following [p], with a fleet of ſixty

[i] Pontan. rer. Danicar. hiſt. lib. v. Hen. Huntingd. hiſt. lib. vii. p. 369. Simeon Dunelm. A. D. 1069. Chron. Saxon. A. D. 1069. Roger de Hoveden, p. 451, 452. Alured. Beverl. Annal. lib. ix. p. 129. [k] Chron. Saxon. p. 174. Pontanus rerum Dan. hiſt. [l] Adam. Bremenſ. Pontan. lib. v. [m] Chron. Saxon. p. 177. [n] A. D. 1068. [o] Roger Hoveden, p. 450. [p] A. D. 1069.

ſail, landed near Exeter, plundered and burnt the country; but Earl Brien, raiſing forces, and fighting them twice in one day, forced them again to fly, with the loſs of ſeven hundred men, and ſome of the principal nobility of Ireland; which ſo broke the ſpirits of that nation, as to diſcourage them from abbetting the Engliſh fugitives any more [q]; ſo that the ſons of Harold, Godwin, and Edmund, retired to Denmark, where they were kindly received, and ſpent the remainder of their days.

Theſe accidents convinced the king of the neceſſity of having a fleet always ready, and therefore to this he turned his thoughts; and, having collected as many ſhips as he was able, he employed them to hinder ſuccours from coming to the rebels in the iſle of Ely, which gave him an opportunity of entering it by land, and reducing to his obedience, or deſtroying, all who had taken ſhelter there [r]. In the ſeventh year of his reign, he attacked Scotland by ſea as well as land, in order to be revenged of King Malcolm, who had conſtantly aſſiſted all the diſturbers of his government, and quickly brought him to accept a peace on the terms he thought fit to preſcribe [s]. In the tenth year [t] of his reign it appears that affairs were in better order than they had ever been before: yet it was not long before a great conſpiracy was formed in England; and the lords concerned in it invited the Welch to enter the kingdom on one ſide, while the Danes invaded it on the other. The king was at this time in Normandy; but, having early intelligence of what paſſed in his abſence, he quickly returned into England, ſeized many of the conſpirators and diſappointed them in their intended riſing. The Danes, however, under the command of Canutus the ſon of King Swain, came, with a fleet of two hundred ſail upon the coaſt, and even entered the mouth of the Thames; but not finding their confederates in the poſture they expected, and perceiving that the king had now a navy as well as an army, they retired to Flanders without undertaking any thing [u].

For nine years after, the king remained quiet with reſpect to the Danes, who were involved in ſo many troubles at home, that

[q] Gul. Malmeſb. de geſt. reg. Anglor. lib. iii. [r] A. D. 1072. [s] Chron. Saxon. A. D. 1072. Alured. Beverl. annal. lib. ix. [t] A. D. 1075.
[u] Chron. Saxon. p. 183. Hen. Huntingd. hiſt. lib. vii. p. 369.

they had no leiſure to vex their neighbours. This reſpite the king employed in ſecuring his foreign dominions againſt the attempts of the king of France, in taming the Welch, and new-modelling affairs in England, ſo as to ſuit them to his own intereſt and inclination, as alſo to the raiſing a better force than hitherto he had fitted out at ſea, which in ſome meaſure he effected. In the twentieth year[w] of his reign, when he thought to have taken ſome reſt from his labours, and was buſied in ſettling his affairs in Normandy, he was alarmed with the proſpect of new danger, by receiving intelligence, that the Danes were making prodigious preparations for the conqueſt of England. Our writers are far from giving a good account of this matter; for though they tell us in general, that mighty things were intended, and a vaſt fleet drawn together, yet they deliver no rational motives for this attempt. Nor are they leſs deficient in what they ſay of the iſſue of the deſign; *viz.* that the fleet was detained two years in the harbour by contrary winds; and at laſt the enterprize was abandoned, when they underſtood the mighty preparations made in England to receive them. But we meet with a much clearer and more probable ſtory in the Daniſh authors.

They ſay, that King Canutus IV. as ſoon as he was thoroughly ſettled on his throne, began to form a deſign of aſſerting the title, which he believed his father Swain had left him, to the crown of England; to which he was chiefly encouraged by the perſuaſions of his brother-in-law Robert, earl of Flanders, who promiſed him his aſſiſtance, and by the incitements of the Engliſh refugees, who aſſured him that their countrymen were quite tired out with the intolerable oppreſſions of the Normans, and would certainly join him, if he landed with a force ſufficient to protect them. Before he abſolutely determined to make this expedition, he aſked the opinion of his brother Olaus, duke of Sleſwick, who adviſed him to undertake it, as did alſo the ſtates of the kingdom: upon which he drew together a prodigious fleet, little ſhort of a thouſand ſail, and put on board them all ſorts of ammunition and proviſion for the great body of troops he intended to embark therein. When all things

[w] A. D. 1085.

were

were ready, he waited ſome time for his brother Olaus, and at laſt, growing impatient, he went to fetch him out of his duchy, where he found him plotting his ruin, inſtead of preparing for the voyage to England; upon which he ſeized, and ſent him priſoner into Flanders. During the abſence of King Canutus the conſpirators on board the fleet gave out, that the proviſions were not wholeſome; that ſeveral of the veſſels were leaky; that the king's mind was changed; and that the beſt thing they could do was to go every man to his own home; ſo that, when Canutus returned, he found both his fleet and army diſperſed [x]: which is certainly a better account of the miſcarriage of this undertaking, than the long continuance of croſs winds, to which ſome (or the effects of magical enchantments, to which others) aſcribe it.

Certain it is, that King William brought over from Normandy ſuch an army as his ſubjects till then had never ſeen; for the maintenance of which he not only oppreſſed the nation for the preſent, but, laying hold of the general conſternation the people were in, ordered the famous Doomſday-book to be made, wherein, taking an account of every foot of land in the kingdom, he learned, to the laſt ſhilling, how low they might be drained. I know ſome hiſtorians place this fact in another light; but I follow the Saxon chronicle, written in his own time, but with a truly Engliſh ſpirit, and therefore, in this reſpect, the beſt guide [y]. To ſay the truth, this king knew how to make advantage of all things, but particularly of misfortunes; for, in all the rebellions and invaſions which happened during his reign, he conſtantly ſpared his Normans, and ſubdued the Engliſh by the arms of the Engliſh. So, on the rumour of this invaſion, he firſt took occaſion to fill the country with his foreign ſoldiers, and then pillaged the people for their ſubſiſtence, and to fill his own coffers. When the danger was almoſt over, he ſailed to the iſle of Wight, that it might appear he was not deſtitute of a naval force, in caſe his enemies reſumed their projects; and paſſed

[x] Pontan. rerum Danic. hiſt. lib. v. p. 197. Gul. Malmeſb. de geſt. reg. Angl. lib. iii. [y] Chron. Saxon. p. 186. Ingulph. hiſt. Gul. Malmeſb. Mat. Pariſ. An excellent account of Doomſday-book, the reaſon why it was made, and its contents, is to be found in Robert of Glouceſter's chronicle, vol. ii. p. 373. in Mr. Hearne's accurate edition.

from thence into Normandy[z]. The next year he engaged in a war with France, in which, though he was ſucceſsful, yet it coſt him his life; for, advancing too near the flames of a city which he cauſed to be burnt, he caught a fever thereby, of which he died on the 9th day of September 1087, in the twenty-firſt year of his reign, and the ſixty-fourth of his age. The Saxon chronicle tells us, that he was a diligent active prince, and extremely jealous of his ſovereignty as king of England. Wales he ſubdued, and bridled with garriſons, awed Scotland, preſerved Normandy, in its full extent, againſt all the attempts of the French, and, if he had lived two years longer, would have reduced Ireland without employing arms[a]. In a word, he was in England a great king, and to his Normans a good duke.

William II. furnamed Rufus, *i. e.* the Red, from the colour of his hair, ſucceeded his father, though without ſo much as a plauſible title, his brother Robert having not only the pretence of birth, but likewiſe a plea of merit much ſuperior to his. William, however, though he might well attain by fraud what his father had both taken and kept by force; and therefore, having the good-will of ſome of the clergy, he wiſely determined to procure that of the nation by diſtributing among them his father's treaſures. To this end he made haſte to England, and going to Wincheſter, where his father's wealth lay, he ſcattered it abroad in ſuch a manner, that the pooreſt of the people, in every pariſh in England, felt the effects of it: ſo that, on his coming to London at Chriſtmas, he was received with all imaginable tokens of loyalty and affection[b]. He eaſily diſcerned, that his brother Duke Robert would not fail to give him diſturbance, and that, whenever he inclined to do it, a party would not be wanting to aſſiſt him in England: he therefore, to ſecure himſelf, in the firſt place, careſſed all the Engliſh nobility, and, contrary to his father's maxims, preferred them to the Normans, not out of any love, but becauſe he ſaw the Normans better affected to his brother: yet, whatever the motive was, the thing itſelf was very beneficial to the people; for it once again put

[z] A. D. 1086. [a] Chron. Saxon. p. 190, 191. Alured. Beverl. annal. lib. ix. [b] Chron. Saxon. p. 192. Gul. Malmeſb. de geſt. reg. Anglor. lib. iv. Hen. Hunting. hiſt. lib. vii.

arms

arms into their hands, and thereby gave them a power of obliging their princes to keep their promiſes longer than they intended. Another expedient of his was of no leſs advantage: he permitted the Engliſh to fit out ſhips of force to act againſt his enemies; and we ſhall quickly ſee what profit the king reaped from this indulgence [c].

Robert, the eldeſt ſon of the Conqueror, was in Germany when his father died; whence he quickly returned to take poſſeſſion of the duchy of Normandy, in which he met with no oppoſition [d]. When he was ſettled there, he turned his thoughts upon England, where his uncle Odo, earl of Kent, had formed a ſtrong party for the ſupport of his title. They ſurpriſed and fortified ſeveral caſtles; and if Robert, who had a good army in Normandy, and ſhips enough to tranſport them, had been as diligent in his own affair as thoſe who abetted his intereſt here, he had certainly carried his point, and transferred the crown to his own from his brother's head: but he contented himſelf with ſending a few troops hither, which, however, landed without oppoſition, the king having no navy to oppoſe them. But the Engliſh obſerving that, after this, they began to paſs the ſeas carleſsly, attacked them as occaſion offered, took their ſhips, and deſtroyed multitudes of men; ſo that, in a little time, Robert was glad to deſiſt from his pretenſions to the kingdom; and the king, in the fourth year of his reign, invaded Normandy both by ſea and land: but, by the interpoſition of friends, their differences were compoſed, and for the preſent the brothers reconciled [e].

The year following, the king reſolving to be revenged on the Scots [f], who had invaded his dominions while he was in Normandy, prepared to attack them with a conſiderable land force, and at the ſame time fitted out a great fleet. Duke Robert, who was then in England, was entruſted with the management of this expedition, which was far from anſwering the expectations raiſed thereby: for the fleet not being ready till towards Michaelmas, there happened ſuch ſtorms on the Scottiſh coaſt, that abundance of ſhips were loſt, and many more diſabled: the army too ſuffered exceedingly by the ſeverity of the weather; and

[c] Roger. Hoveden. p. 461, 462. Johan. Brompt. Chron. int. x. ſcript.
[d] A. D. 1088. [e] A. D. 1090. [f] A. D. 1091.

after

after all, Duke Robert was glad, by the interpoſition of Edgar Atheling, to make peace with Malcolm king of Scots; which the king ratified, without intending to keep it[g]. After this, there is little occurs in his reign as to naval expeditions, except frequent invaſions of Normandy; which ſhews he was ſuperior at ſea, and that he might have made a great figure by his maritime power, if he had been ſo inclined. But he had other views, and was particularly diſpoſed to bring the Welch under ſubjection; in order to which, he allowed the nobility on the borders to undertake expeditions at their own expence, and, in conſequence of that, for their own advantage.

An accident happened in one of theſe expeditions, which ſhews how much maritime affairs were then neglected, and how imprudent a thing it is to depend on armies without fleets. Hugh earl of Shrewſbury, and Hugh earl of Cheſter, invaded the iſle of Angleſey, and eaſily ſubdued the inhabitants, whom they plundered, and uſed very cruelly: but, in the midſt of their ſucceſs, one Magnus, a Norwegian pirate, came from the Orkneys, which were then ſubject to the Danes, with a ſmall ſquadron of ſhips, and, landing in Angleſey unexpectedly, defeated theſe inſolent invaders, killed the earl of Shrewſbury upon the ſpot, and carried off all the ſpoil that he and his aſſociates had taken. Not long after this, King William being informed, that the city of Mans was beſieged, he reſolved to go to its relief; and though his nobility adviſed him to ſtay till a ſquadron, at leaſt, could be drawn together, yet he abſolutely refuſed to make any delay, but going on board a ſmall veſſel, obliged the maſter to put to ſea in foul whether, for this wiſe reaſon, that he never heard a king of England was drowned; and ſo, landing at Barfleur with the troops he had in Normandy, relieved the place. How much ſoever ſome commend this action, it was not certainly either prudent or honourable, as expreſſing rather an intemperate courage, than any ſober reſolution of maintaining his dignity, which would have been better provided for by keeping a navy in conſtant readineſs[i]. This appears alſo to have been the king's own ſentiments: for, on his return to England, the next year, his firſt care was, to put his marine in a better

[g] Chron. Saxon. p. 197. Alured. Beverl. lib. xi. [h] A. D. 1099.
[i] Roger. Hoved. p. 465. Alured. Bev. annales, lib. ix.

condition;

condition; and, having formed ſome new projects, he drew together a very conſiderable fleet, at the ſame time that he raiſed a very great army: but before all things could be got ready, he was taken off by a ſudden and violent death. For going to hunt in New Foreſt, he was ſhot accidentally by an arrow's glancing againſt a tree; ſo that, after fetching one deep groan he died on the ſpot. The current of our modern hiſtories have fixed this fact on one Sir Walter Tyrrel; but ſeveral ancient writers, ſpeaking of the king's death, do not mention this gentleman: and a contemporary author affirms, that he had often heard Sir Walter declare, that he was in another part of the foreſt at the time of the king's death, and that he knew not how it happened[k]. Thus the rumours in one age become hiſtory in the next. This accident fell out on the ſecond of Auguſt, in the year 1100, when the king had reigned almoſt thirteen, and lived ſomewhat more than forty-two years. He was certainly a prince of high ſpirit, and quick parts, but had little tenderneſs for his ſubjects; and though he made a better king than his father to the Engliſh, yet it was merely becauſe he had more need of them, as appeared by the difference of his conduct in time of diſtreſs; and, when the ſituation of his affairs was mended, through their aſſiſtance: for he grew then as careleſs in performing, as he had been laviſh before in promiſing. So that his death was looked on as a deliverance, though he left the ſucceſſion unſettled, and all things in confuſion.

HENRY, the youngeſt ſon of the Conqueror, from his being bred to learning, ſurnamed Beauclerk, ſtept into the vacant throne, while his brother Robert was in the Holy Land[l]. He had a bad title, though varniſhed with many fair pretences; ſuch as his being born after his father became king, drawing his firſt breath in England, and having ever ſhewn a great affection for his countrymen. Yet the favour of the clergy, and particularly the archbiſhop of Canterbury, was the chief cauſe of his peaceable acceſſion; as his being very rich, and knowing well how to diſtribute his money, gained him, after his acceſſion, many friends. In the very dawning of his reign, he diſ-

[k] A quodam ex ſuis ſagitta occiſus, ſays the Saxon Chron. p. 107. Suger. in vita Ludovici Craſſi.

[l] A. D. 1100.

covered

covered an admirable talent for government, doing more good things than his brother had ever promiſed. He reſtored, in a great meaſure, the Saxon laws; preferred virtuous and able men; eaſed the people of their taxes, and provided for the ſecurity of the ſeas; promoting alſo, to the utmoſt of his power, the trade and navigation of his ſubjects. Still more to ingratiate himſelf with the commons, he eſpouſed Matilda, the ſiſter of Edgar, king of Scots, who was niece to Edgar Etheling, the true heir of the Saxon line: all this he did with great ſincerity of heart, and not from thoſe principles of Norman cunning, wherein conſiſted the ſeeming wiſdom of his brother. He carried his affection for the Engliſh further ſtill, by doing them juſtice upon their oppreſſors; impriſoning the biſhop of Cheſter in the Tower, who had been the principal adviſer of William Rufus, in all his arbitrary exactions [m]. In conſequence of all this, he either had, or ought to have had, the entire affection of his ſubjects. But his wiſdom would not allow him to truſt entirely to that; and therefore, as ſoon as he underſtood that his brother Robert was returned into Normandy, and received there in triumph, he provided for the ſecurity of his dominions by the moſt natural method, that of increaſing his ſtrength at ſea, and giving directions to his officers who had the cuſtody of the coaſts, called, in the language of thoſe times, butſecarles, to be vigilant in preventing all perſons from coming out of Normandy into England [n].

Time plainly diſcovered the wiſdom of the king's precaution; for Duke Robert, who was returned with a great reputation, and who was a prince endowed with many amiable qualities, quickly renewed his pretenſions to the Engliſh crown; preparing both a fleet and an army, in order to paſs over into England with greater ſtrength, and hopes of better ſucceſs than he had formerly. All our hiſtorians, however, agree, that, if King Henry's commanders at ſea had done their duty, he would never have ſet his feet on this iſland by force. But it ſo happened, that, either out of hopes of profit, or from the natural levity of their diſpoſitions, ſeveral of them inclined to the duke; and,

[m] Chron. Saxon. A. D. 1100. Gul. Malmeſb. de geſt. reg. Ang. lib. v. Matth. Paris, p. 55. Eadmer. hiſtor. Novor. lib. iii. Alured. Beverl. Annal. lib. ix. [n] Roger Hoveden, p. 468, 469. Florent. Wigorn. ad A. D. 1100.

as ſoon as they knew his fleet was at ſea, went over, with their ſhips, into his ſervice: by which means he landed ſafely at Portſmouth, with a gallant army[o]. King Henry, however, had not been idle; but had a conſiderable force about him, when he received this news: upon which he marched directly to Haſtings, where he was joined by many of the nobility; though ſome of theſe too, afterwards, went over to his brother. When things were on the point of being determined by arms, and a ſecond battle of Haſtings ſeemed to be the only method of clearing the royal title, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and ſome other great men, interpoſed, and brought about an accommodation, by which the kingdom was left to Henry, and a penſion of three thouſand marks was reſerved to Robert[p]; who, after a ſtay of ſix months in his brother's court, returned into Normandy, very well ſatisfied: though he did not continue ſo long; perceiving plainly, when it was too late, that he who wanted reſolution enough to contend for a kingdom, was not likely to preſerve a dukedom in quiet: and this jealouſy drew upon him, in proceſs of time, the very thing that he feared, as our hiſtorians relate at large, and as I ſhall briefly ſhew, ſo far as it concerns the ſubject of which I am treating.

After various paſſages into Normandy, the king, at laſt, determined to make an abſolute conqueſt of it; pretending, that he was aſhamed to ſee his brother not able to live upon his revenues, though he had not been aſhamed to take from him, as a gift, the penſion of three thouſand marks *per annum*, which he had forced him to accept in lieu of the crown. With this view he raiſed a great army, and a fleet proportionable, with which he croſſed the ſea[q]; and, in a ſhort ſpace, conquered the greateſt part of his brother's dominions. That ſtout prince, whoſe ſpirit was always ſuperior to his power, reſolved to hazard all bravely in the field, rather than remain ſafe in his perſon, but ſtripped of his dominions. Full of this generous reſolution, he gave his brother battle, wherein he ſhewed all the courage and conduct of an experienced commander; yet, in the end, was routed, taken priſoner, and thence forward never en-

[o] A. D. 1101. [p] Chron. Saxon. p. 209. Mat. Paris, p. 98. Gul. Malmeſb. de geſt. reg. Angl. lib. v. Alured. Beverl. Annal. lib. ix. [q] A. D. 1106.

joyed either land or liberty more[r]. The Engliſh writers are fond of remarking, that this conqueſt of Normandy happened that very day forty years, on which his father, by the battle of Haſtings, obtained the crown of England: but, as to what they relate further, of Duke Robert's having his eyes put out, and dying of ſpite, becauſe the king ſent him a robe that was too little for himſelf[s]; they are facts, if not falſe, very doubtful at leaſt, and therefore not haſtily to be credited.

As Normandy could not have been conquered without a conſiderable fleet; ſo it would quickly have been loſt again, if the king had not been ſuperior to his neighbours at ſea: for the king of France was very deſirous of ſetting up William, the ſon of Duke Robert, and nephew to the king, in the room of his father. This obliged King Henry to make frequent voyages thither, and to be at great expence, as well in gratifying the French lords, as in maintaining an army and fleet for its defence; which did not, however, hinder him from chaſtiſing the Welch, when they took up arms againſt him, or from ſending to the aſſiſtance of the Chriſtians in the Holy Land, as great ſuccours as any prince of his time[t]. Indeed, his remarkable felicity, in attaining almoſt every thing he undertook, put much in his power; and he had too elevated a ſoul not to uſe what he poſſeſſed.

He received, however, in the twenty-firſt year of his reign[u], a very conſiderable check: for having ſettled every thing in Normandy to his good liking, where, for that purpoſe, he had reſided for ſome years; he reſolved to return to England, with all the royal family. His only ſon William, whom he had made duke of that country, and who was alike the delight of his father, and of the nation, ordered a new ſhip to be built, for the commodious carriage of himſelf, and many of his princely relations: theſe, accordingly, embarked on the 26th of November, the weather fine, and the wind fair. The prince, having made the hearts of the ſailors merry, propoſed to them a reward, in caſe they could outſail the veſſel in which his father

[r] Chron. Saxon. p. 113, 114. Mat. Paris, p. 62, Gul. Malmeſb. &c.

[s] This is indeed affirmed by M. Paris, and ſome other writers of good authority; but the Saxon chronicle is ſilent; and Malmeſbury commends King Henry's kindneſs to his brother.

[t] Gul. Malmeſb. de geſt. reg. Anglor. lib. v. Hen. Huntingd. hiſt. lib. vii. Alured. Beverl. Annal. lib. ix. [u] A. D. 1120.

was.

was. In attempting this, they ventured too near the ſhore, and unfortunately, juſt as it fell dark, ran upon a ſhoal of rocks, then known by the name of Shatteras. The boat was preſently put out, and the prince, with ſome few about him, got into it, and might have been yet ſafe, if, moved by the cries of his ſiſter the counteſs of Perche, he had not returned with an intent to take her in; which gave ſo many an opportunity of crowding into the boat, that it ſunk together with the ſhip, every ſoul going to the bottom except a butcher, who very ſtrangely eſcaped, by clinging to the main-maſt [w]. There periſhed by this misfortune about 200 perſons; which enables us to give ſome gueſs at the bulk and burden of ſhips in thoſe days [x].

Other circumſtances in this king's reign, I find none of weight enough to deſerve mentioning: I ſhall therefore content myſelf with obſerving, that, by ſeveral laws relating to trade, (particularly one which gave every wreck to the owners, if a living thing was found on board), he manifeſted his attention to commerce, and his care of maritime affairs [y]. To this we may add, that the Daniſh prince of the Orkneys made him frequent preſents as teſtimonies of his veneration and reſpect; and though Morchad king of Ireland, whom the writers of that country ſtyle Murchertus O'Brian, in the beginning of his reign, treated the Engliſh but indifferently; yet, on King Henry's threatening to prohibit all commerce with that iſland, he came to a juſt ſenſe of his folly, and ever after behaved as became him towards the ſubjects of ſo great a prince [z]. It is in ſome meaſure wonderful, that, conſidering the many and great fatigues this prince underwent, he was not ſooner worn out: but, as he was fortunate in all other things, ſo in this alſo he was happy, that he enjoyed a longer life and rule than his predeceſſors, dying on December 2, 1135, after having reigned thirty-five, and lived near ſixty-eight years [a]. He was a monarch of great endowments, improved by an excellent education, who ſincerely

[w] Chron. Saxon. p. 222. Gul. Malmeſb. Hen. Huntingd. Matth. Paris, *&c.*
[x] Alured. Beverl. annal. lib. ix. p. 148. Robert of Glouceſter's chronicle, p. 438. contains a very particular and curious account. [y] Selden. Jan. Angl. oper. tom. iv. p. 1009. [z] Gul. Malmeſb. de geſt. reg. Angl. lib. v.
[a] Chron. Saxon. p. 237. Matth. Paris. Gul. Malmeſb. *&c.*

loved the Engliſh, and had always a juſt regard to the honour of his crown.

STEPHEN earl of Blois, nephew, by the father's ſide, to the late king, and, by his mother, grandſon to William the Conqueror, by cajoling the Engliſh lords, promiſing wholly to remit danegeld, and to eaſe them in other particulars, attained the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh crown, to the prejudice of Maud the empreſs; through the ſame arts, preciſely, whereby her father had defrauded his brother Duke Robert. This King Stephen was a prince, who, abating his ambition, had few or no vices; brave in his perſon, a good officer; and who, in all probability, would have made an excellent king, if he had come to the throne with a better title, and thereby ſecured a more peaceable poſſeſſion: but, being involved in wars and diſputes almoſt his whole reign, and having given up or relinquiſhed that tax, by which he ſhould have ſecured the ſovereignty of the ſea, which promiſe he exactly kept, we need not wonder, that we have leſs to ſay of him than of the other Norman princes[b].

In the third year of his reign, he, with a great fleet, and a conſiderable army on board, invaded Normandy; and though Geoffrey earl of Anjou, the huſband of Maud the empreſs, did all in his power to defend it, yet he rejoined that dukedom to the Engliſh crown, intending to have beſtowed it on his ſon Euſtace. However, his affairs had not this proſperous current long; for, after many domeſtic troubles, his competitor Maud landed in England, and laid claim to the crown[c]. Though her retinue was very ſmall, ſcarce 150 in number, yet ſhe quickly grew ſtrong enough to give the king a great deal of trouble; nay, at length ſhe became ſo powerful, that ſhe took him priſoner, and ſent him to be kept at Briſtol, where by her orders he was put into irons, yet afterwards exchanged for her baſtard brother, Robert earl of Glouceſter. This potent lord, croſſing over into Normandy, recovered it for his ſiſter and her ſon Henry; and, then returning, is recorded to have invaded the northern parts of the kingdom with a fleet of fifty-two ſail; which ſhows how low the maritime ſtrength of the nation was

[b] Chron. Saxon. p. 238. Matth. Paris, hiſt. Angl. p. 74, 75. Gul. Malmeſb. hiſt. novel. lib. i. [c] A. D. 1140.

then

then fallen, and what mighty miſchiefs follow from a conteſted ſucceſſion, which, however it may end as to princes, is ſure to be always fatal to their ſubjects[d].

Indeed this reign of King Stephen, if our beſt hiſtories, and the Saxon chronicle eſpecially, be worthy of credit, was moſt unfortunate for the people, expoſing them to ſuch miſeries and diſtreſſes as in times paſt they had never felt, and which would hardly meet with any belief now. Amongſt all their grievances this was none of the leaſt, that there was a total ſtagnation of trade, much counterfeit money, and no ſecurity for foreign merchants; remedies for all which are expreſsly provided by the treaty of peace made with Henry duke of Normandy, by King Stephen, in the eighteenth year of his reign, which was confirmed by the king's charter, whereof an authentic copy is preſerved in Holingſhed's chronicle, and no where elſe[e]. The king did not live long after this ſettlement of his affairs, otherwiſe he would, in all probability, have done his utmoſt to reſtore things to a better ſtate; about which, when his mind was employed, he was carried off by a complication of diſtempers on October 25, 1154, when he had reigned near nineteen years. A great captain, ſays Matthew Paris; and moſt of our other hiſtorians agree as to his perſonal qualifications, a good king. Only that ancient and venerable book the Saxon chronicle, which ends with his reign, ſets down nothing but calamities and misfortunes which happened therein: and yet this prince had a reputation for piety, and was remarkably kind to the monks. I mention this particularly, to ſhew the impartiality of that authentic hiſtory, which well deſerves to be tranſlated from the tongue of our anceſtors into modern Engliſh, and would afford ſuch as prefer truth to fine language much ſatisfaction.

ACCORDING to the method I have hitherto followed, I ought to ſpeak now of ſuch diſcoveries as were made within this ſpace of time, or extraordinary acts performed by private perſons; in reſpect to which, however, I ſhall not detain the reader long, becauſe, in the firſt place, we have not much of this

[d] Gul. Neubrigen. lib. i. cap. 13. Nic. Trivet. annal. Robert of Glouceſter's chronicle, p. 460.

[e] Vol. ii. p. 62. edit. 1587.

kind

kind to note; and, ſecondly, what there is hath been already examined by Hakluyt and other collectors, and therefore may be preſumed to be ſufficiently known already. Such are the travels of Alured biſhop of Worceſter, in the year 1058, to Jeruſalem[f]; the journey of Ingulphus, abbot of Croyland, to the ſame place in 1004[g]; both which are private tranſactions, and only prove that Engliſhmen were as forward as any, in thoſe days, in undertaking ſuch journeys as might contribute to the increaſe either of their knowledge or reputation. As to the expeditions of Edgar Atheling, they are ſomewhat of a different kind, and are, in ſome meaſure, of national importance. His high quality, as the true heir of the Engliſh crown, made all his actions very conſpicuous during the times in which he lived; and as he often found it troubleſome ſtaying at home under the eye of ſuch as, to his prejudice, were veſted with ſupreme power, and bore him no good-will, ſo he choſe to ſignalize his courage abroad in ſuch adventures as fell in his way. Thus he commanded a body of Normans, which were ſent into Apulia[h]; and, returning out of Italy with honour, he then applied himſelf to Robert duke of Normandy, who treated him with kindneſs and reſpect, and with whom he went to Jeruſalem, where he likewiſe gained ſuch great reputation, that firſt the emperor of Conſtantinople, and then the emperor of Germany, would willingly have detained him in their courts; but he came back in 1102, and was four years afterwards taken priſoner, with Duke Robert, in Normandy[i]. One of our moſt famous hiſtorians, who was his contemporary, reproaches him ſeverely for his not accepting the offers that were made him abroad, and for his fond attachment to his own country: but if we conſider that his ſiſter was married to the king of Scots, and that her daughter by that king was eſpouſed to King Henry, in whoſe reign he returned, one cannot think that cenſure very reaſonable, or that his waſting the laſt years of his life in ſo obſcure a retirement, that we know not where

[f] Roger Hoveden in parte priore annal. p. 345. Hakluyt, vol. ii. p. 8.
[g] Ingulph. hiſtor. ap. ſcript. poſt Bedam, p. 903, 904. Hakluyt, vol. ii. p. 9. [h] Gul. Malmeſb. de geſt. reg. Angl. lib. iii. [i] Chron. Saxon. A. D. 1106.

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it was [k], or when, or how he died, appears more diſhonourable to his memory, than to the writers of that age, who were ſo devoted to power, that they could not ſo much as do juſtice to the character of a man obnoxious thereto. Athelard, a monk of Bath, is ſaid by Bale to have travelled through Egypt and Arabia, in ſearch of knowledge: and that, on his return home, which was towards the latter end of the reign of Henry I. he publiſhed many learned works [l]. Leland, a more accurate writer, tells us he was a great traveller; but without any mention either of Egypt or Arabia; though he informs us, that he tranſlated Euclid's Elements out of Arabic into Latin; and that himſelf had ſeen another learned work, tranſlated by the ſame monk, from an Arabic treatiſe, intituled, Erith Elcharmi: which deſerves to be remarked, becauſe very probably theſe books were then firſt brought to the knowledge of learned men here; and therefore this man might be ſaid to travel for public advantage [m]. William of Tyre [n], and Robert Ketenſis, are both mentioned in Hakluyt, from Bale, for learned men and travellers, as they were [o]. The former flouriſhed under King Henry, the latter under King Stephen; but, as to any thing farther capable of recommending their fame to poſterity, I find not.

It appears from the renewed charters of the cinque ports, that, as they were firſt incorporated by Edward the Confeſſor; ſo, during the reigns of the ſeveral princes mentioned in this chapter, they were particularly ſerviceable upon all occaſions: whence it is evident, that there was a flouriſhing trade carried on from this coaſt even in theſe times, and before them. As to the commerce of the river Thames, and the city of London, there is an ample teſtimony in the works of William of Malmeſbury, who flouriſhed under King Stephen: for he aſſures us that it was then frequented by merchants of all nations, and ſo ample a ſtore-houſe of all the neceſſaries of life, that, upon any dearth or ſcarcity of corn, the reſt of the nation was cheaply

[k] Gul. Malmeſb. de geſtis reg. Ang. lib. iii. p. 103. Hakluyt, vol. ii. p. 10.
[l] Baleus de Script. Britan. p. 183. Hakluyt, vol. ii. p. 15.
[m] Leland. Comment. de Script. Brit. vol. i. p. 201.
[n] Bal. de Script. Britan. vol. ii. p. 50, 150. Hakluyt, vol. ii. p. 16.
[o] Bal. de Script. Britan. vol. i. p. 191. Hakluyt, ubi ſupra.

and

and conveniently ſupplied from thence [p]. The ſame writer obſerves as to Briſtol, that a great trade was driven from thence to Norway, Ireland, and other places, whence the inhabitants were vaſtly enriched [q]. Without doubt, the acceſſion of the Norman dominions was of conſiderable uſe in reſpect to trade; as was our former intercourſe with the Danes, ſince it enlarged our correſpondence with the northern parts of the world, a thing always profitable to a country abounding with valuable commodities or manufactures; as will more clearly appear, even from our conciſe account of the ſucceeding reigns.

The reader will obſerve, that we refer any advantages ariſing to the inhabitants of this iſland, from their falling under the ſame ſovereignty with the duchy of Normandy, to the ſucceeding reigns; ſince there is nothing more certain, than that under the government of the princes mentioned in this chapter, they ſuffered ſeverely. William I. provoked by frequent inſurrections in the north, and the aſſiſtance given by the Scots to ſuch as took arms againſt him, ruined the northern parts of his territories in ſuch a manner, that they did not recover during this whole period. On the other hand, his ſon and ſucceſſor, William Rufus, demoliſhed thirty-ſix good towns, in the faireſt and moſt fruitful part of England, for the making that which is ſtill called the New Foreſt. What is aſcribed to rage in the one, and wantonneſs in the other, may perhaps be juſtly ſtyled the fruits of the ſame policy in both: for it looks as if the father had a mind to make war a thing more difficult to the inhabitants of the north, by preventing their joining with the Scots ſo eaſily, or ſubſiſting their forces conveniently when joined, and the ſon might poſſibly be willing to have that coaſt leſs populous, that the inhabitants might not be tempted to aim at preventing his return from Normandy, whenever his affairs carried him thither, as otherwiſe perhaps they might have been.

Both thoſe monarchs ſeem to have had no tenderneſs at all for this country, but conſidered it as a farm, of which it was wiſdom to make the moſt while in their poſſeſſion. Henry had indeed a heart, if not entirely, yet in a good meaſure, Engliſh: under him the people began to recover again, and grow weal-

[p] De geſt. pontif. Anglor. lib. ii. [q] Ibid. lib. iv.

thy, as the king did likewiſe: for it was in his time that the revenue ariſing from the crown lands was adjuſted, and fixed to a ſettled and certain rate, ſo as that it might be paid, either in money or proviſions. As this ſhews that the people were beginning to grow rich; ſo, by attending his affairs at home as well as he did thoſe abroad, the king grew rich too, inſomuch, that at the time of his demiſe, he actually left in his coffers the ſum of one hundred thouſand pounds in ready money, excluſive of plate and jewels. This would have coined, in our times, to thrice that ſum; but, in reference to its real value, ought to be eſteemed about a million. Stephen ſeized upon all this, and ſpent it in his wars with much more. Better had it been, if he had ſpent it in his follies; for then it would have gone amongſt the people, without prejudice to their induſtry: whereas his reign being a ſeries of troubles, they were ſo often in arms, that they could attend to nothing elſe; which was the true ſource of that miſery and poverty before mentioned.

But to underſtand this, and many of our ſubſequent reflections perfectly, it will be requiſite to ſay ſomewhat of the manner of dealing in thoſe days, the nature of payments, and the value of gold and ſilver. As to the common people, in their ordinary way of trading in the country, they made but little uſe of money, and yet derived great advantage from the laws enacted for ſettling its value; ſince, by thoſe laws, the rates of moſt ſaleable goods were likewiſe ſettled; by which exchange or barter was very much facilitated; and where commodities could not be brought to balance each other exactly, the difference was paid in money, that is, in ſilver or gold, according to the rates at which they were then fixed by law, ſo that none, in their open dealings, could be over-reached, cheated, or wronged.

Payments, *ad ſcalam* and *ad penſum*, were by weight. Twenty ſhillings were then a pound, and the officers took ſixpence over, called Vantage-money. This kind of payment was very ancient: when payment was made *ad penſum*, the payer was to make good the weight, though he had allowed the ſixpence over. To prevent fraud in the fineneſs, as well as weight, part of the money was melted down, called Combuſtion. There were two ſorts of payments by combuſtion; real and nominal.

Real, when a ſample of the money was put into the furnace: nominal, when a twentieth part of a pound was taken and accepted in lieu of actual combuſtion. When money paid in was melted down, or the ſupplement made by adding one ſhilling to each twenty, the ferme was ſaid to be dealbated, or blanched: ſo one hundred pounds, thus paid into the exchequer after combuſtion, was ſaid to be one hundred pounds blank. This was oppoſed to payments made *numero*, or by tale, which is our modern way. Computations, or at leaſt payments, were made by pounds, marks, half-marks, ſhillings, pence, *&c.* ſilver by marks, half-marks, ounces, and half-ounces of gold. The mark of gold was equivalent to ſix pounds of ſilver, or ſix ſcore ſhillings: the ounce of gold was equivalent to fifteen ſhillings of ſilver: the pound of ſilver was twenty ſhillings; the mark of ſilver thirteen ſhillings and fourpence; the ſhilling twelvepence. It is requiſite to have theſe notes before our eyes, when we are ſpeaking of what paſſed in times at ſuch a diſtance; for, otherwiſe, it will be almoſt impoſſible to prevent falling into great miſtakes about ſubjects of importance; as, indeed, ſeveral able hiſtorians have done, for want of attending carefully to theſe matters, which, in all probability, they did not conceive ſo deſerving their notice: and yet a diſpoſition to negligence is ſometimes as fatal to the reader, as an inclination to falſhood.

But that I may not ſeem to expect more caution in others, than I have ſhewn myſelf, I think it may not be amiſs to give the public ſome account of the reaſons why I ſuppoſe, that the ſum of one hundred thouſand pounds, found in the treaſury of King Henry I. was equivalent to near a million at this time. In order to this, it is neceſſary to acquaint the reader, that, in the reign of that prince, the king's tenant, who was bound to provide bread for one hundred men, was allowed to compound, by paying one ſhilling in money. The very learned biſhop Fleetwood ſuppoſes, that this was bread for one meal; but I am inclined to think that it was bread for a whole day: and am induced to think ſo, becauſe, in countries where this eſtabliſhment has always prevailed, a ration of bread is ſtill ſo accounted. In our times, I preſume, the value of bread for a day may be computed at about twopence, or rather more; and conſequently, bread for a hundred men will come to fixteen

ſhillings

ſhillings and eightpence: ſo that what could be then bought for one ſhilling, would coſt almoſt ſeventeen now. Yet if we ſhould haſtily conclude from hence, that any given ſum of money, at that time, ought to be multiplied by ſeventeen, to find its equivalent in ours, we ſhall be much in the wrong. For the ſhilling, in thoſe times, was thrice as heavy as ours; and therefore was, in reality, worth three ſhillings: ſo that, in fact, the bread that would now coſt ſixteen ſhillings and eightpence, might have been bought then for as much ſilver as is in three of our ſhillings. According to this computation, one hundred thouſand pounds then, would not be worth quite ſix hundred thouſand now; but if we reflect, that a great part of this ſum muſt have been in gold, and that it is very reaſonable to believe the compoſition was not exactly made, or ſtrictly ſet, it will appear, that the eſtimation I have made is agreeable to truth; or, at leaſt, not very wide of it.

It may not be amiſs, after dwelling ſo long upon this ſubject, to explain another point; that is, the difference between the Saxon and Norman money, which in ſound was very great, though but very little in fact. The Saxons divided the pound weight of ſilver into forty-eight ſhillings, which the Normans divided only into twenty; but then the Saxons divided their ſhilling into fivepence only; whereas the Normans ſplit theirs into twelve; from whence it follows, that the number of pence in the Saxon and Norman pound was the ſame, and the pounds themſelves exactly of the ſame value, as being in reality what the word implies, a pound weight of ſilver. It has been before obſerved, that great ſums of money were paid in weight; and the reaſon of it is not hard to be found: for the coin then current was the ſilver penny, with a deep croſs indented on the reverſe; ſo that it might be eaſily broken into the halfpenny, or farthing. This was convenient enough, therefore, for ſmall matters, but not for great: and for this reaſon all large payments were by the ſcale; and in caſes of very great moment, it was ſtipulated that it ſhould be ſo: juſt as in ſucceeding times it was required, that payments ſhould be made in ſterling money, and as in ours we uſe the phraſe of good and lawful money of England.

We collect moſt of theſe particulars either from old records, monkiſh hiſtorians, or thoſe ancient chronicles in rhyme, which are ſtill preſerved to us by the induſtry and care of a few men of a particular taſte, though very little regarded by the many. It is, notwithſtanding, very certain, that points of this nature are highly important, to the thorough underſtanding the moſt uſeful and material parts of hiſtory: ſuch as comparing the ſtate and conditions, the manners and uſages, the felicity and infelicity of paſt times with our own; without which, hiſtorical reading is a mere amuſement: which, how much ſoever it may enable a man to talk, will, notwithſtanding, ſcarce afford him the capacity of thinking or reaſoning better. It is on this account that we ſee the common people very apt, upon ſome occaſions, to treat learning and learned men with contempt; becauſe they are not able to anſwer readily ſuch queſtions as are propoſed to them about matters in common uſe: and it is this likewiſe, that recommends to them Baker's chronicle, and other books of a like nature, written in a familiar ſtyle, and which deſcend to things which fall under daily notice, though they are but mean in point of compoſition, and are very frequently dark and inaccurate; which is indeed a good reaſon why they ſhould be corrected and ſet right, inſtead of being undervalued and wholly neglected by men of parts and knowledge. For, after all, we can never expect to ſee an Engliſh hiſtory complete, if there is not full as much reſpect paid to the diſcoveries made by antiquaries, as to the greater and more ſhining events which are recorded by thoſe who make the wars and ſtate intrigues of our monarchs their principal care, and diſcuſſing them the great buſineſs of their writings.

LIVES

LIVES
OF THE
ADMIRALS:
INCLUDING A NEW AND ACCURATE
NAVAL HISTORY.

CHAP. V.

The Naval Hiſtory of England, during the reigns of Henry II. Richard I. John, Henry III. Edward I. Edward II. Edward III. Richard II.

Containing the ſpace of about 235 years.

HENRY II. aſcended the throne, with univerſal conſent, on the death of King Stephen, having, beſides his kingdom, large dominions on the continent, by various titles, *viz.* Normandy, Aquitain, Anjou, Main, and Tourain, which rendered him extraordinary powerful. He was about twenty-eight years old at this time, and eſteemed as wiſe and brave a prince as that age produced. His firſt care was to reſtore the government to its former ſtate, by rectifying the many diſorders which had crept in during the unſettled reign of King Stephen[a]. Having performed this, he projected the conqueſt of Ireland; for which, though he had many pretences, yet he thought fit to obtain the pope's bull, the rather, becauſe the reigning pontiff, Adrian IV.[b] was by birth an Engliſhman. This

[a] Gul. Neubrig. hiſt. rer. Angl. lib. ii. c. 1.

[b] A. D. 1155.

favour

favour he eaſily obtained, for propagating the Chriſtian faith, together with the power and profits of the holy ſee, as by that inſtrument appears [c]. In order to this expedition, the king conferred with his great council at Wincheſter; but his mother diſliking the project, it was for that time laid aſide [d].

His next expedition was beyond the ſeas, in the fifth year of his reign [e], undertaken at a vaſt expence, with a great fleet and potent army, for the recovery of the earldom of Toloufe, to which the king claimed a title: but he was not ſo happy in this as in his other expeditions, though he was ſo far ſuperior at ſea, that his enemies durſt not contend with him on that element [f]. In the eleventh year of his reign, he employed both a fleet and an army againſt the Welch [g], and afterwards was engaged in various diſputes with the king of France, which obliged him to a long reſidence in Normandy [h]. In the ſixteenth year of his reign [i], he cauſed his ſon Henry, then about fifteen years of age, to be crowned king in his life-time [k], which inſtead of contributing, as he ſuppoſed it would, to his peace and proſperity, proved the cauſe of very great calamities to himſelf and ſubjects.

About this time, the king reſumed his grand deſign of conquering Ireland, to which he had various incitements. Some pretenſions he formed, from its having been anciently ſubdued by the Britons: another motive was, the injuries done to his ſubjects by the piracies which the Iriſh committed, taking and ſelling Engliſh priſoners into ſlavery: but that which gave him the faireſt occaſion was the tyranny of Roderick O'Connor, who, aſſuming the title of monarch of Ireland, oppreſſed the other princes in the iſland, and thereby forced them to ſeek the protection of King Henry. One of theſe, whoſe name was Dermot, king of Leinſter, being driven out of his dominions, paſſed over into Normandy, where the king then was, and entreated his aſſiſtance, which was readily granted: but the king, like a politic prince, adviſed him for the preſent to apply himſelf to ſome of his barons, to whom he granted a licence to undertake an expedition in his favour. Accordingly, Robert Fitz-Stephens in the month of May, in the year 1169, landed at Wexford

[c] Nic. Trivit. annal. vol. i. p. 28. [d] Ibid. p. 31. [e] A. D. 1159.
[f] Gul. Neubrig. lib. ii. c. 10. [g] A. D. 1165. [h] Nic. Trivet. annal. vol. i. p. 46. [i] A. D. 1170. [k] Gul. Neubrig. lib. ii. c. 25.

with

with a very ſmall force: he was immediately followed by Maurice Pendergaſt; and theſe, by the aſſiſtance of King Dermot, having gained footing in the iſland, Richard earl of Chepſtow, commonly called in our hiſtories Richard Strongbow, who was the chief undertaker, went thither in perſon, and landed Auguſt 25, 1170, at Waterford with a greater force, and in a ſhort time reduced Dublin and many other places. King Henry, having advice of their unexpected ſucceſs, began to take umbrage thereat, and publiſhed a proclamation, commanding all his ſubjects to return out of that iſland by a time prefixed, on pain of confiſcation of their eſtates in England: but they, by aſſuring the king of their duty, and ſubmiſſion to his will, engaged him to revoke that order, and to come to an agreement with them, whereby he reſerved to himſelf the ſea-ports and coaſts, and confirmed their inland conqueſts to the undertakers. The king, however, reſolved to go over thither in perſon, and for that purpoſe drew together a conſiderable army, which he embarked on board a fleet of 400 ſail, and paſſed therewith from Milford-haven to Waterford, where he landed October 25, 1171. The appearance of ſo great a force, and the preſence of the king, had ſuch an effect on this country, then torn by inteſtine diviſions, that, in a very ſhort ſpace, the king made this great conqueſt, which he had ſo long ſought, and ſo vigorouſly endeavoured, without effuſion of blood. Afterwards, keeping his Chriſtmas at Dublin, he there received homage and hoſtages of the ſeveral petty princes, and even of the great King Roderick O'Connor; ſo that, if his affairs had permitted him to have remained there ſo long as he intended, he would in all probability not only have effectually reduced Ireland, but alſo left it in a quiet and peaceable ſtate[1]. It was diſcord ariſing in his own family that prevented this; for Eleanor his queen, his eldeſt ſon King Henry, his younger ſons Richard and Geoffrey, entering into a conſpiracy againſt him, and being ſupported therein by the power of the king of France, old King Henry was obliged about Eaſter to leave Ireland, and return to Wales; which he did, without ſuffering any loſs; having before ſettled the Engliſh

[1] Rog. Hoved. annal. par. poſt. p. 526, 527. Matt. Paris, hiſt. Angl. p. 126. Gul. Neubrig. lib. ii. cap. 26. Nic. Trivet. annal. vol. i. p. 57.

conqueſts

conqueſts in that iſland as he thought proper [m]. Of this war we have a very diſtinct account, though interlarded with many ſuperſtitious circumſtances by Gerald Barry, better known by the name of Giraldus Cambrenſis, an eye-witneſs [n].

The king was engaged, by the unlucky accidents before mentioned, in various wars for many years together; in all which he ſupported himſelf with undaunted courage, and admirable conduct. In Normandy he defeated the king of France, and the forces of his own ſon Henry: the loyal nobility of England, in the mean time, not only repulſed the king of Scots, who had invaded the northern provinces of England, but took him priſoner; and the earl of Flanders, who had raiſed great forces with an intent to have invaded England, was ſo awed by the king's ſucceſs, that he was forced to give over his enterpriſe, and diſband his army: and theſe great things the king was chiefly enabled to perform by his ſuperior power at ſea, in which, though ſome conteſt happened between him and his ſon Henry, yet it was quickly over; for the king's fleet deſtroyed moſt of the rebels ſhips, and many of their confederates, inſomuch that wearied by degrees with repeated diſappointments, and brought low by numberleſs defeats, his enemies were at length content to accept a peace on the terms preſcribed them by the king; after which he tranſported his victorious army on board a royal fleet into England, landing at Portſmouth on May 26, 1175 [o]. The ſame year, Roderick O'Connor made a ſecond and more full ſubmiſſion to the king [p], who thereupon transferred his title to that iſland to his ſon John, who, as ſome writers report, was crowned king with a diadem of peacock's feathers ſet in gold, ſent to his father by the pope for that purpoſe. Some part of this ſtory, however, cannot be true, ſince it appears, from the great ſeal made uſe of by this prince, that he never ſtyled himſelf king but lord only of Ireland, into which country he alſo went [q], ſeveral years after, with a conſiderable army, and continued there ſome time, though without performing any great matter [r].

[m] Gul. Neubrig. lib. ii. cap. 17. [n] There is an Engliſh tranſlation of his work in the firſt volume of Holingſhed's chronicle. [o] Nic. Trivet. annal. vol. i. p. 67. [p] Roder. O'Flaherty in Ogyg. p. 441. Nic. Trivet. annal. vol. i. p. 68. [q] A. D. 1185. [r] Camden. Britan. p. 795. Roger Hoved. annal. p. 630. Speed's chronicle, p. 499.

Even after thoſe times of confuſion, and notwithſtanding all the expence they had occaſioned, the king ſhewed the greatneſs of his mind by giving extraordinary aſſiſtance to the Chriſtians in the Holy Land, not only by licenſing ſeveral of his nobility to go thither at their own charges, but alſo by advancing large ſums of money, and furniſhing ſhips and arms[s]. How much there was of piety in theſe expeditions, I pretend not to determine; yet certainly the king's intent was good, and this good effect followed it, that his fame, and the reputation of the nation, was ſpread thereby to the moſt diſtant parts of the world, inſomuch that the crown of Jeruſalem was offered to the king, who, conſidering the ſtate of his affairs at home, modeſtly declined it. Indeed, the troubles he had ſo happily quelled ſome years before broke out again in the latter part of his reign, when he was as unfortunate as of old he had been happy; inſomuch that, after undergoing a cruel reverſe of fortune, occaſioned chiefly by his being obliged to end theſe diſputes by fighting on land, where his French and Norman lords often betrayed him, he was as length compelled to accept ſuch terms of peace as France and his rebellious ſon Richard would afford him; which affected him ſo ſenſibly, that it threw him into a fit of ſickneſs, of which he died on July 6, 1189, when he had reigned near thirty-five years, and lived ſixty-three[t]. He was the firſt prince of the royal houſe of Plantagenet, and was poſſeſſed of very extenſive dominions. He enjoyed England in a fuller and better ſettled condition than his predeceſſors, reſtoring the ancient laws, and aboliſhing danegeld. He humbled Scotland more than any of his predeceſſors, kept Wales in ſtrict ſubjection, ſubdued Ireland, and held all the maritime provinces of France, even to the mountains which divide it from Spain; ſo that, as a foreign writer confeſſes, he juſtly claimed, and undeniably maintained, his ſovereignty over the ſea[u], which he eſteemed the moſt honourable prerogative of his crown.

[s] Gul. Neubrig. lib. iii. cap. 10. Roger Hoved. annal. p. 641. [t] Matth. Paris. hiſt. Angl. p. 151. Gul. Neubrig. lib. iii. cap. 25, 26. Roger Hoved. annal. p. 652, 653. Nic. Trivet. annal. vol. i. p. 94. Robert of Glouceſter's chronicle, p. 481. [u] P. Daniel, hiſtoire de la Mil. Franc. tom. ii. p. 445.

RICHARD ſucceeded his father King Henry in all his dominions [w], as well on the continent as in this iſland; and, having adjuſted all his affairs in France amicably with Philip Auguſtus, who was then king, he came over hither to ſettle his domeſtic concerns, that he might be at liberty to undertake that great expedition on which he had ſet his heart, *viz.* of driving the Saracens out of the Holy Land, in which he was to have King Philip of France and other great princes for his aſſociates [x]. Our hiſtorians ſpeak of this according to their own notions, and without any reſpect had to the then circumſtances of things: hence ſome treat it with great ſolemnity, and as a thing worthy of immortal honour, while others again conſider it as a pure effect of bigotry, and blame the king exceedingly for being led by the noſe by the pope, and involving himſelf in ſo romantic a ſcheme to the great danger of his perſon, and the almoſt entire ruin of his ſubjects. I muſt own, that to me neither opinion ſeems right; yet I ſhould not have expreſſed my ſentiments on this ſubject, if it did not very nearly concern the matter of this treatiſe. The power of the Saracens was then exceeding great, and they were growing no leſs formidable at ſea than they had been long at land; ſo that, if the whole force of Chriſtendom had not been oppoſed againſt them in the eaſt, I ſee very little or no room to doubt of their making an entire conqueſt of the weſt: for, ſince they were able to deal with the joint forces of theſe princes in the Holy Land, they would undoubtedly have beat them ſingly, if ever they had attacked them. How little ſoever, therefore, the popes are to be juſtified in their ſpiritual characters in regard to theſe croiſades, they indiſputably ſhewed themſelves great politicians. As to the particular caſe of England, though it might be hard on thoſe who lived in theſe times, yet the nation, as a nation, reaped great advantage from it; for it not only excited a martial ſpirit, which in that age was neceſſary for their preſervation; but it alſo raiſed a much greater naval force than had ever been ſet on foot ſince the coming of the Normans, and withal carried the Engliſh fame to ſuch a height, as aſtoniſhed the whole world, and was the true ſource of that

[w] A. D. 1189. [x] Matt. Paris, hiſt. Angl. p. 155. Gul. Neubrig lib. iv. c. 1. Nic. Trivet. annal. vol. i. p. 97. Galfrid. de vino ſalvo. Roger Hoveden annal. Johan. Brompton, Rad. de Dicето. Ran. Higden in Polychron.

reſpect

reſpect which has ever ſince been paid to the Engliſh flag. But it is now time to return to the expedition.

The articles of agreement between the two kings, Richard and Philip, are recorded at large in our own and the French hiſtorians, as alſo the naval regulations[y]; with which, therefore, I ſhall not meddle. One thing, however, is very obſervable, that, when King Richard appeared with his fleet before the city of Meſſina in Sicily, it ſo much aſtoniſhed the French king, that he from that moment conceived ſuch a jealouſy of King Richard as could never after be extinguiſhed. During the ſtay of our king in this iſland a difference happened between him and King Tancred, which occaſioned the attacking Meſſina, and taking it by the Engliſh; which, as our writers ſay, gave no ſmall umbrage to King Philip, though the French hiſtorians affirm, that he abetted King Richard, and had a third part of the money paid him by King Tancred for his pains[z]. However that was, it is certain, that this laſt-mentioned prince did, by a treaty of compoſition, agree to give King Richard 60,000 ounces of gold, four large galleons, and fifteen gallies; by which acceſſion of ſtrength the Engliſh fleet, when the king left Sicily to ſail for Cyprus, conſiſted of thirteen capital ſhips of extraordinary burden, 150 ſhips of war, and fifty-three galleys, beſides veſſels of leſs ſize, and tenders. In their paſſage to Cyprus they were ſorely ſhaken by a tempeſt, in which ſeveral ſhips were loſt, and a great number of men drowned, among whom were ſome perſons of very great diſtinction. The ſhip in which Berengaria, daughter to the king of Navarre, and who was contracted to King Richard, was, with many other ladies of great quality, very near periſhing by their being denied entrance into one of the ports of Cyprus by the tyrannical king of that iſland, whoſe name was Iſaac, and whom moſt of our hiſtorians grace with the high title of emperor. This, with the plundering ſuch ſhips as were wrecked upon his coaſt, and making priſoners of ſuch perſons as eſcaped drowning, ſo provoked King Richard, that he made a deſcent with all his forces, and, in the ſpace of fourteen days, reduced the whole iſland, taking the king and his

[y] Matthew Paris, Roger Hoveden, and in Hakluyt, vol. ii. p. 20. there is a very large relation in Engliſh, drawn from John Fox, who had conſulted all our hiſtorians. [z] Abrege de l'hiſtoire de France par Mezeray, tome ii. p. 595.

daughter and heireſs priſoners. Here he received Guy, formerly king of Jeruſalem, with ſeveral other Chriſtian princes in the eaſt, who ſwore fealty to him as their protector; and, having left two governors with a conſiderable body of troops in Cyprus, he ſailed from thence with a much better fleet than he brought with him; for it conſiſted of 254 ſtout ſhips, and upwards of 60 gallies. In his paſſage to Acon or Ptolemais he took a huge veſſel of the Saracens, laden with ammunition and proviſion, bound for the ſame place, which was then beſieged by the Chriſtian army. The ſize of this ſhip was ſo extraordinary, that it very highly deſerves notice. Matthew Paris calls it Dromunda, and tells us, that the ſhips of the Engliſh fleet attacked it briſkly, though it lay like a great floating caſtle in the ſea, and was in a manner impenetrable [a]. At length, however, they boarded and carried it, though defended by no leſs than 1500 men, of whom the king cauſed 1300 to be drowned, and kept the remaining 200 priſoners, who, another writer ſays, were all perſons of diſtinction. After this victory the king proceeded to Acon, which he blocked up by ſea, at the ſame time that his forces, in conjunction with thoſe of other Chriſtian princes, beſieged it by land; ſo that at length, chiefly by his means, it was taken, though defended by the whole ſtrength of the Saracens under their famous Prince Saladine [b].

The French and Engliſh took joint poſſeſſion thereof [c]; but King Philip was ſo ſenſible of his glory being eclipſed by the ſuperior merit of King Richard, that nothing would ſatisfy him but returning home, contrary to all the ſtipulations that he had made with the king of England. To this King Richard, with much ado, conſented, upon his taking a ſolemn oath not to invade any of his dominions till King Richard himſelf ſhould be returned forty days. King Philip left behind him the duke of Burgundy with a body of ten or twelve thouſand men, with orders to obey King Richard as captain-general of the Chriſtian forces in the Holy Land, but with private inſtructions, as our hiſtorians ſurmiſe, to fruſtrate, as much as in him lay, all that king's undertakings; which, if it be not true, is at leaſt very probable, ſince that duke acted as if he really had ſuch inſtruc-

[a] Hiſt. Angl. p. 163. [b] Gul. Neubrig. lib. iv. cap. 22. Mat. Paris, vol. i. p. 163, 164. Roger Hoveden. Galf. de vino ſalvo. Mezeray. [c] A. D. 1191.

tions.

tions. But, notwithſtanding this, Richard took Aſcalon, Joppa, and other places; reduced the greateſt part of Syria, beat the Saracens in ſeveral engagements, and, if his confederates had done their duty as well, would infallibly have retaken Jeruſalem, which was the principal deſign of the war. That he really intended it, appears from the teſtimony of a celebrated French hiſtorian, who tells us, that the king had formed a project of acquiring mighty dominions in the eaſt, and had for that purpoſe given to Guy of Luſignan the kingdom of Cyprus in exchange for his title to the crown of Jeruſalem[d]. But at length finding himſelf envied and betrayed by his confederates in the eaſt, and having intelligence that his brother John ſought to uſurp his dominions at home, he made a treaty with Saladine, and reſigned his pretenſions to the kingdom of Jeruſalem to his near kinſman Henry earl of Champaigne. Such was the concluſion of this famous expedition, which might have ended better, if that mixture of envy and jealouſy, which is ſo rooted in the temper of our ambitious neighbours the French, had not inclined them rather to ſacrifice all regard to honour, and all reſpect to religion, than ſuffer ſo great an enterprize, as that of taking Jeruſalem would have been, to be atchieved by an Engliſh prince[e].

The king, having ſettled his affairs in the beſt manner he could in the eaſt, endeavoured to make all poſſible haſte home, but met with a ſad misfortune in his paſſage; for being ſhipwrecked on the coaſt of Iſtria[f], where with great difficulty he ſaved his life, he thought, for expedition ſake, to travel by land through Germany incognito, taking the name of Hugo, and paſſing for a merchant. But, arriving in the neighbourhood of Vienna, he was unluckily diſcovered, and made priſoner by Leopold duke of Auſtria, with whom he had formerly had ſome difference in the Holy Land, and who baſely made uſe of this advantage to revenge his private quarrel. After he had kept him ſome time, he delivered or rather ſold him to the Emperor Henry VI. a covetous, mercenary prince, who was reſolved to get all he could by him, before he ſet him at liber-

[d] Matth. Paris hiſt. Angl. p. 165. Nic. Trivet. annal. vol. i. p. 124. Gul. Neubrig. lib. iv. cap. 30. Mezeray, tome ii. p. 598. [e] Galfr. de vino ſalvo, Roger Hoveden, Gul. Neubrig. [f] A. D. 1192.

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ty[g]. The injuſtice of this proceeding was viſible to all Europe; but the dominions of the emperor and of the Auſtrian prince were ſo far out of the reach of England, and withal the enemies of King Richard were become ſo numerous and powerful, that, inſtead of wondering at his remaining fifteen months a captive, poſterity may ſtand amazed how he came to be at all releaſed, eſpecially ſince ſo large a ranſom was inſiſted on as one hundred and four thouſand pounds; which, however, was raiſed by the people of England, though with great difficulty, part of it being paid down, and hoſtages given for the reſt[h]. In the ſpring of the year 1194 the king returned to England, where he began to rectify all the miſcarriages which had happened in his abſence; and perceiving that nothing could effectually ſettle his foreign dominions but vigorous meaſures, and a war with the French, whoſe king acted as perfidiouſly as ever, he ſuddenly drew together a conſiderable fleet, embarked on board thereof a large body of forces, and, tranſporting them into Normandy, quickly diſappointed all his potent enemy's views; and, after five years war, brought him to think in earneſt of peace[i]. Here, notwithſtanding, I muſt take notice of one thing, which, however ſlight in appearance, is exceedingly pertinent to my ſubject; I mean the marriage of Philip Auguſtus with Iſemberga the daughter of Canutus V. king of Denmark; which match was made with no other view than to engage the Danes in the intereſt of King Philip, who intended to have employed their naval force againſt that of the Engliſh[k]: and ſure a clearer proof than this cannot be offered, of our being maſters of the balance of Europe, (notwithſtanding the perſonal misfortunes of King Richard), in virtue of our ſuperiority at ſea.

In the courſe of the war, the king having gained a complete victory in the neighbourhood of Blois[l], his troops poſſeſſed the enemy's camp and baggage, whereby all the records and charters

g Matth. Paris hiſt. Angl. p. 171. Roger Hoveden annal p. 728. Gul. Neubrig. lib. iv. cap. 33. h Matth. Pari. hiſt. Angl. p. 173, 174. Nic. Trivet. annal. vol. i. p. 117. Gul. Neubrig. lib. iv. cap. 41. i T. Walſingham hypodigm. Neuſtriæ. Matth. Paris, Roger Hoveden. k Gul. Neubrig. lib. iv. cap. 26. l Hiſtoire de France par Mezeray, tome ii. p. 601.

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of France, which then were wont to follow the court wherever it went, came into the hands of the Engliſh, and through careleſſneſs were diſſipated and deſtroyed [m]. At laſt, when King Richard was reconciled to his brother John, and had effectually quelled his foreign enemies, he was taken out of this life by an extraordinary accident. A certain nobleman having found a large treaſure hid in his own lands, ſent a part of it to the king, who thereupon demanded the whole; which being refuſed him, he preſently beſieged this nobleman in his caſtle; and going too near the walls to give directions for an aſſault, he was mortally wounded by an arrow: though ſome ſay that the wound was not mortal in itſelf, but was rendered ſo by the ill management of an unſkilful ſurgeon [n]. However this might be, he died on April 6, 1199, in the tenth year of his reign, and forty-firſt of his age. He was a prince very juſtly ſurnamed Cœur de Lion, or Lion's Heart; ſince his courage carried him through all things: and his firmneſs was ſuch, that it alike bound to him his friends, and daunted his enemies: a ſtrong inſtance of which we have in the meſſage ſent by Philip of France to Earl John, on the king's being releaſed by the emperor; *viz.* That the devil was now let looſe again, and therefore he ſhould take the beſt care he could of himſelf [o]. Of all our princes, none better underſtood the value of a naval force, or how to uſe it; as appears not only by the victories he gained in time of war, but by his eſtabliſhing the laws of Oleron, for the regulating maritime affairs, and by the conſtant care he took in ſupporting the ports and havens throughout the kingdom, and encouraging ſeamen; whereby he drew numbers from all parts of Europe into his ſervice, and by a like vigilance in promoting and protecting commerce [p].

JOHN ſucceeded his brother by virtue of his will, and not in right of blood: for if that had taken place, the crown would have belonged to his nephew Arthur, the ſon of his elder brother Geoffrey. From the day of his aſcending the throne, he

[m] A. D. 1194. [n] Matt. Paris hiſt. Angl. p. 195. Roger Hoveden, Annal. p. 791. Nic. Trivet. Annal vol. i. p. 124. [o] Roger Hoveden, Annal. p. 729. [p] Joan. Selden. in diſſertat. ad fletam. c. ix. Matth. Paris hiſt. Angl. p. 191.

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was perplexed with foreign wars, and domeſtic ſeditions; and the latter hath had ſuch an effect upon our hiſtorians, that there cannot be a more difficult taſk, than even attempting to draw this king's true character. Thoſe who allow him many virtues, are at a loſs how to account for ſeveral of his actions; and thoſe who deny him any good qualities at all, are ſtill more at a loſs to render their relations conſiſtent. That he had very juſt notions as to maritime force, and was extremely tender of his ſovereignty over the ſeas, is more authentically recorded of him, than of any of our preceding kings: for it appears, that very early in his reign, he, with the aſſent of the peers at Haſtings, enacted, that if any of the commanders of his fleets ſhould meet with ſhips of a foreign nation at ſea, the maſters of which refuſed to ſtrike to the royal flag, then ſuch ſhips, if taken, were to be deemed good prizes; even though it ſhould appear afterwards that the ſtate of which their owners were ſubjects, was in amity with England [q]. It cannot be ſuppoſed, that this ſtriking to the royal flag was now firſt claimed; but rather, that as an old right, it was for the preventing unneceſſary diſputes clearly aſſerted. If it had been otherwiſe, one would imagine that it would prove more ſtill; ſince no prince, who was not confeſſedly ſuperior at ſea, could ever have ſet up, and carried into practice, ſo extraordinary a pretenſion [r]. We may therefore conclude, that this, together with his warrant for preſſing all ſhips into ſervice, when he had occaſion for tranſports, with other things of the like nature, were, in conſequence of ancient uſage, founded on the indubitable rights of his predeceſſors.

From his entrance on the government, the king of France ſhewed himſelf as much his enemy, as ever he had been his brother's; invading his territories on the continent [s], under pretence of protecting Prince Arthur; but in reality in order to aggrandize himſelf, and to unite Normany and other provinces to the French crown. Theſe ſtirs obliged King John to paſs frequently into Normandy with conſiderable armies; where ſometimes he did great things, and ſometimes little or nothing. Our hiſtorians, generally ſpeaking, charge the king roundly

[q] Selden Mare Clauſum, vol. ii. c. 26. [r] Ibid. [s] A. D. 1200.

with negligence, and want of ſpirit [t]; whereas the king, in his days, attributed all his loſſes to the want of fidelity in his barons [u]. The beſt way to learn truth, is to conſult unprejudiced writers; and in this caſe it muſt be owned, that the French hiſtorians deſcribe King John as a fierce and active prince; and particularly aſcribe the great victory he gained at Mirabell, to his extraordinary expedition [w]; marching night and day with his forces to the relief of his mother [x]. It ſeems therefore moſt probable, that the great men in thoſe times were in fault; and that they ſuffered themſelves to be perſuaded, that the humbling of their prince might prove the means of their own exaltation. This conduct of theirs loſt the king the greateſt part of his French dominions, and was alſo the cauſe of the diſputes between him and his barons at home; who always thought themſelves well entitled to their privileges, and yet ſeldom ſaw it convenient to yield the king their obedience. When by their help he might have preſerved his territories on the continent, they denied their aſſiſtance; and yet, when they were torn from him, they clamoured at the loſs. This ſo exaſperated the king, who was certainly a prince of a very high ſpirit, that he reſolved to conquer them, and make one experiment more of the fidelity of his ſubjects [y]. In order to this, he aſſembled a great army, and provided a numerous fleet, which he never wanted, in order to paſs into Normandy: but, when all was ready, and the nobility ſeemed thoroughly diſpoſed to behave as became them, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and William Marſhal earl of Pembroke came, and, in the name of the pope, forbade him to proceed [z]. The king unwillingly obeyed; and yet, repenting of this ſtep, he the next day put to ſea, with a few faithful ſubjects, hoping that the reſt, either out of fear or ſhame, would have followed: but in this he was diſappointed; for they not only remained where they were, but, by ſending after the king's ſmall ſquadron, prevailed on many to come back; ſo that the expedition was entirely fruſtrated: which filled the nation with murmurs, and particularly diſtaſted the ſeamen, of whom no leſs than fourteen thouſand were come from

[t] Roger Hoveden. Polyd. Virgil. Speed's Chronicle. Mezeray, vol. ii. p. 611.
[u] See the reign of this prince in
[w] A. D. 1201.
[x] Hiſtoire de France, par
[y] A. D. 1206.
[z] Matth. Paris, hiſt. Angl.

different parts of the kingdom, in order to ſerve on board the royal fleet [a]. This, at the ſame time that it ſhews King John's misfortune, demonſtrates alſo how great our maritime force was in thoſe days, and what wiſe regulations ſubſiſted, ſince ſuch a number of ſeamen could be ſo eaſily drawn together. Our beſt writers agree, that the conduct of the archbiſhop and the earl of Pembroke was the effects of their engagements with France, and, in all probability, the great view of France in this tranſaction was to diſtreſs the king in this tender point, and prevent his being able to aſſemble ſuch a naval force for the future. But in this their policy failed them: for the king always kept the hearts of the ſeamen; and by doing ſo defeated the attempts of his enemies, though he had the whole force of France to ſtruggle with abroad, and was never free from the effects of their fraud at home. This is an extraordinary fact, and of the higheſt importance to my ſubject; therefore I ſhall endeavour to make it out in ſuch a manner, as to leave the reader no colour of doubt; and, by ſo doing, ſhall effectually prove, that though a king may be undone by truſting to his army, he cannot but be ſafe if he is ſecure of his fleet.

The kingdom, or, as it was then properly ſtyled, the dominion of Ireland, belonged to King John before he attained the realm of England; and had remained more obedient to him than any other part of his territories; but now troubles began there [b]; and ſuch accounts were tranſmitted of the inſolence of ſome of the lords proprietors, and of the devaſtations committed by the native Iriſh, hitherto unſubdued, that the king reſolved to go over in perſon and reduce it [c]. For this purpoſe, the king ordered a great army to be levied, and drew together a prodigious fleet, little ſhort of five hundred ſail; with which he paſſed from Pembroke in Wales into Ireland, where he landed on May 25, 1210. The fame of his coming, and the appearance of ſo great a force as he brought with him, ſo terrified the inhabitants of the ſea coaſt, and low countries, that they immediately came and ſubmitted. On his arrival at Dublin, twenty of the Iriſh chiefs came in, and ſwore fealty to

[a] Roger Hoveden, Annal. Angl. p. 230. [b] A. D. 1209. [c] Matth. Paris, hiſt.

him;

him; and having thus performed much in a peaceable way, he, by force of arms, atchieved the reſt, reducing the king of Connaught, beſieging and taking the caſtles of many rebellious lords, and forcing them either to yield or to quit the kingdom. When things were brought to this paſs, he thought of civil eſtabliſhments, ordered the whole realm to be for the future governed by the Engliſh laws, and appointed ſheriffs and other legal officers in every county. At his departure, he conſtituted John de Gray, then biſhop of Norwich, governor of Ireland, a very wiſe and prudent man, who purſuing the king's plan, brought that nation into a ſettled ſtate [d]. This certainly ſhewed not only the ſpirit and temper of the king, but the utility of his fleet, without which he could not have entered on this expedition with ſuch honour, or have finiſhed it with ſo great ſucceſs; eſpecially at a time when at home things were in ſo bad a ſituation.

On his return he found the Welch in rebellion, his barons diſaffected, and the king of France contriving an invaſion. His ſpirits were far from being broken by theſe croſſes; for as to the Welch, he hanged up their hoſtages [e], and with a royal army would have entered into, and ſubdued their country, if he had not been well informed, that ſome of his principal lords intended either to deſtroy him in that expedition themſelves, or elſe deliver him up to the enemy [f]. He thereupon firſt diſmiſſed his army, and then took hoſtages of the noblemen he moſt ſuſpected [g]. Soon after, the French invaſion terrified the nation; the pope having abſolved the king's ſubjects from their allegiance, and given the kingdom of England to Philip Auguſtus of France. This monarch, well pleaſed with ſo noble a preſent, raiſed a prodigious army, and brought together, ſome ſay, thirteen hundred ſhips, in order to embark them for this iſland [h]. On the other hand, King John was not ſlack in his preparations: he ſhewed his diligence in collecting a force equal to that of the enemy, and his magnanimity in diſmiſſing a part

[d] Annal. Hibern. ap. Camd. Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. i. p. 154. Matth. Paris, hiſt. Angl. vol. i. p. 230, 231. Thom. Walſingham. hypodigm. Neuſt. [e] Matth. Paris, hiſt. Angl. p. 231. R. Wendover. [f] Matth. Paris, hiſt. Angl. p. 231. [g] A. D. 1212. [h] Mezeray, vol. ii. p. 622. Matth. Paris, vol. i. p. 232. Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. i. p. 159.

of them, that the reſt might have the greater plenty of proviſions; yet after this was done, he encamped ſixty thouſand men on Barham Downs, having a larger fleet riding along the coaſt than had been ſeen in thoſe times; and in this poſture he waited for his foes[i]. But the pope's legate coming over, and promiſing to deliver him from this danger, if he would ſubmit himſelf and his kingdom to the ſee of Rome, he, to prevent effuſion of blood, and perhaps fearing the treachery of his barons, conſented thereto; and the pope immediately prohibited King Philip to proceed[k]. He too, notwithſtanding his great power, obeyed, though with an ill will; yet reſolved to make ſome uſe of this mighty armament, and therefore turned it againſt the earl of Flanders, ſending the beſt part of his fleet to waſte the coaſts of that country, while himſelf with a great army entered it by land. King John was no ſooner informed of this, than he ordered his navy, under the command of his brother the earl of Saliſbury, to ſail to the aſſiſtance of his ally[l]. He, finding the French fleet, part riding in the road, and part at anchor, in the haven of Dam in Flanders, firſt attacked and deſtroyed thoſe without, and then landing his forces, fell upon the French in the harbour by ſea and land, and after an obſtinate diſpute, took them all; ſending home three hundred ſail, well laden with proviſions, to carry the news of the victory, and ſetting all the reſt on fire. So fortunate was this prince at ſea, becauſe his ſailors were loyal, who was ſo unlucky on ſhore through the treachery of his great men[m].

Thus delivered from his preſent apprehenſions of the French, the king began to think of paſſing once again beyond the ſeas, in order to recover his rights; but met with ſo many difficulties and diſappointments, that it was long before he could carry his deſign into execution. At laſt, in the month of February 1214, he, without the aſſiſtance of his barons, embarked a great army on board a powerful fleet, and therewith ſailed to Rochel, where he landed and was well received, the greateſt part of the country ſubmitting to him immediately. For ſome

i Matth. Paris, hiſt. Angl. p. 234. k Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. i. p. 157, 158. Matth. Paris, hiſt. Angl. p. 237. Robert of Glouceſter's chronicle, p. 507. l A. D. 1213. m Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. i. p. 157. Mezeray, vol. ii. p. 623. Matth. Paris, hiſt. Angl. p. 238.

time

time he carried on the war againſt the French proſperouſly; but fortune changing, and his allies being beat in the fatal battle of Bovins[n], he was conſtrained, about Eaſter the next year, to agree to a truce; the rather, becauſe his ſubjects in England began to rebel[o]. In the month of November he returned into this kingdom, where he found things in a much worſe condition than he expected. The barons, in his abſence, had time to confer together, and had reduced their demands into form; ſo that the king quickly found, that he either muſt grant what they aſked, or, if he ventured to refuſe them, muſt have recourſe to the ſword. At firſt he choſe the latter; but he quickly found, that the barons were like to be too powerful for him; and therefore, in a meadow between Egham and Stanes, called Runnemede, *i. e.* the Mead of Council, he granted that charter in the ſight of both armies, which ſince, from the importance of its contents, and the ſolemnity with which it was made, hath been called MAGNA CHARTA, or the Great Charter[p]. Yet repenting of this ſoon after, he endeavoured to fruſtrate what he had done; but the barons were too powerful for him, and reduced him to ſuch ſtraits, that at length he was conſtrained to fly to the Iſle of Wight, where he lived in a manner little different from that of his predeceſſor King Alfred, when he fled from the Danes. Yet in all his diſtreſſes his ſeamen remained faithful: and now, when he had not a houſe in which he could ſleep with ſafety on ſhore, he found a ſanctuary from all dangers in his ſhips, in which he frequently chaſed the veſſels of his diſloyal ſubjects, and, by landing on the coaſts, ſpoiled their eſtates; and thus ſubſiſted the few loyal perſons who ſtuck to him, at the expence of his and their enemies[q].

In the mean time the barons, plainly perceiving their want of a head, reſolved to invite over Lewis, ſon to the king of France[r], who had married King John's niece, in order to ſhelter themſelves againſt the reſentment of that monarch, by ſetting his crown on the head of this young prince. Not only Lewis, but King Philip his father, reliſhed this propoſal exceedingly, and aſſem-

[n] A. D. 1214. Mezeray, vol. ii. p. 625.
[o] Chroniques Abrege de Rois de France, p. 79. Mezeray.
[p] Matth. Paris, hiſt. Angl. p. 255, 256, &c.
[q] R. de Wendover.
[r] A. D. 1215.

bling

bling a fleet of 610 ſail at Calais, the prince, with a numerous army, landed at Kent[s]. The city of London, long alienated from the king in affection, declared immediately for the invader, received him with joy, and ſwore allegiance to him as their ſovereign[t]. In the mean time, King John was no ways idle: he endeavoured to maintain himſelf in Kent, where he had a conſiderable army; but finding many of his barons unfaithful, and his forces not ſtrong enough to hazard a battle, he garriſoned ſome caſtles, and particularly that of Dover, that he might be able to protect his fleet, and then marched to Wincheſter, where he ſoon drew together a much greater force than his enemies expected. Breaking out from thence like a tempeſt, he laid waſte the eſtates of his rebellious barons, in ſpite of the foreign aſſiſtance they had received; and, having acquired a vaſt booty, he came with it to Lynn in Norfolk, which had ſignalized its loyalty to him in his utmoſt diſtreſs, as moſt of the ports in the kingdom did: but, marching from thence into Lincolnſhire, his carriages were loſt in the waſhes, and himſelf and his army narrowly eſcaped[u]. At Swine's-head abbey he was attacked by a diſtemper which proved fatal to him; but what that diſtemper was, is very difficult to ſay. Some affirm, that it was the effects of grief[w]; others call it a fever[x]; others a flux[y]; and others a ſurfeit[z]: but many of our firſt writers, and the moſt authentic foreign hiſtorians, affirm, that he was poiſoned by a monk, which it is certain his ſon Henry[a] believed. This end had the troubles of King John at Newark, to which place he was carried in a horſe-litter on October 18, 1216, when he had reigned near eighteen years[b].

We have already ſhewn how vigorouſly this king maintained his ſovereignty of the ſea, and left more expreſs tokens thereof to his ſucceſſors, than any of the kings who reigned before him. To this we muſt add, that he was a great encourager of whatever had a tendency to the ſupport of maritime ſtrength, or the

[s] Matth. Paris, hiſt. Angl. p. 281. Nic. Trivet. annal. vol. i. p. 165, 166. Mezeray, vol. ii. p. 629. [t] A. D. 1216. [u] Matth. Paris, hiſt. Angl. p. 287. [w] Johan. de Wallingford. [x] Polyd. Virgil. [y] Thom. Otterborn. [z] Matth. Weſtmonaſt. [a] See this point cleared in the cloſe of King John's reign, in Speed's chronicle. [b] Nic. Trivet. annal. vol. i. p. 166. Matth. Paris, hiſt. Angl. p. 288. Robert of Glouceſter's chronicle, p. 512, 513.

eaſe

eaſe and increaſe of trade. He granted more and larger charters to cities and boroughs than any of his predeceſſors, and, by thus ſtrengthening the liberties of the people, incurred the hatred of his ambitious barons[c]. He ſettled the rates of neceſſaries, and effectually puniſhed all kind of fraud in commerce[d]. To him likewiſe was owing many regulations in reſpect to money, and the firſtc oining of that ſort which is called Sterling. One cannot therefore help doubting, when we conſider that he was the author of our beſt laws, whether thoſe writers do him juſtice, who declare, that King John was one of the worſt of our kings. He ſtood on bad terms with the monks, and at that time they penned our hiſtories; which is a ſufficient reaſon againſt his obtaining a good character, even though he had deſerved it. So much of his fame, however, as may reſult from the reſpect he had to naval affairs, we have endeavoured to vindicate; and ſhall do the ſame good office (as indeed it is our duty to do) to every other prince, in whoſe favour authorities may be produced againſt common opinion.

HENRY III. a child between nine and ten years of age, ſucceeded his father immediately in his dominions, and in time became alſo the heir of his misfortunes. At firſt, through the care of the earl of Pembroke his guardian, he was very ſucceſsful, that wiſe nobleman ſhewing the barons, that now they had nothing to fear from King John; and themſelves alſo by this time well knew, they had very little to hope from King Lewis, who put French garriſons into all the caſtles that were taken by the Engliſh lords, and gave glaring proofs of his intention to rule as a conqueror, in caſe he could poſſeſs himſelf of the kingdom[e]. In a ſhort time, therefore, the royaliſts grew ſtrong enough to look the enemy in the face; which the French ſo little apprehended, that, with an army of 20,000 men, they had marched northwards, and beſieged Lincoln. The city quickly fell into their hands; but the caſtle, being very ſtrong for thoſe times, made an obſtinate defence; and, while they were engaged before it, the earl of Pembroke with his forces came to of-

[c] Speed's chronicle, p. 506. [d] Hakluyt's voyages, vol. i. p. 129. Camden's Britan. in Striveling. Roger Hoveden annal. [e] Matth. Paris, hiſt. Angl. p. 292.

fer

fer them battle. The barons, who adhered to King Lewis, and were certainly beſt acquainted with the ſtrength of their countrymen, adviſed the French general to march out and fight; but he, ſuſpicious of their integrity, endeavoured to ſecure his forces in the city. The royaliſts firſt threw a conſiderable reinforcement into the caſtle, and then attacked the enemy in the town. The ſtruggle was very ſhort, the French and their confederates being quickly beat, almoſt without bloodſhed, and the victorious army ſo exceedingly enriched by their plunder, that they called this battle Lewis-fair, as if they had not gone to a fight, but to a market [f]. The conſequences of this battle brought the French prince and his faction ſo low, that he was glad of a truce, which might afford him time to go back to France for ſuccours; and, this being granted, he paſſed over accordingly to Calais, many of the barons deſerting him in his abſence [g].

He did not ſtay long abroad, but, providing with the utmoſt diligence a conſiderable recruit, embarked on board a fleet of eighty ſtout ſhips beſides tranſports, and immediately put to ſea. Hubert de Burgh, governor of Dover caſtle, aſſiſted by Philip de Albanie and John Marſhall, reſolved to encounter him with the ſtrength of the cinque ports, and accordingly met him at ſea with forty ſail of ſhips. The Engliſh, perceiving that the French had the advantage of them both in ſhips and men, made uſe of their ſuperiority in ſkill; ſo that, taking advantage of the wind, they ran down many of the tranſports, and ſunk them with all the ſoldiers on board: their long bows alſo did them notable ſervice; and, to prevent the French from boarding them, they laid heaps of lime upon their decks, which the wind, blowing freſh, drove in the faces of their enemies, and in a manner blinded them; ſo that, declining the diſpute, they as faſt as poſſible bore away for the ſhore; and, landing at Sandwich, Lewis, in revenge for the miſchief their ſhips had done him, burnt it to the ground [h]. The Engliſh were every way gainers by this engagement, as, on the other hand, it entirely ruined the affairs of Lewis, who was now forced to ſhut himſelf up in London, where very ſoon after he was beſieged, the Engliſh fleet in the

f A. D. 1217. g Nic. Trivet. annal. vol. i. p. 168. Matth. Paris, hiſt. Angl. p. 296. Mezeray, vol. ii. p. 631. h Annal. Waverl. Thom. Walſingham hypodigm. Neuſtriæ.

mean time blocking up the mouth of the Thames. He quickly saw how great his danger was, and how little reason he had to expect relief. In this situation he did all that was left for him to do; that is to say, he entered into a treaty with the earl of Pembroke, whereby he renounced all his pretended rights to the kingdom of England, and provided the best he could for himself and his adherents; which freed the kingdom from the plague of foreigners[l], and remains an incontestable proof, that as nothing but our intestine divisions can invite an invasion, so, while we retain the sovereignty at sea, such attempts in the end must prove fatal to those who undertake them.

The importance of this engagement will excuse our dwelling upon it so long, as well as our taking notice here of some lesser circumstances relating thereto: One Eustace, who had been in his youth a monk, but for many years had exercised the trade of a pirate, and had done the English in particular much mischief, fell now into their hands; and though he offered a large sum of money for his ransom, yet it was refused, and he put to death. There are some differences in our ancient historians as to the year in which this famous sea-fight happened, which it will be necessary to clear up, because any error therein would affect most of the subsequent dates. In the first place, Matthew Paris fixes on the very day, and assures us, that it was gained on the feast of St. Bartholomew, 1217[k]. Trivet places it in the same year, and gives us the reason why Eustace the monk was so severely dealt with. He, like an apostate as he was, says my author, went from side to side, and, of a wicked monk, became a very devil, full of fraud and mischief. As soon, therefore, as he was taken, his head was struck off, and, being put upon a pole, was carried through a great part of England[l]. Yet Holingshed places it under the year 1213[m], and the French historian Mezeray in 1216[n]. These errors, however, are easily rectified, since it is certain, that the treaty of peace followed this victory; and we find it bore date September 11, 1217[o].

The same wise governors, who had so happily managed the king's affairs hitherto, and had so wonderfully delivered him out

i Mezeray, vol. ii. p. 631. k Hist. Angl. p. 298. l Annal. vol. i. p. 169. m Vol. ii. p. 201. n Abregé de l'histoire de France, vol. ii. p. 631. o Rymer's fœdera, vol. i. p. 142. edit. 1ma.

of all his difficulties, ſhewed a like diligence in eſtabliſhing the tranquillity of the realm, and cultivating a correſpondence with foreign princes; of which various teſtimonies occur in Mr. Rymer's collection of treaties; whence it is inconteſtably evident, that they were extremely tender of trade, and of the dominion of the ſea [p]. In order, however, to keep up the martial ſpirit of the nobility, and perhaps to prevent their breaking out into rebellions at home, leave was given them to take the croſs, and to make expeditions into the Holy Land [q]. Thus the earls of Cheſter, Wincheſter, and Arundel, went at one time [r]; the biſhops of Wincheſter and Exeter at another, with many followers [s]: ſo that, when they came into Syria, there were not fewer Engliſh there than 40,000 men, of whom very probably not many returned home [t].

The deſire King Henry had to recover the provinces taken from him by the king of France, and the clear title he thought derived to him from the treaty made with Lewis, who was now king, induced him, more than once, to ſolicit that prince to reſtore them, and to ſend over ſmall ſupplies of forces into the places which he ſtill held. All this produced nothing conſiderable: ſo that at laſt the king reſolved to go over, as his predeceſſors had done, with a great fleet, and a numerous army. With this view, large ſums were demanded, and given by parliament, and ſuch a force aſſembled, as the nation had ſcarce ever ſeen; but when the forces marched about Michaelmas to Portſmouth, in order to embark, the fleet provided for that purpoſe appeared ſo inſignificant, that it became neceſſary to poſtpone the expedition till the next ſpring [u]; a thing highly prejudicial to the king's affairs, and much more ſo to his reputation [w]. The next year the king actually invaded France, and might, if he had puſhed this war with vigour, have recovered the dominions of his anceſtors; but, being entirely governed by his mother, and her ſecond huſband, he conſumed both his time and

[p] The reader may find a multitude of inſtances in ſupport of this in the firſt volume of the Fœdera, and not a few in the ſecond volume of Hakluyt.

[q] Matth. Paris, p. 303. T. Walſingham. Ypodigma Neuſtriæ, p. 463. Annal. Waverl. p. 184. Nic. Trivet. annal. vol. i. p. 171. [r] A. D. 1218. [s] A. D. 1227. [t] Hakluyt, vol. ii. p. 31—38. [u] A. D. 1229. [w] Matt. Paris, hiſt. Angl. p. 363. Tyrrel, vol. ii. p. 867. Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 211.

money

money[x] in pompous entertainments: ſo that the French, coming down with a conſiderable body of forces, compelled him, after he had been there from April to October, to embark and ſail home again, without adding any thing either to his honour or to his dominions[y]. This miſtake had terrible effects; for it emboldened ſuch of the lords as were diſaffected, and gave the common people a mean opinion of their ſovereign; which is, generally ſpeaking, the conſequence of all ſuch miſcarriages.

His brother, Richard earl of Cornwall, who was naturally an active prince, and therefore little pleaſed with the king's management, reſolved, about the year 1240, to take upon him the croſs, and to lead a body of ſuccours into the Holy Land. With him went the earl of Saliſbury, and many other perſons of diſtinction; and not long after, Simon earl of Leiceſter, and John earl of Albemarle, followed his example[z]. Thus, in times of great ſupineneſs in the adminiſtration here, the honour of the nation abroad was ſupported by the valour and activity of private perſons[a]. Diſputes with the barons continued to embroil the kingdom, and to hinder the king from thinking of foreign affairs; but, in 1242, the king reſumed his project of reducing Gaſcoigny under his dominion. To this he was chiefly excited by his mother, a high-ſpirited haughty woman, who had contributed much to his father's misfortunes. Accordingly, having, with much ado, obtained money of his parliament for that purpoſe, the king, with a ſmall force, paſſed over into France[b], where, ſo long as his money laſted, he kept up a kind of war, more detrimental to himſelf than to the enemy[c].

By this ſtrange ſort of management, the naval force of the kingdom was impaired to ſuch a degree, that the Normans and Britons were too hard for the cinque ports, and compelled them to ſeek relief from the other parts of the kingdom, who, in the firſt year of this king's reign, had performed ſuch extraordinary things. One William Marſhall, of the noble family of Pembroke, having, by ſome means or other, incurred the king's diſpleaſure, became a pirate, and, fortifying the little iſland of

[x] A. D. 1230. [y] Nic. Trivet. annal. vol. i. p. 183. T. Wikes, chronicle, p. 41. H. Knyghton, p. 2439. Tyrrel, vol. ii. p. 870. [z] A. D. 1240. [a] Matth. Paris, hiſt. Angl. p. 536. Annal. Waverl. p. 201. T. Walſinghami Ypodigma Neuſtriæ, p. 465. Annales Monaſt. Burton, p. 292. [b] A. D. 1242. [c] Nic. Trivet. annal. vol. i. p. 194. Fabian. p. 50, 51. Grafton, p. 124.

Lundy, in the mouth of the Severn, did ſo much miſchief, that at length it became neceſſary to fit out a ſquadron, to reduce him; which was accordingly done, and he ſuffered by the hand of juſtice at London [d]; yet the example did not deter other diſcontented perſons from practices of the like nature.

An idle deſire of making his ſon Edmund king of Sicily, drew the king into vaſt expences, and yet produced nothing glorious, in the leaſt degree, to the nation, any more than another expedition he made for the recovery of Normany, in 1260, which ended in a diſhonourable treaty; whereby, for the ſake of certain ſums of money, he renounced all title to thoſe countries which had been the patrimonial poſſeſſions of his anceſtors; and thenceforward left the dukedoms of Normandy and Anjou out of his titles [e]. On his return home, he met with freſh griefs, and greater diſturbances than ever. The barons grew quite weary of a king entirely directed by foreigners, and who thought of nothing but providing for his favourites, at the expence of his people. The cinque ports, ever ſteady in his father's intereſt, revolted from him, ſided with the barons, and fitted out a conſiderable fleet for their ſervice: but, as theſe were times of great licence, ſo, in a very ſhort ſpace, the inhabitants of theſe ports forgot the motives on which they took arms, and began to conſider nothing but their private intereſt, taking indifferently all ſhips that fell into their hands, and exerciſing an unlimited piracy on foreigners, as well as the king's ſubjects. By their example, ſomething of the ſame nature was practiſed on the coaſt of Lincolnſhire; for certain malecontents, having ſeized the iſle of Ely, plundered all the adjacent countries, and carried to this receptacle of theirs all the booty they acquired. At length, however, by the induſtry and valour of Prince Edward [f], they were reduced; and the ſame worthy perſon, partly by perſuaſion, and partly by force, brought the inhabitants of the cinque ports to return to their duty [g].

The confuſion of the times, however, was ſuch, and the king's temper ſo timid, ſo irreſolute, and, in all caſes, ſo little

[d] Matth. Paris, hiſt. Ang. p. 584. Holingſhed's chronicle. p. 230. [e] Gul. Riſhanger in continuat. Matth. Paris, p. 289. Chron. T. Wikes, p. 54. Annal. Waverl. p. 214. Rymer's fœdera, vol. i. p. 668. [f] A. D. 1266. [g] Annal. Waverl. p. 221. Gul. Riſhanger contin. hiſt. Angl. p. 1004.

to

to be depended on, that the gallant prince Edward, with his brother Edmund, and many other perſons of the firſt diſtinction, took the croſs [h], and went againſt the Saracens [i]. A ſtronger inſtance there could not be, of the low and exhauſted ſtate of the kingdom, than the equipage with which theſe princes went; for their ſquadron conſiſted of no more than thirteen ſhips, on board of which there were embarked but one thouſand men: and yet, on his coming into the eaſt, the very fame of Prince Edward drew to him a conſiderable force, with which he performed many noble acts, inſomuch, that the infidels, deſpairing of any ſucceſs againſt him in the field, had recourſe to a baſe aſſaſſination, which likewiſe failed them [k]. On his recovery, the prince, finding that he ſhould not be able to do any great ſervice to the Chriſtian cauſe in thoſe parts, ſettled his affairs in the beſt manner he could, in order to return home: in the mean time, the king his father, in the laſt years of his life, enjoyed more peace than he had formerly done, which was in ſome meaſure owing to a change in his conduct; having learned, by experience, that to govern a kingdom was a painful office, and required more application than hitherto he had beſtowed upon it. But what ſeems to have been the chief cauſe of this ſhort calm, after ſo high a ſtorm, was, the death of his principal oppoſers, all of whom King Henry out-lived, and the uneaſy circumſtances in which they left their heirs: ſo that, upon the whole, the fire of ſedition might, in this caſe, be ſaid to extinguiſh for want of fuel, and the king to die in peace, becauſe the power of diſturbing him was exhauſted.

He ended his life on November 10, 1272, when he had reigned ſomewhat more than fifty-ſix years, and lived ſixty-ſix [l]. He was a prince of but moderate endowments, which rendered him unable to govern without aſſiſtance, and made him alſo too prone to an implicit confidence in ſuch as were about him. In the firſt years of his reign, while the famous Hubert de Burgh,

[h] Nic. Trivet. annal. vol. i. p. 229. Chronica de Mailros, p. 241. T. Walſinghami Ypodigma Neuſtriæ, p. 471. [i] A. D. 1269. [k] Annal. Waverl. p. 225, 226. Nic. Trivet. annal. vol. i. p. 232. Gul. Riſhanger in cont. hiſt. Angl. p. 1007. Hakluyt, vol. ii. p. 36. [l] Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. i. p. 236. H. Knyghton, p. 2461. Annal. Waverl. p. 226. T. Walſingh. Ypodigma Neuſtriæ, p. 472. Chron. Mailros, p. 242. Chron. Godſtov. p. 99. Chron. W. Thorn, p. 1910. Chron. T. Otterbourne, p. 77—80.

earl

earl of Kent, was at the head of the adminiſtration, there ſeems to have been great care taken of commerce, which muſt have been very conſiderable, to ſupply the prodigious expences of his foreign expeditions, or rather journeys; in one of which he carried over no leſs than thirty large caſks of ſpecie, as alſo the mighty ſums employed by the ſeveral adventurers in the holy wars, who conſtantly mortgaged their lands at ſetting out, and ſpent the money they raiſed beyond the ſeas. Beſides all this, we find that whenever any reſpite from troubles would allow it, this was a moſt luxurious age, and the king's kindneſs for foreigners, eſpecially the Poictovins, enabled them to carry away vaſt ſums; and his brother, Richard earl of Cornwall, is ſaid to have laviſhed much treaſure in attaining the pompous title of king of the Romans; which enormous expence did not however hinder his living and dying a very rich man: ſo that ſome way or other vaſt ſums muſt, by the balance of foreign trade, have centered here, otherwiſe ſuch large draughts could not have been ſupplied; and yet we are pretty certain, that the policy of this king's time did not reach to any of thoſe refined arts of creating an appearance of wealth by altering the value of the current coin, which have been ſince found out. Better arguments than theſe to prove a balance of trade in favour of that age can hardly be produced; and therefore we muſt allow, that ſuch a balance there was: though doubtleſs, under a better government and a more ſettled ſtate of things, it might have been much larger. But the miſtakes of former are, or at leaſt ſhould be, leſſons to later ages.

EDWARD I. ſurnamed Longſhanks, though at his father's deceaſe in the Holy Land, was readily and unanimouſly acknowledged his ſucceſſor; nor did there happen any diſturbance, notwithſtanding he delayed his return to July 25, 1274: in his paſſage home he viſited Pope Gregory X. and King Philip of France; ſtayed ſome time at his city of Bourdeaux, and having thoroughly ſettled his affairs abroad, arrived here with an eſtabliſhed reputation, as well for wiſdom as courage; which perhaps was the principal reaſon that all ancient animoſities ſeemed buried in oblivion: and his barons ſhewed as great alacrity in obeying him, as they had diſcovered obſtinacy in thwarting his father.

father. He on the other hand manifeſted a great ſpirit of forgiveneſs, and, addreſſing himſelf to the government with equal ſpirit and diligence, quickly gave a new face to public affairs. The deſire he had of ſettling the realm in perfect tranquillity engaged him to ſpend ſome time in making new laws, and compoſing old differences amongſt potent families; in regulating affairs with the king of Scots, and in providing for the ſecurity of the Engliſh frontiers towards Wales, by redreſſing the grievances complained of by the Welch, and heaping favours upon David brother to Llewellin, who ruled over all Wales. Yet this peace did not continue long, and the nature of our work leads us to ſhew how it was broken, and what were the conſequences of that breach [m].

Llewellin was a wiſe and warlike prince, more potent than any of his predeceſſors, but withal exceſſively ambitious; filling his mind with vain hopes founded on old prophecies, and furthered in all probability by his intrigues with ſome of the Engliſh barons. Theſe notions induced him to decline paying homage to King Edward, and to endeavour to ſtrengthen his intereſt, by marrying the daughter of Simon Mountford, late earl of Leiceſter, that determined enemy of the royal family [n]. This lady, coming to him by ſea from France, (for when came miſchief into this iſland from another quarter?) was taken at ſea by ſome ſhips from the port of Briſtol, and, with her brother, brought to the king, who treated her very kindly. In order to put an end to theſe diſputes, Edward entered Wales with a great army, and at the ſame time haraſſed the coaſt with his fleet, which brought the proud Llewellin ſo low, that he yielded to a peace on very hard terms; in conſequence of which, however, the king, from a royal generoſity, ſent him his wife [o]. Not long after he broke out again, and, in conjunction with his brother David, committed ſuch devaſtation in the Engliſh marches, that the king was obliged to turn againſt him the whole force of the kingdom; and, having ſlain him in battle,

[m] Walter Hemingford, hiſtoria de rebus geſtis Edw. I. Edw. II. & Edw. III. vol. i. p. 1——4. Nic. Trivet. annal. vol. i. p. 237, 238, 239. Chronicon. Godſtovianum MS. p. 100. Mat. Weſtm. chron. Dunelm. [n] A. D. 1276. [o] Walt. Hemingford, vol. i. p. 5. Nic. Trivet. annal. vol. i. p. 248.

added

added Wales to his dominions, and declaring his young ſon Edward, juſt born at Caernarvon [p], prince thereof, put an end to the Britiſh line [q]. His policy in ſecuring his conqueſt is worthy of obſervation: for firſt, to awe the people, he diſtributed the inland parts amongſt his nobility; and next, to prevent their giving in to the Welch cuſtoms, he eſtabliſhed the Engliſh laws, and appointed ſheriffs and other legal officers in theſe parts: laſtly, for his own ſecurity, which he judged depended on a naval force, he kept all the ports of the principality in his own hands, encouraging the inhabitants in their application to inland trade, and foreign commerce, more than any of their native princes had done [r], that they might become true ſubjects of an Engliſh king, rich and free.

In the ſeventeenth year of the king's reign fell out the death of Alexander king of Scots, which afforded Edward another opportunity of diſplaying his wiſdom, and of extending his power [s]. This prince had for his firſt wife Margaret the king's ſiſter, by whom he had a ſon, who died young, and a daughter named Margaret, who was married to the king of Norway, to whom alſo ſhe bore a daughter called Margaret likewiſe, whom the Scots, with the conſent of King Edward, acknowledged for the heireſs of their crown. She, in her paſſage from Norway, going on ſhore in the Orkneys, died there; whereupon many competitors for the Scottiſh diadem appeared [t], who agreed to ſubmit the deciſion of their reſpective titles to King Edward. Theſe were Eric king of Norway, Florence earl of Holland, Robert le Brus lord of Anandale, John de Baliol lord of Galloway, John de Haſtings lord of Abergavenny, John Comyn lord of Badenoch, Patrick Dunbar earl of Marche, John de Veſci for his father, Nicholas de Soules, and William de Ros: and great conſequences King Edward drew from this reference, which put the whole iſland into his

[p] Thom. Walſingham, hiſt. Angl. p. 47—52. Hen. de Knyghton, lib. iii. cap. 1. p. 2464. Annal. Waverl. p. 234, 235. Chron. Dunſtaple, p. 432, 433, 494, 507. Chron. T. Otterbourne, p. 81, 82. [q] A. D. 1288.
[r] Walt. Hemingford, vol. i. p. 8—13. Nic. Trivet. annal. vol. i. p. 256—259. Chron. Godſtovian, ubi ſupra. [s] A. D. 1289. [t] H. Knyghton, lib. iii. cap. i. p. 2468. Chron T. Otterbourne, p. 82—89. Chron. Dunſtaple, p. 594, 595. Hector Boeth. hiſt. Scot. lib. xiii. fol. 291.

power, and gave him a pretence for keeping a ſtrong ſquadron of ſhips upon the northern coaſt, in right of his ſovereignty over thoſe ſeas, which, though always claimed, had not been exerciſed by ſome of his predeceſſors [u]. After much conſultation, and with great ſolemnity, the king pronounced his judgment in favour of Baliol, as deſcended from the eldeſt daughter of David earl of Huntingdon [w], notwithſtanding Robert le Brus was ſomewhat nearer in deſcent, though by a younger daughter; who therefore, holding himſelf injured, ſtill kept up his claim, which perhaps was not diſagreeable to Edward, who thought nouriſhing diſſenſions in that kingdom neceſſary to preſerve peace in his own [x].

Notwithſtanding theſe arduous affairs at home, King Edward was far from neglecting his concerns on the continent, where he ſtill preſerved the duchy of Guienne, and ſome other dominions, to which he paſſed over when occaſion required, and, contrary to the uſage of his predeceſſors, took all imaginable care to preſerve the friendſhip of France, which in the end he found impracticable, and that his rights were only to be defended by force [y]. An extraordinary act of French inſolence gave riſe to the bloody war which broke out in the twenty-firſt year of King Edward's reign [z], and of which I ſhall exhibit a diſtinct account from proper authorities. The firſt grounds of the quarrel are very differently reported both by our own and foreign hiſtorians; but the relation given us by Walter of Hemingford is more circumſtantial and much more probable than any of the reſt, and therefore from him (eſpecially as it has never appeared in Engliſh) we ſhall inſert it.

" In the year 1295 a fatal contention happened between the " Engliſh ſeamen of the cinque ports and the mariners of the " French king in Normandy, which began thus: An Engliſh " ſhip, putting into a Norman port, remained there ſome days:

[u] John de Fordun, Scotichron. vol. iii. p. 782. Walter Hemingford, vol. ii. p. 29. Nic. Trivet. annal. vol. i. p. 267. [w] A. D. 1292.

[x] Walter Hemingford, vol. i. p. 37, 38. Nic. Trivet. annal. vol. i. p. 273, 274. Hector Boeth. hiſt. Scot. lib. xiv. Tho. Walſingham, hiſt. Angl. p. 59.

[y] Dupleix, tome ii. p. 368, 369. Mezeray, tome ii. p. 777. T. Walſingham, p. 60. T. Wikes, chron. p. 125, 126. Nic. Trivet. annal. vol. i. p. 274. [z] A. D. 1293.

" while they lay at anchor, two of the crew went to get freſh " water at a place not far diſtant from the ſhore, where they " were inſulted by ſome Normans of their own profeſſion; ſo " that coming from words to blows, one of the Engliſhmen " was killed, and the other flying to the ſhip, related what " had happened to his fellow-ſailor; informing them, that the " Normans were at his heels. Upon this they hoiſted ſail and " put to ſea; and though the Normans followed them, they " nevertheleſs eſcaped, but with ſome difficulty: whereupon " the inhabitants of the Engliſh ports ſought aſſiſtance from " their neighbours; and the enemy, on the other hand, retain- " ing ſtill the ſame diſpoſition, increaſed their ſtrength daily, " and chaſed all Engliſh ſhips. In theſe excurſions, having " had the fortune to meet ſix, and to take two Engliſh veſſels, " they killed the ſailors, hung up their bodies at the yard-arm, " with as many dogs; ſailing in this manner for ſome time on " their coaſts, and ſignifying to all the world thereby, that " they made no ſort of difference between an Engliſhman and " a dog.

" This, when it came to the ears of the inhabitants of the " Engliſh ports, by the relation of thoſe that eſcaped, provok- " ed them to take the beſt meaſures they could to revenge ſo " ſignal an affront; and having in vain cruized at ſea, in order " to find out the enemy, they entered the port of Swyn, and " having killed and drowned abundance of men, carried away " ſix ſhips; many acts of a like nature ſucceeding this on both " ſides. At laſt, wearied by this piratical war, they by meſ- " ſengers who paſſed between them, fixed a certain day to de- " cide this diſpute with their whole ſtrength: this day was the " fourteenth of April, and a large empty ſhip was fixed in " the middle, between the coaſts of England and Normandy, " to mark the place of engagement. The Engliſh, againſt the " time appointed, procured ſome aid from Ireland, Holland, " and other places; and the Normans drew to their aſſiſtance " the French, Flemings, and Genoeſe. At the appointed day " both parties met, full of reſolution; and as their minds " boiled with rage, ſo a like ſpirit ſeemed to agitate the ele- " ments: ſtorms of ſnow and hail, and boiſterous guſts of " wind were the preludes of an obſtinate battle; in which at

" length

" length GOD gave the victory to us; many thouſands being " ſlain, beſides thoſe who were drowned in a large number of " ſhips which periſhed; the victorious Engliſh carrying off " two hundred and forty ſail; and with theſe they returned " home.

" When King Philip received this news, though his brother " Charles had been the author of the battle, yet he ſent ambaſſa- " dors to the king of England, demanding reparation for the " wrong done him, by puniſhing ſuch as were concerned, and by " the payment of a vaſt ſum for the loſſes which his merchants " had ſuſtained. To them the king prudently anſwered, that he " would enquire into the matter, and return his reſolution by " meſſengers of his own. Agreeable to this promiſe, he ſent to " deſire the French king, that time and place might be fixed for " commiſſioners on both ſides, to meet and enquire into the cir- " cumſtances of the fact, in order to its being amicably adjuſt- " ed: but this the French king refuſed, and, by the advice of " his nobility, ſummoned the king of England to appear, and " anſwer for what had paſſed in his court, on a day aſſigned. " The day came, and, the king not appearing, a new ſummons " was iſſued, wherein the king was cited to appear on another " day, under pain of forfeiting all his dominions beyond the " ſeas. The king, before this day elapſed, ſent his brother Ed- " mund earl of Lancaſter, and the earl of Leiceſter, with in- " ſtructions for the making an end of this buſineſs; yet theſe " ambaſſadors, though they produced proper credentials, were " not heard, nor even admitted; but judgment was given, that " the king ſhould loſe Aquitain, and all his tranſmarine domi- " nions for his contempt in not appearing [a]."

Such is the account given by Hemingford, which is clear and exact, and very agreeable to what we find in the beſt French authors, particularly Father Daniel, who very candidly relates, and very honeſtly blames, this violent procedure [b]. But what followed was ſo very baſe, that, though I own it is ſomewhat beſide my purpoſe, I cannot help relating it. By the interpoſi- tion of the French queens, a treaty was ſet on foot with Prince Edmund for the accommodating all differences. By this treaty

[a] Hiſtoria de rebus geſtis Edward I. &c. vol. i. p. 39, 40, 41. [b] Hiſtoire de France, tom. iv. p. 358.

it was agreed, that, to ſave the honour of King Philip, a few French troops ſhould be admitted into certain forts and cities, and that, after this mark of ſubmiſſion, they ſhould be withdrawn; and, letters of ſafe conduct being granted to King Edward, he ſhould paſs the ſeas, and ſettle all things in a perſonal conference with the French king; the troops to be recalled, and the ſentence vacated in forty days, in conſequence of the beforementioned ſubmiſſion. All this being fairly executed by King Edward, when the time was elapſed, and the French troops were required to evacuate the towns, King Philip roundly declared, that he was unacquainted with the treaty, and that he would by no means comply therewith [c]. Such was the policy of France of old, and ſuch the honourable means by which her monarchy was extended!

The reſentment of the king for this baſe uſage ſhewed itſelf in various treaties with foreign princes, as alſo by ſending a ſpeedy relief to Gaſcony under his nephew the earl of Richmond, attended by Lord St. John and Admiral Tiptoff [d]. At the ſame time, to ſecure the ſeas, and prevent any deſcents on his coaſt, the king fitted out three fleets, well provided with men and ammunition; one from Yarmouth, which was commanded by John de Botecourt; another from Portſmouth, under the direction of William de Leibourne; the third, which had the care of the weſtern coaſt, under the command of a valiant knight of Ireland [e]. In ſome of the copies of Trivet's annals, this admiral is ſaid to be of the illuſtrious houſe of Ormonde [f].

All theſe fleets did good ſervice. That of Portſmouth, about Michaelmas, ſailed into the mouth of the Garronne [g], and, having debarked the troops on board, took ſeveral places from the French [h]: yet next year, the French king having hired a great fleet, ſome of our writers ſay not leſs than 300 ſail, they ſtood over to the Engliſh coaſt, and landing the troops on board ſuddenly near Dover, by the aſſiſtance of Sir Thomas Turberville a traitor, took the town [i], and burnt it; but were quickly after-

[c] Walter Hemingford, vol. i. p. 42, 43. Nic. Trivet. annal. vol. i. p. 276, 277. T. Walſingham, p. 61. [d] Nic. Trivet. annal. vol. i. p. 279. Walter Hemingford, vol. i. p. 51. Hiſtoire de France, par J. de Serres, p. 174. [e] Nic. Trivet. annal. vol. i. p. 279. [f] See the MS. of Trivet in the library of Merton college in Oxford. [g] A. D. 1294. [h] Walter Hemingford, vol. i. p. 56. Nic. Trivet. annal. vol. i. p. 280. [i] A. D. 1295.

wards

wards forced to fly to their ſhips, with the loſs of 800 men [k]. In the mean time the Yarmouth fleet made a deſcent in Normandy, burnt the town of Cherbourg, and ſpoiled a rich abbey [l]. The Portſmouth ſquadron alſo on the coaſt of Flanders took fifteen ſail of Spaniſh merchantmen, richly laden, and brought them into Sandwich [m]. To balance this, there happened an unforeſeen ſtroke at Berwick [n], where, the Engliſh fleet raſhly entering the harbour, the Scots deſtroyed four ſhips, and the reſt with ſome difficulty eſcaped [o].

In the twenty-fifth year of his reign, the king made great preparations for invading Flanders; and notwithſtanding he met with many interruptions from his barons and clergy, yet by the latter end of Auguſt he ſailed from Winchelſea with a mighty fleet, having a gallant army of between fifty and ſixty thouſand men on board, and landed at Sluys in Flanders on the twenty-ſeventh of the ſame month [p], where a very unlucky accident fell out. The ſquadron from the cinque ports, quarrelling with the Yarmouth mariners, ſuddenly fell to blows; ſo that, notwithſtanding the king's interpoſition, a deſperate engagement followed, wherein twenty ſhips of the Yarmouth ſquadron were burnt, moſt of the men on board them loſt, and three of the largeſt ſhips in the navy, one of which had the king's treaſure on board, were driven out to ſea, and, not without much difficulty, eſcaped [q]. This was an ill beginning; and indeed nothing anſwerable to the force employed therein was done through the whole expedition; yet in one reſpect they were fortunate; for, the French having formed a ſcheme for burning their whole navy in the harbour of Dam, it was luckily diſcovered, and the Engliſh fleet, putting to ſea, eſcaped [r]. The king's confederates abroad alſo fell from their promiſes; and the Flemings, to whoſe aſſiſtance the Engliſh came, making a ſudden defection, the king was next year obliged to return to England, as well on account of theſe miſcarriages, as to quiet his barons, and to repreſs the

[k] Walter Hemingford, vol. i. p. 59. Nic. Trivet. annal. vol. i. p. 284, 285. H. Knyghton, p. 2503, 2504. Mezeray, vol. ii. p. 789. [l] Nic. Trivet. annal. vol. i. p. 284. [m] Thom. Walſingham, hiſt. Angl. p. 64. [n] A. D. 1196. [o] Walter Hemingford, vol. i. p. 90. Thom. Walſingham, hiſt. Angl. p. 66. H. Knyghton, p. 2512. [p] A. D. 1297. [q] Nic. Trivet. annal. vol. i. p. 304. Walter Hemingford. vol. i. p. 146. [r] Nic. Trivet. annal. vol. i. p. 305. Holingſhed's chronicle, p. 304.

Scots,

Scots, who, at the inſtigation of the French, took up arms, and invaded the kingdom [s].

The king, according to his diſpoſition of entertaining peace on the continent if poſſible, while he had affairs of moment to employ him nearer home, was content, notwithſtanding the injuries he received, to make a peace with King Philip, which in the twenty-ſeventh year of his reign [t] was confirmed [u], and by the mediation of Pope Boniface VIII. made more explicit by a treaty; wherein it was ſtipulated, that the king of England ſhould marry the French king's ſiſter, and his ſon Prince Edward the daughter of the ſaid king, and that the duchy of Aquitain ſhould be put into the hands of the pope, until the matters in difference between the two kings ſhould be enquired into, and ſettled, with many other articles to be ſeen at large in Rymer's collection [w]. This truce, indifferently performed on the part of the French, ſubſiſted to the thirtieth year of the king [x], and then a peace was concluded between the two crowns, of which the third article contained a reciprocal engagement, that neither of the contracting parties ſhould afford any manner of aid or aſſiſtance to the enemies of the other, or ſuffer the ſame to be given, in any way whatever, in any of the territories or places under their power, and that they ſhould forbid the ſame to be done on pain of forfeiture of body and goods to the offenders, &c. I mention this article particularly, becauſe, in conſequence of it, there fell out the cleareſt proofs of the king of England's abſolute ſovereignty of the ſea, that could be deſired or wiſhed; a clearer proof, perhaps, than the whole world can ſhew, in reſpect to the prerogative of a prince with regard to other princes [y]. It happened thus:

The war ſtill continuing between Philip the Fair and the Flemings, that prince thought fit to ſend a great fleet to ſea under the command of a Genoeſe nobleman, whoſe name was Reyner Grimbaldi, (moſt of our writers call him Grimbaltz), to whom he gave the title of admiral, and who, under colour of this commiſſion, took ſeveral ſhips of different nations, bound for the ports of Flanders, laden with various kinds of goods. Upon

[s] Walter Hemingford, vol. i. p. 148. [t] A. D. 1299. [u] Walter Hemingford, vol. i. p. 168, 169. Annal. Abington. Nic. Trivet. annal. vol. i. p. 314, 315. [w] Fœdera, tom. ii. p. 840. [x] A. D. 1303. [y] Ibid. p. 941.

this,

this, complaints were made to the kings of England and France, who jointly appointed commiſſioners to hear and determine the matters contained in them.

To theſe commiſſioners, therefore, a remonſtrance was preſented in the name of the procurators of the prelates and nobles, and of the admiral of the Engliſh ſeas, and of the communities of cities and towns; likewiſe of the merchants, mariners, ſtrangers reſident, and all others belonging to the kingdom of England, and other territories ſubject to the ſaid king of England; as alſo the inhabitants of other maritime places, ſuch as Genoa, Catalonia, Spain, Germany, Zeland, Holland, Frizeland, Denmark, Norway, &c. ſetting forth, that whereas the kings of England, by right of the ſaid kingdom, have from time to time, whereof there is no memorial to the contrary, been in peaceable poſſeſſion of the ſovereignty of the Engliſh ſeas, and of the iſlands ſituate within the ſame, with power of ordaining and eſtabliſhing laws, ſtatues, and prohibitions of arms, and of ſhips otherwiſe furniſhed than merchantmen uſed to be; and of taking ſecurity, and giving protection, in all caſes where need ſhall require; and of ordering all other things neceſſary for the maintaining of peace, right, and equity, among all manner of people, as well of other dominions as their own, paſſing through the ſaid ſeas, and the ſovereign guard thereof; and alſo, of taking all manner of cognizance in cauſes, and of doing right and juſtice to high and low, according to the ſaid laws, ſtatutes, ordinances, and prohibitions, and all other things, which to the exerciſe of ſovereign juriſdiction in the places aforeſaid may appertain: and whereas A. de B. (Lord Coke [z] ſays his name was de Botetort) admiral of the ſaid ſea, deputed by the ſaid king of England, and all other admirals deputed by the ſaid king of England, and his anceſtors formerly kings of England, have been in peaceable poſſeſſion of the ſaid ſovereign guard, with power of juriſdiction, and all the other powers before mentioned, (except in caſe of appeal, and complaint made of them to their ſovereigns the kings of England, in default of juſtice, or for evil judgment), and eſpecially of making prohibitions, doing juſtice, and taking ſecurity for good behaviour from all manner of people carrying arms

[z] Inſtit. lib. iv. c. 22.

on

on the ſaid ſea, or ſailing in ſhips otherwiſe fitted out and armed than merchant ſhips uſed to be, and in all other caſes where a man may have reaſonable cauſe of ſuſpicion towards them of piracy, or other miſdoings: and whereas the maſters of ſhips, of the ſaid kingdom of England, in the abſence of the ſaid admirals, have been in peaceable poſſeſſion of taking cognizance, and judging of all facts upon the ſaid ſea, between all manner of people, according to the laws, ſtatutes, prohibitions, franchiſes, and cuſtoms: and whereas, in the firſt article of the treaty of alliance, lately made between the ſaid kings at Paris, the words following are ſet down, *viz.* Firſt of all it is agreed and concluded between us, the envoys and agents above mentioned, in the names of the ſaid kings, that they ſhall be to each other, for the future, good, true, and faithful friends and allies againſt all the world, (except the church of Rome), in ſuch manner, that if any one or more, whoſoever they be, ſhall go about to interrupt, hinder, or moleſt the ſaid kings, in the franchiſes, liberties, privileges, rights, or cuſtoms, of them and their kingdoms, they ſhall be good and faithful friends, and aiding againſt all men living, and ready to die, to defend, keep and maintain, the above-mentioned franchiſes, liberties, rights, and cuſtoms, *&c.*; and that the one ſhall not be of counſel, nor give aid or aſſiſtance in any thing whereby the other may loſe life, limb, eſtate, or honour. And whereas Mr. Reyner Grimbaltz, maſter of the ſhips of the ſaid king of France, who calls himſelf admiral of the ſaid ſea, being deputed by his ſovereign aforeſaid, in his war againſt the Flemings, did (after the above-mentioned alliance was made and ratified, and againſt the tenor and obligation of the ſaid alliance, and the intention of thoſe who made it) wrongfully aſſume and exerciſe the office of admiral in the ſaid ſea of England, above the ſpace of a year, by commiſſion from the ſaid king of France, taking the ſubjects and merchants of the kingdom of England, and of other countries, paſſing upon the ſaid ſeas, with their goods, and did caſt the men ſo taken into the priſons of his ſaid maſter the king of France, and, by his own judgment and award, did cauſe to be delivered, their goods and merchandizes to receivers eſtabliſhed for that purpoſe, in the ſea-ports of the ſaid king, as forfeit and confiſcate to him; and his taking and detaining the ſaid men with their ſaid goods and merchandizes,

chandizes, and his judgment and award on them as forfeit and confiſcate, hath pretended in writing to juſtify before you, the lords commiſſioners, by authority of the aforeſaid commiſſion for the office of admiral by him thus uſurped, and againſt the general prohibition made by the king of England, in places within his power, in purſuance of the third article of the before-mentioned alliance, containing the words above written, and hath therefore required, that he may be acquitted and abſolved of the ſame, to the great damage and prejudice of the ſaid king of England, and of the prelates, nobles, and others before mentioned: wherefore the ſaid procurators do, in the names of their ſaid lords, pray you, the lords-commiſſioners before mentioned, that due and ſpeedy delivery of the ſaid men, ſhips, goods, and merchandizes, ſo taken and detained, may be made to the admiral of the ſaid king of England, to whom the cognizance of this matter doth rightfully appertain, as is above ſaid, that ſo, without diſturbance from you, or any one elſe, he may take cognizance thereof, and do what belongs to his aforeſaid office; and that the aforeſaid Mr. Reyner may be condemned, and conſtrained to make due ſatisfaction for all the ſaid damages, ſo far forth as he ſhall be able to do the ſame; and in default thereof, his ſaid maſter, the king of France, by whom he was deputed to the ſaid office, and that, after due ſatisfaction ſhall be made for the ſaid damages, the ſaid Mr. Reyner may be ſo duly puniſhed for the violation of the ſaid allowance, as that the ſame may be an example to others for time to come[a].

Thus far the remonſtrance; on which other writers having largely inſiſted, let us content ourſelves with making a few obvious reflections. I. It appears from this paper, that the dominion of the ſea had not only been claimed, but exerciſed and poſſeſſed, by the kings of England, for time immemorial; which is ſufficient to give ſome credit to the facts which we have related from the Britiſh hiſtory: for as to the times ſince the Roman invaſion, they were, in an hiſtorical ſenſe, within memory. II. It is clear, from hence, what the dominion of the ſea was, viz. a juriſdiction over the veſſels of all nations paſſing thereon for the common benefit of all, for the preventing piracies, the

[a] Selden's mare clauſum, lib. ii. cap. 27, 28. Coke's inſtit. lib. iv. cap. 22.

protection of commerce, and the deciſion of unforeſeen diſputes. III. It is no leſs apparent, that this was an excluſive juriſdiction, in which no other potentate had any ſhare; which muſt have been founded either in common conſent, or in ſuperiority of ſtrength; either of which afforded a good title. IV. We ſee, by this remonſtrance, that the dominion of the ſea reſting in the king of England, was a point not only known to, but maintained by, the Genoeſe, Spaniards, Germans, Hollanders, Danes, and in ſhort, by all the maritime powers then in Europe: which is ſufficient to evince, that trade was far from being at a low ebb; and that the prerogative of the crown of England, in this reſpect, had been hitherto ſo exerciſed, as to render it a common advantage. V. We perceive, that foreigners were ſo jealous of the aſſuming temper of the French princes, that they would not admit the commander in chief of their naval force to bear the title of admiral, which they apprehended to include a title to juriſdiction; and therefore would have this Reyner Grimbaltz ſtyled only maſter of the ſhips to the king of France. VI. We muſt obſerve, that the commiſſioners, to whom this remonſtrance is addreſſed, neither had, nor claimed any naval juriſdiction whatſoever, but were appointed to hear and determine whether King Edward's prerogative, as ſovereign of the ſea, had been invaded by this Reyner Grimbaltz, in contravention of the firſt article of the treaty between the crowns of England and France, whereby the contracting parties covenanted to maintain each others prerogatives; and conſequently, the French King was bound to maintain this prerogative of King Edward, which gave occaſion to the commiſſion. VII. We owe the knowledge of this whole affair not to our hiſtorians, but to our records: whence we may ſafely deduce this conſequence, that the want of facts to ſupport ſuch a juriſdiction throughout preceding reigns, ought not to be urged as a juſt objection; becauſe, as I once before hinted, moſt of thoſe who applied themſelves to writing hiſtory, were very little acquainted with theſe matters.

But there is one thing more relating to this affair, which deſerves particular attention; and that is, the plea put in by Reyner Grimbaltz, in anſwer to this remonſtrance. He did not diſpute the king of England's ſovereignty; he did not plead any

power

power derived to himself from the French king's commission: but what he insisted on was, the third article of the treaty before mentioned, which he would have to be thus understood: that King Edward having contracted not to give any aid or assistance, or to suffer any aid or assistance to be given to the enemies of King Philip; and having also actually issued out a prohibition, forbidding any such practices, it followed, in his opinion, that all such as, after this prohibition, relieved the Flemings, by merchandize or otherwise, were to be esteemed enemies, of whatsoever nation they were: and that he, having taken none but the persons and goods of such, conceived himself to have a permission so to do by virtue of the said prohibition; whereby King Edward, according to his interpretation, had signified, that he would not take it as an injury done to him, although the ships of such offenders should be taken in his seas by the French king's officers. I shall not enter into the reasonableness or validity of this defence, the issue of which is not known; but content myself with observing, that it contains the clearest concession, on the part of France, that can be desired: because this man derives the legality of his own actions, if they were legal, not from the commission of the prince he served, but from the king of England's prohibition: so that, in reality, he asserts himself to have acted under the English sovereignty, and from thence expected his acquittal [b].

Many other instances of this king's claiming and exercising the sovereignty of the sea might be produced, if they were at all necessary; but as, at that time, the title of our kings was no way contested, it is not necessary to detain the reader longer on this head. The remainder of his life was spent in subduing Scotland, on which he had particularly set his heart, as appears, by his directing his dead body to be carried about that country, till every part of it was brought under his son's dominion. In this temper of mind he died, in a manner, in the field; for he caused himself to be conveyed from Carlisle to a village called Burgh upon Sands, where he deceased on July 17, 1307, in the thirty-fifth year of his reign, and the sixty-ninth of his age [c].

[b] Selden, ubi supra. Molloy, de jure maritimo & navali, cap. v. [c] Walh. Hemingford, vol. i. p. 237, 238, 239. Nic. Trivet. annal. p. 346, 347. Chron. Godstovian. p. 103. T. Walsingham. hist. Angl. p. 94. Thom. Sprot, chronic. p. 112. Johan. Fordun de Scotichonicon, vol. iv. p. 1003. H. Knyghton, p. 2530. Fabian, p. 149.

He was, undoubtedly, one of the braveſt and moſt politic princes that ever ſat on the Engliſh throne. He rightly judged, that he could never be formidable abroad till he had eſtabliſhed unanimity at home; which was the reaſon that, at ſuch an expence of blood and treaſure, he annexed Wales for ever to his dominions, and endeavoured, with ſuch earneſtneſs, to add Scotland to them likewiſe; which, if he had lived, he would, in all probability, have done; and then, no doubt, the French would have felt the weight of his whole power: for, though he was too wiſe to be diverted from the proſecution of his deſigns by any of the arts of his enemies, yet he was a monarch of too great ſpirit to bear the injuſtice done him by France, longer than the ſituation of his affairs required. As he ſet the ſtate in order at his firſt coming to the throne, ſo he left the government thoroughly eſtabliſhed at the time of his deceaſe; which, with a numerous army and potent fleet, he conſigned to his ſon, who reſembled him very little either in his virtue or his fortune.

EDWARD II. ſucceeded this monarch in the throne with the general ſatisfaction of the nation. His firſt care was to ſolemnize the marriage, concluded for him by his father, with the Princeſs Iſabella, daughter to the French king; and for that purpoſe he paſſed the ſeas, and went to Paris, where he was very magnificently received, and the ceremony of his nuptials was performed with extraordinary ſplendour. His marriage over, he returned to England with his new queen, and was crowned on the feaſt of St. Matthias with all imaginable teſtimonies of joy and affection from the people[d]. But this fair weather was ſoon over; for he ſhortly after bringing back his favourite, called by moſt of our writers Gaveſton, but whoſe true name ſeems to have been Piers, or Peter de Gaberſton, a Gaſcon, the barons took ſuch an offence thereat, and at the extravagant marks of royal favour he afterwards received, that more than one civil war happened upon his account, which hindered the king from applying himſelf to the care of his concerns abroad, as well as the nobility from rendering him thoſe

[d] A. D. 1308.

ſervices

ſervices to which they were heartily inclined. Theſe jealouſies and diſputes ended not but with the death of the king's minion, by whom they were occaſioned, and who, falling into the hands of the lords, had his head ſtruck off without any form of juſtice. It is highly probable, that the French counſellors about the queen were the chief inſtigators of this fact, at leaſt as to the manner of doing it; and yet, after it was done, they inflamed the king's diſcontents, and, by thus dividing this nation, kept their own quiet [e].

In the year 1313 Robert le Brus, king of Scotland, invaded England with a great army, which rouſed the king from his lethargy, and obliged him to provide for the nation's ſafety, and his own honour. The next year therefore he aſſembled the whole ſtrength of the realm, and marched therewith northward, intending to have reduced the whole kingdom of Scotland, according to his father's directions upon his death-bed; but thoſe diſaſters, which always attend princes when on ill terms with their ſubjects, waited on this unfortunate expedition; ſo that in a general engagement on June 24, 1314, the Engliſh were entirely defeated, though the king diſcovered much perſonal courage, and, when all fell into confuſion, was with difficulty prevailed upon to fly. He certainly meant to have attempted at leaſt the repairing this misfortune, by invading Scotland with a new army; but his reputation was ſo much injured by his late defeat, and his nobility were ſo unwilling to fight under his banners [f], that all his endeavours came to nothing; and he had beſides the misfortune to ſee not only the northern parts of England ravaged, but Ireland alſo invaded by the Scots, whom his father had left in ſo low a con-

[e] Walter Hemingford, vol. i. p. 241. Contin. annal. Nic. Trivet. per Adam Murimuth, vol. ii. p. 5. Thom. Walſingham, p. 95—101. Mezeray. H. Knyghton, p. 2532. Thom. de la Moor, vit. Edward II. p. 593. T. Otterbourne, p. 109, 110. Johan. Trokelowe, annal. Edward II. p. 1—18. Anonym. Monach. Malmſburiens, vit. Edward II. p. 95—106. [f] Adam Murimuth, annal. vol. ii. p. 15. Hector Boeth. hiſt. Scot. lib. xiv. p. 302. Thom. Walſingham, hiſt. Angl. p. 105. T. Otterbourne, p. 110. H. Knyghton, p. 2533. Johan. Fordun, Scotichronicon, vol. iv. p. 1007. Monach. Malmeſburiens, vit. Edward II. p. 146, 147. Johan Trokelowe, annal. Edw. II. p. 24—26. Fabian's chronicle, p. 167.

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dition, and ſo little likely to defend their own, inſtead of offending others.

This deſign of the Scots upon Ireland was very deeply laid, and nothing leſs was intended than an entire conqueſt of the iſland. For this purpoſe King Robert le Brus ſent over his brother Edward, who took upon him the title of king of Ireland, and who landed in the north with ſix thouſand men, attended by the earls of Murray and Monteith, Lord John Stuart, Lord John Campbell, and many other perſons of diſtinction; and, by the aſſiſtance of the native Iriſh, quickly reduced a great part of the country. This war laſted ſeveral years, King Robert going over thither at laſt in perſon; and in all probability had carried his point, if it had not been for the haſty temper of his brother. Sir Edmund Butler, in the beginning of theſe ſtirs, had with the Engliſh forces done all that in a very diſtracted ſtate of affairs could be done, for the preſervation of the iſland, till ſuch time as the king ſent over Lord Roger Mortimer with a very ſmall force to repreſs the invaders; who engaging Edward le Brus in the famous battle of Armagh, which the Scots very imprudently fought before they were joined by King Robert and his forces, the Engliſh gained a complete victory[g], the pretended King Edward being ſlain upon the ſpot, his head carried by the Lord Birmingham into England, and there preſented to King Edward[h]. After this all matters in Ireland were ſo well ſettled, that the king had thoughts of retiring thither, when ſinking under his misfortunes; and had probably done ſo, if he had remained maſter of the ſea.

The king drew theſe troubles upon himſelf, by ſuffering his new favourites the Spenſers to guide him in all things, ſince by this he equally diſguſted his nobility and his own family. A diſhonourable treaty he had made with Scotland was another ground of diſcontent; and, while things went ſo ill at home, there wanted not ſome cauſes of diſquiet abroad. Charles IV. of France, brother to Queen Iſabel, pretending to

[g] Chron. Hibern. Adam Murimuth, vol. ii. p. 28, 29, 49, 53. Johan. Trokelowe, annal. Edward II. p. 33, 44. J. Fordun, Scotichronicon, vol. iv. p. 1008, 1009. T. Walſingham, p. 107, 111. Hector Boeth. hiſt. Scot. lib. xiv. p. 305.

[h] A. D. 1318.

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take umbrage becauſe King Edward did not aſſiſt at his coronation, ſent his uncle Charles de Valois into Guyenne, a great part of which he quickly reduced, and grievouſly diſtreſſed Edmund earl of Kent, the king's brother, who was ſent to defend that province; inſomuch that he agreed with the French general to come over, and perſuade his brother to give King Charles ſatisfaction, or elſe to render himſelf, if the king of England was inflexible, priſoner of war; by which capitulation he preſerved the few towns the Engliſh ſtill retained in Guyenne, though he thereby paved the way, perhaps involuntarily, for his unfortunate brother's depoſition and deſtruction [i].

As ſoon as King Edward was informed of what had paſſed, he took it extremely to heart, baniſhed the French who were about the perſon of the queen, and had thoughts of entering immediately into a war with that crown: but, finding it impoſſible to obtain ſupplies from his parliament, he ſuddenly changed his purpoſe, and reſolved to ſend over Queen Iſabella to treat with her brother, and to endeavour to accommodate the differences which had happened between them; and upon this errand ſhe accordingly went. By her applications the French king was not only drawn to paſs by what had given him offence, but was likewiſe induced to give him the dukedom of Aquitain, and the earldom of Poictou to Prince Edward his nephew, on condition that he came and did him homage for them in perſon; though, to preſerve appearances, letters of ſafe conduct were alſo ſent to the king, that he, in caſe he ſo thought fit, might alſo go over to France, and take poſſeſſion of thoſe countries [k]. When King Edward had conſidered theſe conditions, and conſulted with his favourites, he reſolved to ſend over the prince to his mother, in order to the due execution of the treaty. This was all that the queen and her party wanted; for no ſooner was the heir of the crown in France under their tuition, than immediately they began to negotiate a treaty of marriage between him and the daughter of the earl of Hainault, directly

[i] Mezeray, abregé de l'hiſt. de France, tome ii. p. 841. Le Gendre, hiſt. de France, tome iii. p. 431. Adam Murimuth, vol. ii. p. 62. T. de la Moor, vit. Edward II. p. 596. Thom. Walſingham, p. 122. [k] Paul Æmyle, hiſt. des rois de France, p. 497. P. Daniel, hiſt. de France, tome iv. p. 45—47. Rymer's fœdera, tome iv. p. 195.

contrary

contrary to his father's inſtructions; and, at the ſame time, made all the neceſſary diſpoſitions for invading England, as ſoon as this marriage was brought about [l]. The king, having intelligence of theſe proceedings, ſent poſitive orders to the queen and his ſon to return home; and on their refuſal proclaimed them enemies to the kingdom, and at the ſame time began to act vigorouſly againſt France; ſending orders to his admiral to cruize on the French coaſts, particularly to the conſtable of Dover-caſtle, and warden of the cinque ports; who executed his commands ſo effectually, that in a ſhort time a hundred and twenty ſail of ſhips belonging to Normandy were brought into the Engliſh ports [m]. This had ſuch an effect upon King Charles, that, in appearance at leaſt, he abandoned his ſiſter [n]; though a French hiſtorian intimates, that it was rather occaſioned by her too great familiarity with Roger Lord Mortimer. However it was, the queen retired firſt into Guyenne, and went thence with her ſon, the prince, to the court of the earl of Hainault, where ſhe openly proſecuted her deſign of attacking her huſband, in ſupport of which ſhe had formed a ſtrong party in England.

The king on his ſide provided the beſt he could for his defence, which however did not hinder her landing with three thouſand men, at Orewell in Suffolk, a little before Michaelmas: an inconſiderable force in proportion to the deſign, and yet it is hard to conceive even how theſe were landed, without the connivance at leaſt of ſuch as had the command of the king's fleet: which may with the greater reaſon be ſuſpected, ſince immediately after her arrival the earl of Lancaſter, and moſt of the nobility, came in to her aſſiſtance; ſo that the king, ſeeing himſelf deſerted, was forced to retire, or rather was compelled to fly into Wales; where finding himſelf abandoned by thoſe about him, he went on board a ſmall ſhip, intending to retire to Ireland; but after toſſing to and fro a whole week, he landed again in Glamorganſhire, where for ſome time he lay hid.

[l] Adam Murimuth, vol. ii. p. 63. Thom. de la Moor, vit. Edward II. p. 508. Thom. Walſingham, 123. [m] Polydor. Virgil, lib. xviii. Thom. Walſinghami Ypodigma Neuſtriæ, p. 507, 508. Mezeray, tom. ii. p. 843, 844. [n] A. D. 1326.

At last being discovered, he was carried prisoner to Monmouth, and thence to Kenilworth-castle, belonging to the earl of Lancaster, where he remained till his queen and the counsellors about her took a resolution of forcing him to resign his crown; which by authority of parliament was placed on the head of his son[o]. He did not survive long after this, but was conveyed from place to place under the custody of Gournay and Mattravers, who in the end brought him to Berkley castle, where he was basely murdered on September 21, 1327, when he had reigned twenty years, and with small ceremony buried at Glouceſter[p]. With the character of this prince we shall meddle very little: his enemies have left us reports enough, in relation to his vices, and we have also some accounts of him from less prejudiced pens. As to maritime concerns, during his reign, they were certainly on the decline, as they will always be when the state is discomposed: yet, as far as the distractions in his affairs would give him leave, he shewed himself a friend to trade, and remarkably careful of wool, the staple commodity of the kingdom, as appears by his charter granted for that purpose, and other authentic proofs.[q]

EDWARD III. called, from his birth-place, Edward of Windsor, ascended the throne in his father's lifetime, being entirely governed by the queen his mother, and her favourite Roger Mortimer[r]. He married Philippa, daughter to the earl of Hainault, who was also crowned queen. In the beginning of his reign there happened many things which were far from promising those glorious events that afterwards followed. For, first, he made an unfortunate war against the Scots, which was succeeded by a disadvantageous treaty; then passing over to France, he, by the advice of his mother and her counsellors, did homage to Philip, son of Charles de Valois, then styling himself king, to the prejudice of his own title to that crown. We may add to this, the cutting off his uncle Edmund earl of

[o] Adam Murimuth, vol. ii. p. 69. Thom. Walsingham, p. 125—127. Thom. de la Moor, p. 600. [p] Chron. Godstovian, p. 109. Adam Murimuth, vol. ii. p. 70. Thom. Walsinghami Ypodigma Neustriæ, p. 509. Thom. de la Moor, vit. Edward II. p. 602, 603. H. Knyghton, p. 2551. Grafton's chronicle, p. 218, 219. [q] Hakluyt's voyages, vol. i. p. 142.
[r] A. D. 1328.

Kent's head, for a pretended reaſon, in endeavouring to ſet his brother King Edward on the throne again; though it was well known he was dead. But as by degrees he began to act according to his own ſentiments, he eaſily wiped off theſe imputations, due rather to the tenderneſs of his age, than to any fault of his mind. For in the fourth year of his reign, when the king himſelf was but twenty years of age, he, at a parliament held at Nottingham, went in perſon, and at the hazard of his life ſeized Mortimer in his mother's bed-chamber[t], cauſed him to be carried to London, where, by his death, he in ſome meaſure atoned for the crimes he had committed in his lifetime[t].

Thenceforward King Edward ruled like a great prince, and one who had his own honour, and the reputation of his people at heart. He firſt turned his arms againſt the Scots, who had done incredible miſchiefs in the north; and reſolving to repair the diſhonour he had ſuſtained during the weak adminiſtration of his mother, he prepared both an army and a fleet for the invaſion of that country; and though the latter ſuffered grievouſly by ſtorm on the Scottiſh coaſt, whereby moſt of his great ſhips were wrecked, and the reſt rendered unſerviceable, yet he perſiſted in his deſign of expelling David Brus, and reſtoring Edward Baliol; which at length, with infinite labour, he effected, and received homage from the ſaid Edward, as his grandfather Edward I. had from John Baliol[u]: David Brus, who had ſucceeded his father in the kingdom of Scotland, retiring into France with his queen, where they were kindly received. In this ſtep of ſecuring Scotland, previous to any expeditions beyond the ſeas, King Edward imitated his grandfather, as he ſeems to have done in moſt of his ſubſequent undertakings, having always a ſpecial regard to the maintenance of a ſtout fleet, and ſecuring to himſelf the poſſeſſion as well as title of lord of the ſeas, which enabled him to aſſert, whenever he thought fit, his rights abroad, and effectually ſecured him from apprehending any thing from the efforts of his enemies at home. While he was laying theſe ſolid foundations of

[t] A. D. 1330. [t] Adam Murimuth, vol. ii. p. 76. Walter de Hemingford, vol. ii. p. 271. Chron. Godſtovian, p. 116. Robert de Aveſbury, hiſt. Edwardi iii. p. 8, 9. H. Knyghton, p. 2536—2559. T. Walſinghami Ypodigma Neuſtriæ, p. 510, 511. Wilhelmi Wyrceſti Annales, p. 429. [u] A. D. 1334.

power,

power, he thought it not at all beneath him to make uſe of ſuch temporary expedients as were proper to ſerve his purpoſe, and to enable him to maintain his right to the crown of France, whenever he ſhould think fit to claim it [w].

As this war was of great importance to the nation, as well as to the king, and carried our naval force to a greater height than ever it arrived at before, it will be neceſſary to enter into a diſtinct, though conciſe detail of its cauſes, as well as of the circumſtances attending it. Philip the Fair, king of France, left behind him at his deceaſe three ſons, who all ſwayed the ſcepter of that kingdom in their turns. The eldeſt of theſe, Lewis X. reigned twenty-ſix years, leaving his queen big with child, who after his deceaſe brought forth a ſon, called John; but the child died at a week old, and Philip, the late king's brother, ſucceeded, who reigned alſo twenty-ſix years. On his demiſe, Charles IV. ſurnamed the Fair, claimed and enjoyed the crown twenty-eight years; and deceaſing in the year 1328, left his queen Jane pregnant, who was afterwards delivered of a daughter named Blanch; and immediately thereupon King Edward ſet up his title to the ſucceſſion: thus he acknowledged that the ſalique law excluded the females; but he maintained, that the males deſcending from thoſe females were not excluded by that law; becauſe the reaſon whereon it was founded did not reach them. The peers of France however decided againſt him, and acknowledged Philip de Valois, couſin to the deceaſed prince, as the next heir male, and ſeated him on the throne. This was in 1328; and King Edward being at that time in no condition to vindicate his rights by force, ſeemed to acquieſce; and being afterwards ſummoned to do homage for the countries he held in France, he made no difficulty, as we before obſerved, of complying; and even performed it in perſon with great magnificence [x].

But afterwards, being better informed as to the validity of his pretenſions, and finding that ſeveral foreign princes were ready

[w] Adam Murimuth, vol. ii. p. 79—84. T. Otterbourne. p. 115—117. Monach. Malmeſburiens, p. 246, 247. Robert de Aveſbury, p. 22—23. H. Knyghton, p. 2563—2565. Hector Boeth. hiſt. Scot. lib. xv. p. 312—316. J. Fordun Scotichronicon, vol. iv. p. 1021, 1022. [x] Mezeray abregé de l'hiſtoire de France, vol. iii. p. 3—12. F. Daniel hiſtoire de France, tom. iv. p. 63—72. Continuat. Adam Murimuth. Holingſhed's chronicle.

to abet his claim, he reſolved to do himſelf juſtice by force of arms, in caſe he could obtain it no other way. With this view, he entered into a treaty with the Emperor Lewis of Bavaria, the earl of Hainault, the duke of Brabant, and other princes; and having proceeded thus far, the king next wrote letters to the pope and cardinals, ſetting forth the injury that was done him, and his reſolution to do himſelf right. At length, theſe previous endeavours having ſerved no other purpoſe than that of giving the French king time to ſtrengthen himſelf, Edward, by the duke of Brabant, made his claim to the French crown, and ſpent the next winter in diſpoſing all things for the obtaining it by force, iſſuing his orders for raiſing a very numerous army, and for drawing together a great fleet; his allies in like manner ſending their defiances to the French king, and making great preparations for fulfilling their promiſes to the king of England, which nevertheleſs they did but ſlenderly [y]. And thus was this great war begun, in ſpeaking of which, we ſhall concern ourſelves no farther than with the naval expeditions on both ſides.

The principal confederate, or at leaſt the confederate of principal uſe to our monarch, was James Arteville a brewer of Ghent; for this man ſo well ſeconded the king's endeavours, that he drew to him the hearts of the Flemings, whom King Edward had already made ſenſible of the importance of the Engliſh friendſhip, by detaining from them his wool [z]. However, they durſt not ſhew their inclinations till ſuch time as the king ſent the earl of Derby with a conſiderable force, who made themſelves maſters of the iſle of Cadſant; upon which moſt of the great cities in Flanders declared againſt the French, and invited King Edward thither [a]. The French, however, ſtruck the firſt blow at ſea: for having, under colour of ſending relief to the Chriſtians in the Holy Land, aſſembled a ſquadron of large ſhips, they ſent them over to the Engliſh coaſt, where they took and burnt Southampton; and yet in their retreat they loſt 300

[y] T. Otterbourne, chron. p. 118—128. Rob. de Aveſbury, p. 27—44. H. Knyghton, p. 2569. Fabian's chronicle, p. 214, 215. [z] Froiſart, chron. cap. xxix. fol. 18. Mezeray, abregé de l'hiſtoire de France, tom. iii. p. 14. P. Daniel, hiſtoire de France, tom. iv. p. 90. [a] Froiſart, cap. 30. T. Walſingham, hiſt. Angl. p. 136. H. Knyghton, p. 2570. Paul Æmyle, p. 512, 513.

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men, and the ſon of the king of Sicily who commanded them[b]: ſo that upon the whole, this, though an apparent hoſtility, could ſcarce be ſtyled an advantage.

In 1338, King Edward by the middle of July drew his numerous army down to the coaſt of Suffolk, and at Orewell embarked them on board a fleet of 500 ſail, with which he paſſed over to Antwerp. On his arrival he was received with great joy by the allies, particularly the Emperor Lewis; but the ſubſidies he paid them were exceſſive; nor could he immediately make uſe of their aſſiſtance, the French king declining a battle[c]. In the mean time, by the advice of the Flemings, he aſſumed the arms and title of king of France; but while the king ſpent his time in marches and countermarches, in which, however, he gained ſome advantages over the enemy, the French, and their allies the Scots, did a great deal of miſchief on the Engliſh coaſts with their fleet[d]. The town of Haſtings they ruined, alarmed all the weſtern coaſt, burnt Plymouth, and inſulted Briſtol[e]; all which was owing to the king's employing the greateſt part of his naval force abroad, and the remainder in the north, to awe the Scots: yet, in two inſtances, the Engliſh valour and naval force appeared with great luſtre. A ſquadron of thirteen ſail of French ſhips attacked five Engliſh, who defended themſelves ſo valiantly, that, though they loſt the Edward and the Chriſtopher, two of the largeſt, yet the other three eſcaped, notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of the enemy[f]. The mariners of the cinque ports alſo, taking advantage of a thick fog, manned out all their ſmall craft, and ran over to Bulloigne, where they did notable ſervice; for they not only burnt the lower town, but deſtroyed four large ſhips, nineteen galleys, and twenty leſſer veſ-

[b] T. Walſinghami Ypodigma Neuſtriæ, p. 512. Fabian's chronicle, p. 206. Dupleix hiſtoire de France, tom. ii. p. 451. Le Gendre hiſtoire de France, tom. iii. p. 449. The king, in his letters to the pope, takes notice of the ſhips being thoſe intended for the Holy Land, and which the reader may meet with in Walter of Hemingford, T. Walſingham and others. [c] T. Otterbourne, p. 129. Monach. Malmeſburiens, vit. Edward III. p. 248. W. Hemingford, vol. ii. p. 282. Froiſart, cap. xxxii. [d] Robert de Aveſbury, p. 51. Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 356. Gio. Villani, lib. xi. cap. cviii. Paul Æmyle, p. 516. Chronique abregé du Tillet, p. 104. [e] A. D. 1339. [f] H. Knyghton, p. 2573. Fabian's chronicle, p. 206. Stow's chronicle, p. 235. Froiſart, cap. xxxvii. fol. 21—23.

ſels,

ſels, which lay in the harbour, and conſumed the dock and arſenal, filled with naval ſtores[g].

In 1330 King Edward returned to England in the month of February, in order to hold a parliament to provide for the expences of the war, wherein he ſucceeded to the utmoſt extent of his expectations; and, in return for the readineſs expreſſed by his ſubjects to aſſiſt him, he made many good laws, and granted great privileges to merchants[h]. After this, with a ſtrong fleet, he paſſed over into Flanders, and gave the French a terrible defeat at ſea. As this is one of the moſt remarkable events in this period of our hiſtory, and as there are various diſcordances in the relations thereof publiſhed by modern authors, I think it may not be amiſs to give the reader that diſtinct and accurate account which is preſerved in Robert of Aveſbury, who lived and wrote in thoſe days, and who beſides fortifies what he ſays, by annexing the account publiſhed by royal authority within four days after this battle; which detail I am the more inclined to copy, becauſe I find in it ſeveral circumſtances, particularly reſpecting the king's conduct, which are not to be met with elſewhere.

"It happened," ſays my author, "that, on the Saturday "fortnight before the feaſt of St. John Baptiſt, the king was at "Orewell, where there were forty ſhips, or thereabouts, pre- "paring for his paſſage into Flanders, where he was going to "his wife and children, whom he had left in the city of Ghent, "as well as to confer with his allies about the meaſures neceſſa- "ry to be taken for carrying on the war, intending to ſail in "two days time; but the archbiſhop of Canterbury ſent to give "him intelligence, that Philip de Valois, his competitor for "the crown of France, having had notice of his intended paſ- "ſage, with much diligence, and as much privacy as the na- "ture of the thing would admit, had aſſembled a great fleet, "which lay in the port of Sluys, in order to intercept him: "wherefore he adviſed his Majeſty to provide himſelf with a "better ſquadron, leſt he and thoſe who were with him ſhould "periſh.

[g] Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 357. [h] Walter Hemingford, vol. ii. p. 318, 319. T. Walſingham, p. 147. Cotton's abridgment of the records, p. 22. H. Knyghton, p. 2576.

"The

"The king, yielding no belief to his advice, answered, that
" he was resolved to sail at all events. The archbishop quitted,
" upon this, his seat in council, obtaining the king's leave to
" retire, and delivered up to him the great seal. His Majesty
" sent, therefore, for Sir Robert de Morley his admiral, and
" one Crabbe a skilful seaman, and gave them orders to in-
" quire into the truth of this matter, who quickly returned, and
" brought him the same news he had heard from the archbishop:
" upon which the king said, Ye have agreed with that prelate
" to tell me this tale, in order to stop my voyage; but, added
" he angrily, I will go without you, and you, who are afraid
" where there is no ground of fear, may stay here at home.
" The admiral and the seamen replied, that they would stake
" their heads, that, if the king persisted in this resolution, he
" and all who went with him would certainly be destroyed:
" however, they were ready to attend him even to certain death.
" The king, having heard them, sent for the archbishop of
" Canterbury back, and, with abundance of kind speeches,
" prevailed upon him to receive the great seal again into his
" care; after which the king issued his orders to all the ports
" both in the north and south, and to the Londoners likewise,
" to send him aid: so that, in the space of ten days, he had a
" navy as large as he desired, and such unexpected reinforce-
" ments of archers and men at arms, that he was forced to send
" many of them home; and with this equipage he arrived be-
" fore the haven of Sluys on the feast of St. John the Baptist.

"The English perceiving, on their approach, that the French
" ships were linked together with chains, and that it was im-
" possible for them to break their line of battle, retired a little,
" and stood back to sea. The French, deceived by this feint,
" broke their order, and pursued the English, who they thought
" fled before them: but these, having gained the sun and wind,
" tacked, and fell upon them with such fury, that they quickly
" broke, and totally defeated them; so that upwards of 30,000
" French were slain upon the spot, of whom numbers through
" fear jumped of their own accord into the sea, and were mise-
" rably drowned. Two hundred great ships were taken, in one
" of which only there were four hundred dead bodies. The day
" after this victory was gained, it was published at London by

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"the voice of the people, which is ſaid to be the voice of God; "but though the rumour thereof, through the diſtance of "places, was uncertain, yet, on the Wedneſday following, the "king's eldeſt ſon had perfect intelligence thereof at Waltham, "as appears by the following authentic account;" that is, the narrative by authority publiſhed, as before mentioned, by Prince Edward i.

We have alſo many remarkable particulars, in relation to this battle, in other writers. The Lord Cobham was firſt ſent by the king to view the French fleet, which he found drawn up in line of battle; and, having given the king an account of the vaſt number and great force of their ſhips, that brave prince anſwered, Well, by the aſſiſtance of God and St. George I will now revenge all the wrongs I have received. He ordered the battle himſelf, directing his ſhips to be drawn up in two lines; the firſt conſiſting of veſſels of the greateſt force, ſo ranged, that, between two ſhips filled with archers, there was one wherein were men at arms, the ſhips in the wings being alſo manned with archers: the ſecond line he uſed as a reſerve, and drew from thence ſupplies as they became neceſſary. The battle laſted from eight in the morning till ſeven at night; and, even after this, there was a ſecond diſpute; for thirty French ſhips endeavouring to eſcape in the dark, the Engliſh attacked them under the command of the earl of Huntingdon, and took the James of Diep, and ſunk ſeveral others. The king behaved with equal courage and conduct throughout the whole fight, giving his orders in perſon, and moving, as occaſion required, from place to place.

The French fleet, ſome authors ſay, had three, others, four diviſions, one of which conſiſted of the Genoeſe ſhips. They were extremely well provided with arms and ammunition, and abundance of machines for throwing ſtones, with which they did a great deal of miſchief; but they were leſs dextrous in managing their ſhips than the Engliſh; and this ſeems to have been one great cauſe of their defeat. The victory, however, coſt the Engliſh a great deal of blood; for a large ſhip and a galley, belonging to Hull, were ſunk, with all on board, by a volley of ſtones: and in a great ſhip, which belonged to the king's

i Robert de Aveſbury, p. 54—56. Fabian, p. 210, 211.

wardrobe, there were but two men and a woman that eſcaped. In all, the Engliſh loſt about four thouſand men, and amongſt them the following knights; Sir Thomas Monthermer, Sir Thomas Latimer, Sir John Boteler, and Sir Thomas Poinings [k].

The account the French writers give us of this battle contains likewiſe ſome remarkable paſſages. They tell us, that there was a great diſſention among their chief commanders [l]. The French had two admirals, Sir Hugh Quieret and Sir Peter Bahuchet: the former would have come out and fought, but the latter was for remaining within, and defending the haven; and, perſiſting in this opinion, he detained the ſhips ſo long in the port, that at laſt they could not get out. As for the Genoeſe, they were under an admiral of their own, whoſe name was Barbarini, who, with his ſquadron, ſtood out to ſea as ſoon as the Engliſh approached, and behaved very bravely, carrying off ſome part of his ſquadron, which was all that eſcaped. Sir Hugh Quieret was killed in the engagement, and Sir Peter de Bahuchet was hanged at the yard-arm for his ill conduct [m]. To take, as much as may be, from the honour of the Engliſh, theſe writers report, that the victory was chiefly owing to the Flemings, who joined the Engliſh fleet a little before the battle began; and they likewiſe magnify the loſs which the Engliſh received, computing it at 10,000 men, adding alſo, that King Edward was wounded in the thigh [n]. On the whole, it appears to have been a very hard-fought battle; and the victory ſeems entirely due to the ſkill and courage of the Engliſh ſailors, who were more adroit in working their ſhips, as the men at arms were more ready in boarding than the French; and the archers alſo did excellent ſervice. King Edward kept the ſea three days to put his victory out of diſpute, and then, landing his forces, marched to Ghent, in order to join his confederates [o].

[k] Walter Hemingford, vol. ii. p. 319—321. Froiſſart, chap. l. fol. 30. T. Walſingham, p. 148. H. Knyghton, p. 2578. Du Cheſne, lib. xv. p. 651. Grafton, p. 242, 243. [l] Mezeray, vol. iii. p. 16. P. Daniel, hiſtoire de la milice France, tome ii. p. 468. Froiſſart, chap. li. lii. [m] Le Gendre, tome iii. p. 455. [n] Hiſtoire de France, vol. i. p. 491. [o] Chron. Godſtovian, p. 112. Cont. Nic. Trivet. & Adam Murimuth, annal. vol. ii. p. 96. T. Otterbourne, p. 129.

The French king acted now on the defensive, putting garrisons into all his strong places, that whatever the English and their allies won might cost them dear [p]. Hereupon King Edward, with a very numerous army, invested Tournay; from which siege he sent King Philip a challenge, offering to decide their quarrel either by a single combat between themselves, or of a hundred against a like number; which King Philip refused for two reasons; because the letters were addressed to Philip de Valois, and therefore seemed not to concern him; as also, because King Edward staked nothing of his own, and yet required Philip to hazard his all. Both these letters are preserved in one of our old historians [q]. At last, after the siege had continued three months, King Edward, perceiving that his foreign auxiliaries daily dropped away, while the French king's army of observation became gradually stronger and stronger, he was content to make a truce for some months, (which was afterwards renewed), and then returned to England [r], having got a great deal of honour by his naval victory, and no less experience by his disappointment before Tournay, which convinced him, that, in all foreign confederacies, an English monarch is no farther considered than for the sake of his treasure, with which he is sure to part, though without any certainty of meeting with a proper return.

But if these foreign expeditions excessively harassed the nation, and cost immense sums of money, yet it must be owned, that King Edward had always an eye to his subjects welfare, and was very attentive to whatever might promote their commerce. He had, from the beginning of his reign, made several good laws for the regulation of trade, and preserving to the nation the benefit of their wool; but now his long residence in Flanders having given him an opportunity of observing the great profits made by the Flemish manufacturers, who then wrought up almost all that commodity, he wisely contrived to draw over great numbers of them hither, by insisting on the difficulties they laboured under at home, where their country was the seat of war, and the great advantages they might reap by transport-

[p] A. D. 1340. [q] Robert de Avesbury, p. 60, 61. [r] Contin. Nic. Trivet. & Adam Murimuth, annal. vol. ii. p. 96. Walter Hemingford, vol. ii. p. 324. Froissart, chap. lxiii. fol. 35. H. Knyghton, p. 2578. T. Walsingham, p. 139. Gaguin. hist. Franc. lib. viii. p. 138, 139.

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ing themſelves into England, where he was ready to afford them all the encouragement they could deſire: and from his endeavours, in this reſpect, ſprung, though not wholly, yet in a large degree, that great, that lucrative manufacture, which has been ſince productive of ſuch mighty advantages to the Engliſh nation[s]. Yet, in other reſpects, the king diſcovered ſeverity enough in his temper, by diſplacing and impriſoning moſt of his great officers, and obſtinately perſiſting in levying vaſt ſums to be laviſhed away in uſeleſs confederacies, and a fruitleſs proſecution of his claim to the French crown. But it is time to return from theſe reflections, however natural, to the buſineſs of this treatiſe.

In the year 1342 the war was renewed, on account of the conteſted ſucceſſion to the duchy of Brittany, King Edward ſupporting the cauſe of John de Montford, who was owned by the nobility againſt Charles de Blois, declared duke by the French king, who was his uncle. On this occaſion a conſiderable body of Engliſh troops was ſent over into that duchy under the command of Sir Walter de Mannie, who performed many gallant exploits both by land and ſea, though to no great purpoſe, the French king having it always in his power to pour in as many French troops as he pleaſed: ſo that the party of Charles de Blois prevailed, though againſt right, and the inclination of thoſe who were to be his ſubjects[t]. King Edward, on advice thereof, ſent over a new ſuccour under the command of the earls of Northampton and Devonſhire.

The French king, having notice of the intended ſupply, ſent Lewis of Spain, who commanded his fleet, which was made up of ſhips hired from different nations, directing that it ſhould ly near the iſland of Guernſey, in order to intercept the Engliſh ſquadron in its paſſage. This fleet conſiſted of thirty-two ſail, of which nine were very large ſhips, and three ſtout gallies, and had in them three thouſand Genoeſe, and a thouſand men at arms, commanded under the admiral by Sir Carolo Grimaldi and Antonio Doria. The Engliſh fleet conſiſted of ordinary

[s] Stow, Holingſhed, Speed, Brady. [t] Mezeray, vol. iii. p. 17. Hiſtoire de France, eſcrite par ordre de M. de Harley, P. preſident du parliament de Paris, vol. i p. 494. Froiſſart, cap. lxxx, lxxxi. H. Knyghton, p. 2581. T. Walſingham i Ypodigma Neuſtriæ, p. 515.

tranſports, about forty-five ſail in all, having on board five hundred men at arms, and a thouſand archers, under the command of the earls of Northampton and Devonſhire. The French ſquadron attacked them unexpectedly at ſea, about four in the afternoon, and the fight continued till night, when they were ſeparated by a ſtorm. The French and Genoeſe kept the ſea, their veſſels being large, with four or five prizes; but the reſt of the Engliſh fleet, keeping cloſe to the ſhore, found means to land the forces which they had on board, who ſhortly after took the city of Vannes, and performed other notable ſervices[u]. Towards winter the king paſſed over with a great army into Brittany, and beſieged three principal places at once, yet without ſucceſs; for the duke of Normandy, the French king's eldeſt ſon, coming with a great army to their relief, a negociation followed, which ended in a ceſſation of hoſtilities for three years; which, however, was but indifferently kept, notwithſtanding the pope interpoſed, as far as he was able, in order to have ſettled an effectual peace[w].

In 1345, the war being already broke out with France, the king determined to ſail over to Flanders, in order to accompliſh his great deſign of fixing that country firmly to his intereſt, either by obliging the earl to ſwear fealty to him as his ſovereign, or elſe to depriye him of his dominions. While, therefore, he lay in the harbour of Sluys, a council was held of his principal friends in Flanders, on board his great ſhip the Catharine. At this council aſſiſted James d'Arteville the brewer, who, by the ſtrength of his natural eloquence ruled all the Netherlands, and ruined himſelf by giving into the king's project. He, when his countrymen the Flemings demanded a month's time to conſider of the propoſitions that had been made to them, undertook that all things ſhould go to the king's wiſh; yet, finding a great faction raiſed againſt him by one Gerard Dennis a weaver, he accepted of a guard of five hundred Welchmen from the king. This, however, proved of little ſignification; for, in a

[u] Holingſhed's chronicle, vol. ii. p. 363. We find the continuation of Triver's annals cited there in ſupport of theſe facts; yet we meet with nothing relating to this matter in the continuation publiſhed by the reverend Mr. Anthony Hall, printed at Oxford, 1724. [w] Walter Hemingford, vol. ii. p. 359. Contin. Nic. Trivet. annal. vol. ii. p. 97. Froiſſart. Thom. Walſingham, chronic. Godſtovian.

ſudden

ſudden tumult of the people, a cobler, ſnatching up an axe, beat out his brains.

The king was ſtill at Sluys with his fleet when this unfortunate accident happened; at which, though he was much moved, yet he was forced to diſſemble his reſentment, and to accept of the excuſes made him by the cities of Flanders[x]. Attributing however, all to the arts of the French, he reſolved once again to attempt the conqueſt of that kingdom, and to employ therein the utmoſt force of his own. Our hiſtorians give us a very copious account of this war; there is, conſequently, the leſs need that I ſhould inſiſt upon it here: I will therefore content myſelf with giving a ſuccinct detail of the Engliſh forces employed in this expedition, and a more particular recital of what was remerkable in the ſiege of Calais, which, as it was in part formed by a naval force, falls more immediately under the deſign of this treatiſe.

In the midſt of the ſummer of the year 1346, the king drew his navy, conſiſting of 1000 ſhips, to Portſmouth, and ſhortly after arrived at Southampton with his army, compoſed of 2500 horſe, and 30,000 foot: theſe he quickly embarked, the fleet ſailing thither for that purpoſe, and on the fourth of June he put to ſea, intending to have landed in Guyenne; but being driven back by a ſtorm on the coaſt of Cornwall, and, the French writers ſay, put back thither a ſecond time, he at laſt determined to make a deſcent on Normandy, where at la Hogue he ſafely debarked his forces, and began very ſucceſsfully to employ them in reducing the ſtrongeſt cities in the neighbourhood; after which, he ſpread fire and ſword on every ſide, even to the very gates of Paris. The French king, provoked at ſo diſmal a ſight, as well as with the news that the earl of Huntingdon, with the Engliſh fleet, deſtroyed all the coaſt almoſt without reſiſtance, reſolved, contrary to his uſual policy, to hazard a battle, which he accordingly did on the twenty-fifth of Auguſt, and received that remarkable defeat, which will immortalize the little town of Creſſy. Of this victory I chuſe to ſay nothing, ſince my ſubject will not allow me to ſay of it what I could

[x] Froiſſart, chap. cxv. Gio. Villani, p. 855, Dupleix, tom. ii. p. 473. Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 368. Stowe, Speed.

wiſh,

wiſh[y]. It was ſo entire, that for the preſent it left the king without enemies; and ſo much the effects of true courage, that, though Philip had quickly after an army of 150,000 men on foot, yet they had no ſtomach to fight again.

After this victory, the king on the laſt day of Auguſt[z] appeared before Calais, and formed a ſiege that laſted eleven months, and which, if we had leiſure to dilate on all the circumſtances attending it, would appear little inferior to the fabulous ſiege of Troy, or the reduction of Tyre by Alexander the Great. The king knew that he was to reduce a place ſtrong by nature and art, well ſupplied with ammunition and proviſions, furniſhed with a numerous garriſon, full of expectation of relief from King Philip, who was not far from thence with his mighty army before mentioned. Theſe difficulties, inſtead of diſcouraging Edward, inflamed him with a deſire of overcoming them. He inveſted the place regularly by land, fortified his lines ſtrongly, and within them erected, as Froiſſart, a contemporary writer tells us, a kind of town for the conveniency of his ſoldiers, wherein were not only magazines of all ſorts for the ſervice of the war, but vaſt warehouſes alſo of wool and cloth for ſupplying the ſinews of war by a conſtant trade at two ſettled markets, his troops all the while being exactly paid, and doing their duty cheerfully.

As for the fleet which blocked up the place at ſea, it conſiſted of 738 ſail, on board of which were 14,956 mariners. Of theſe ſhips 700 ſail belonged to his own ſubjects, and thirty-eight to foreigners; ſo that there ſeems to be no reaſon for putting us on a par with our neighbours for hiring ſhips, ſince it is as evident, that we were then able to fit out great fleets from our own ports, as that our enemies were able to do nothing but by the aſſiſtance of the Genoeſe, and other foreigners. The French king made ſome ſhew of relieving this place, by approaching within ſight of Calais at the head of a mighty army, the loſs of which he was determined, however, not to venture. The garriſon of Calais and the citizens, ſeeing themſelves thus deceived, had no other remedy left than to ſubmit themſelves to the mercy of a

[y] Walter Hemingford, vol. ii. p. 381. Rob. de Aveſbury, p. 123. Contin. Nic. Trivet. & Adam Murimuth, annal. vol. ii. p. 99. Froiſſart, chap. cxxx. T. Walſingham, p. 166. [z] A. D. 1347.

provoked

provoked conqueror, which, in the moſt abject manner, they ſought, and were, at the queen's entreaty ſpared. Thus ended this glorious ſiege, wherein the Engliſh monarch triumphed over his enemy by land and ſea, carrying his own and the nation's fame to the utmoſt height, and forcing even his enemies to acknowledge, that nothing could equal the courage and conduct of himſelf and his renowned ſon the Black Prince, but the courteſy and generoſity of their behaviour[a].

The king, having carried his point in taking Calais, was content, at the earneſt entreaty of the pope, to make a truce for a year; and the firſt uſe the French made of this was to attempt recovering by fraud what they knew it was in vain to attempt by force. The king had beſtowed the government of Calais on Aymeri de Pavia, whom ſoon after ſome French noblemen perſuaded to accept of 20,000 crowns, and to deliver up this important fortreſs[b]. King Edward, being informed of the deſign, paſſed with great ſecrecy from Dover to Calais, with 300 men at arms, and 600 archers; and, being received by night into the forts, he was ready to repulſe the French troops under the command of the count de Charnay, who came, with 1200 men, to ſurpriſe the place. The combat was long and doubtful; but at laſt it ended in the total defeat of the French, who, inſtead of taking the fortreſſes, were all either killed, or made priſoners. The king and Prince Edward were both in this action, and both in ſome danger, eſpecially the king, who at length took Sir Euſtace de Ribaumont, the knight with whom he fought, priſoner[c], and rewarded him for his valour with a rich bracelet of pearl[d]: and thus, as Robert de Aveſbury remarks, the deceit of the deceivers proved fatal to themſelves[e].

In the month of November 1349, a ſquadron of Spaniſh ſhips paſſed ſuddenly up the Garronne; and finding many Engliſh veſſels at Bourdeaux laden with wine, they cruelly murdered all the Engliſh ſeamen, and carried away the ſhips, though in time

[a] Rob. de Aveſbury, p. 136—141. Hiſtoire de France, vol. i. p. 503. Mezeray, p. 29. Froiſſart, vol. i. c. 133. T. Otterbourne, p. 132. H. Knyghton, p. 2595. [b] Dupleix, tom. ii. p. 488. Mezeray, tom. iii. p. 31. P. Daniel, tom. iv. p. 175. [c] A. D. 1349. [d] Contin. Nic. Trivet. & Adam Murimuth, annal. vol. ii. p. 101. Froiſſart, Mezeray, P. Daniel. [e] Hiſt. Edward III. p. 181—183.

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of full peace. King Edward having intelligence that a ſquadron of Spaniſh ſhips, richly laden, were on the point of returning from Flanders, he drew together at Sandwich a ſquadron of fifty ſail, on board which he embarked in perſon about Midſummer[f], having with him the prince of Wales, the earls of Lancaſter, Northampton, Warwick, Saliſbury, Huntingdon, Arundel, and Glouceſter, with many other perſons of diſtinction. They met with the Spaniſh fleet on the coaſt near Winchelſea, which conſiſted of forty-four very large ſhips, ſtyled caracks: they were out of compariſon bigger and ſtronger than the Engliſh veſſels; and yet the latter attacked them with great boldneſs. The Spaniards defended themſelves reſolutely, and choſe at laſt death rather than captivity, refuſing quarter, though it was offered them. Twenty-four of theſe great ſhips, laden with cloth, and other valuable goods, were taken, and brought into the Engliſh harbours, and the reſt eſcaped by a ſpeedy flight. To perpetuate the memory of this victory, the king cauſed himſelf to be repreſented on a gold coin, ſtanding in the midſt of a ſhip with a ſword drawn, thinking it an honour to have his name tranſmitted to poſterity as THE AVENGER OF MERCHANTS[g].

It would be beſide or rather beyond our purpoſe to record all the glorious expeditions of this reign, which would require a volume to do them right. In order to connect ſuch paſſages as fall properly under our pen, we ſhall obſerve, that, on the death of Philip the French king, his ſon John ſucceeded in the throne, who in the beginning of his reign beſtowed the duchy of Aquitain upon the dauphin; which ſo provoked King Edward, that he gave it, with the like title, to his ſon the prince, and ſent him with a ſmall army of veteran troops to maintain his title. With theſe forces, on September 19, 1356, he won the famous battle of Poictiers, in which he took the king of France and his youngeſt ſon Philip priſoners, and with them the flower of the French nobility, with whom, towards the cloſe of the year, he landed in triumph at Plymouth; from whence he proceeded to London, where he was received with the utmoſt

f A. D. 1350. g Contin. Nic. Trivet. & Adam Murimuth, annal. vol. ii. p. 102. Rob. de Aveſbury, p. 184, 185. T. Walſingham, p. 169. H. Knyghton, p. 2602. Fabian, p. 228. Math. Villani, lib. i. cap. 99.

reſpect by the citizens, having at their head Henry Picard, then lord-mayor, who afterwards entertained the kings of England, France, Scotland, and Cyprus, at dinner [h].

The taking of their king brought the French affairs into great diſorder, which was increaſed through their own diſſentions, and occaſioned ſuch a terrible fluctation in their councils, that king Edward, believing himſelf ill dealt with in the negociations they had ſet on foot for the deliverance of the king, reſolved to quicken them by invading France with a more potent army than hitherto he had employed againſt them, and accordingly embarked at Sandwich, October 24, 1359, on board a fleet of 1100 ſail, and the next day landed his army on Calais ſands, conſiſting of near an hundred thouſand men. The dauphin, with a great army, kept about Paris, but could not be drawn to a battle; which, though it loſt him ſome reputation, yet it certainly preſerved France; for King Edward, perceiving that though he was able to take their greateſt cities, and to plunder their richeſt provinces, yet it was by no means in his power to preſerve his conqueſts, reſolved to put an end to ſo deſtructive a diſpute, which, though it raiſed his glory, ſerved only to ruin two great nations; and, from this generous view, concluded the peace of Bretigny, ſo called from its being ſigned at that place, May 8, 1360.

By this treaty King Edward, for himſelf and ſucceſſors, renounced his title to the kingdom of France, the duchy of Normandy, and many other countries; the French, on the other ſide, giving up to him all Aquitain, with many countries depending thereupon, as alſo the town and lordſhip of Calais, with a conſiderable territory thereto adjoining [i]. By this treaty King John obtained his liberty, and was conveyed in an Engliſh fleet to Calais in the month of July following. King Edward, who was in England at the time the French king went away, paſſed alſo over to Calais in the month of October, where, upon the twenty-fourth, the treaty was ſolemnly ratified after the perform-

[h] Continuat. Nic. Trivet. & Adam Murimuth, annal. vol. ii. p. 107. Robert de Aveſbury, p. 210.—252. Anonym. hiſt. Edward III. c. lvi. T. Walſingham, p. 172. Froiſſart, c. clxiv. Paul Æmyle, p. 540. Dupleix, tom. ii. p. 504.

[i] Rymer's fœdera, tom. vi. p. 229. Contin. Nic. Trivet. & Adam Murimuth, annal. p. 113. Mezeray, tom. iii p. 59. P. Daniel, tom. v. p. 81.

ance of divine ſervice; and the kings mutually embracing, put an end to all their differences: John proceeding from thence to Paris, and King Edward returning on board his fleet to England [k].

This peace laſted as long as the French king lived, who, in 1364, came over into England again, under pretence of treating with King Edward, but in reality out of reſpect to an Engliſh lady; and died here ſoon after his arrival. His ſon, the dauphin, ſucceeded him, by the name of Charles V. ſurnamed The Wiſe; and from the inſtant he mounted the throne, projected the breach of the late treaty, and the depriving King Edward of the advantages ſtipulated thereby, which has been always a great point in French wiſdom [l]. The war, however, did not break out till the year 1369. The pretence then made uſe of by the French was, that the prince of Wales had raiſed ſome illegal taxes in his French dominions, of which the nobility of thoſe provinces were excited to complain to the French king, and to demand redreſs as from their ſovereign lord.

The French hiſtorians themſelves admit, that this was mere pretence, and that King Charles had ſecretly diſpoſed all things for expelling the Engliſh out of France; and when his mines were ready, directed the Count de Armagnac, and others of prince Edward's barons, to ſpring them, by preſenting their petition: upon which he ſummoned the prince of Wales to anſwer before his court of peers at Paris. This was a direct breach of the treaty of Bretigny, whereby the provinces in queſtion were abſolutely yielded to the king of England. The prince, on receiving this ſummons, declared that he would come to Paris with his helmet on his head, and ſixty thouſand men to witneſs his appearance. The French king, who expected ſuch a return, immediately declared that the territories of the king of England in France were forfeited for this contempt; of which ſentence he gave King Edward notice, by ſo contemptible a meſſenger as a ſcullion [m]. To ſuch an act as this,

[k] Froiſſart. chap. cxiii. T. Walſinghami Ypodigma Neuſtriæ, p. 514. Fabian, p. 243. [l] Paul Æmyle, p. 548, 549. Gagnin. hiſt. p. 155, 156. Dupleix, tom. ii. p. 536. [m] Froiſſart, chap. cxlii. Du Cheyne, p. 698. Mezeray, tom. iii. p. 78, 79, 80.

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he was prompted by the confidence he had in a ſcheme of his own, for invading and deſtroying England. In order to this, he had been for ſome years purchaſing ſhips all over Europe; ſo that at length he drew together a prodigious fleet, on board of which he was preparing to embark a numerous army; when he had advice that the duke of Lancaſter and the earl of Warwick, with a conſiderable body of Engliſh forces, were landed in the neighbourhood of Calais, and in full march towards him. This obliged him to abandon his deſign, and to make uſe of his forces to defend his own country, which they performed indifferently, though they were lucky in another reſpect; for the Count de St. Pol diſappointed a deſign the duke of Lancaſter had formed, of burning the whole French fleet in the port of Harfleur [n].

King Edward in the mean time conceiving himſelf, by this ſeries of unprovoked hoſtilities, entirely freed from his ſtipulations in the treaty concluded with King John, reſumed the title of king of France; and having received great ſupplies of money from his parliament, made mighty preparations for invading France; and for the preſent ſeveral ſquadrons were ſent to ſea to cruize upon the enemy [o]. One of theſe, on the coaſt of Flanders, took twenty-five ſail of ſhips laden with ſalt [p]. Theſe ſhips were commanded by one John Paterſon: and having brought this cargo from Rochelle, thought to ſhew their bravery by attacking the earl of Hereford with his ſmall ſquadron, and ſo drew upon themſelves this misfortune. The ſame year, the French formed the ſiege of Rochelle, the news of which gave King Edward great diſquiet: he therefore immediately ordered the earl of Pembroke, a young nobleman of great courage, to ſail with a ſquadron of forty ſhips, and ſuch forces as could be drawn together on a ſudden to its relief [q]. Henry, king of Caſtile, having notice of this embarkation, and fearing

[n] Contin. Nic. Trivet. & Adam Murimuth, annal. vol. ii, p. 123. Anonym. vit. Edward III. cap. lix. Froiſſart, chap. cclxix. T. Walſingham. p. 183. Mezeray, tom. iii. p. 82, 83. P. Daniel, tom. v. p. 171. [o] A D. 1371.

[p] Anonym. hiſtor. Edward III. cap. lx. Froiſſart, chap. ccxcii. fol. 177. T. Otterbourne, p. 147. Jacob. Meyer. annal. Flandr. lib. xiii. p. 190.

[q] Contin. Nic. Trivet. & Adam Murimuth, annal. vol. ii. p. 127, 128. T. Walſingham, p. 186. Anonym. hiſtor. Edward III. cap. lx. p. 439.

if the Engliſh ſucceeded, that they would again deprive him of his kingdom, which was claimed by the duke of Lancaſter in right of his wife, fitted out a ſtout fleet conſiſting of forty ſail of great ſhips, and thirteen tight frigates, which, well-manned, under the command of four experienced ſea-officers, he ſent to cruize before the entrance of the port of Rochelle, in order to intercept the Engliſh fleet [r].

The Earl of Pembroke arriving on Midſummer-eve, before Rochelle, engaged this fleet, but with indifferent ſucceſs; the Spaniards having ſhips of war, and he only tranſports: however, being parted in the night, he loſt no more than two ſtore-ſhips. The next day he renewed the fight, wherein he was totally defeated; all his ſhips being taken or ſunk, and himſelf ſent priſoner into Spain. On board one of his ſhips were twenty thouſand marks in ready money, which were to have been employed in raiſing forces; but by this accident went to the bottom of the ſea. French writers pretend, that the beſieged were not diſpleaſed with this misfortune which befel the Engliſh; and, as a proof of this alledge, that they gave them no aſſiſtance: the contrary of which appears from our authors, who give us a liſt of the Rochellers who periſhed in this fight [s].

This loſs was attended with that of Rochelle, and the greateſt part of Poictou; which ſo raiſed the ſpirits of the French, that they beſieged the ſtrong city of Touars, which they brought to a capitulation on theſe terms; that if, by the feaſt of St. Michael, they were not relieved by King Edward, or one of his ſons, then the place, with all its dependencies, ſhould be rendered into the hands of the French. The principal perſon employed by the French in this expedition, was one Sir John Evans, a native of Wales, who had forſaken his country through ſome diſcontent. This man was an excellent officer, both by land and ſea, and was now recalled from the iſland of Guernſey, upon which he had made a deſcent, and had almoſt

[r] Paul Æmyle, p. 550, 551. Dupleix, tom. ii. p. 566. Le Gendre, tom. iii. p. 547. [s] T. Walſinghami Ypodigma Neuſtriæ, p. 539. Wilhelmi Wyrceſter annales, p. 437. T. Otterbourne, p. 147. Froiſſart, chap. ccxcviii. Gaguin. hiſt. p. 158. Mezeray, tom. iii. p. 87, 88. P. Daniel, tom. v. p. 189.

reduced

reduced the place, to perform the like ſervice in Poictou[t]. I mention this to ſhew, that the French began now to have ſome power at ſea, which is the natural conſequence of their maintaining a lingering war with us.

King Edward had all this time been preparing a vaſt number of tranſports, and a ſtout fleet, in order to tranſport his army to Calais: but now, having intelligence of the terms on which the city of Touars had capitulated, he reſolved to employ his forces and his fleet for its relief. With this view he embarked a conſiderable body of troops on board a fleet of 400 ſail; and, to ſhew the earneſt deſire he had of ſaving ſo important a place, he went in perſon with the prince of Wales, the duke of Lancaſter, the earl of Cambridge, all three his ſons, and many of his nobility; but all his endeavours were to no purpoſe[u]; for, embarking the beginning of Auguſt, the fleet was ſo toſſed by contrary winds, that, after continuing at ſea about nine weeks, the king found himſelf obliged to return to England, where, as ſoon as he landed, he diſmiſſed his army; by which untoward accident Touars was loſt[w]. From this inſtance it is apparent, that notwithſtanding the utmoſt care and diligence in fitting out fleets, and in ſpite of all the courage and conduct of the moſt accompliſhed commanders, expeditions of this kind may eaſily fail; and, in ſuch caſes, the conſequence generally is the ſame which fell out here: the people murmured at the vaſt expence, and began to ſuggeſt, that, now the king grew old, fortune had deſerted him.

The king, notwithſtanding theſe repeated diſappointments, ſtill kept up his ſpirits, and reſolved to make the utmoſt efforts for reſtoring his affairs in France: but being grown far in years, and withal much worn with fatigue, he contented himſelf with ſending the duke of Lancaſter, with a great fleet, and a good army on board, to Calais[x]. The French writers, and indeed moſt of our hiſtorians, ſay, it conſiſted of 30,000 men;

[t] Froiſſart, chap. cccv. Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 407. [u] A. D. 1372.
[w] Cont. Nic. Trivet. & Adam Murimuth, annal. vol. ii. p. 129. Anonym. hiſt. Edward III. cap. lx. Both theſe writers, however, ſay, this expedition was for the relief of Rochelle. Froiſſart, chap. cccv. Argentre, hiſt. de Bretagne, liv. vii. chap. ii. Mezeray, tome iii. p. 89. [x] A. D. 1372.

but

but Froiſſart, who lived in thoſe times, and knew very well what he wrote, affirms they were but 13,000, *viz.* 3000 men at arms, and 10,000 archers. They might indeed be increaſed after their arrival, and probably they were ſo. At the head of theſe forces the duke of Lancaſter paſſed through the heart of France to Bourdeaux in ſpite of all the oppoſition the French could give him, who made it their buſineſs to haraſs him all they could in his march, though they were determined not to fight[y]. Thus far the expedition was equally ſucceſsful and glorious; but in the latter end of it the army, by continual fatigue, began to diminiſh, and the duke of Lancaſter was glad to conclude a truce, which was prolonged from time to time ſo long as the king lived. In theſe laſt days of his life he grew feeble in body and mind, and was (as many of our hiſtorians ſay) governed in a great meaſure by a miſtreſs and her favourites.

His glorious ſon the Black Prince lingered alſo for ſeveral years with a dropſy, and complication of diſtempers; ſo that we need not wonder at the wrong turn the Engliſh affairs took in France, if we conſider the advantage the French then had in the art and cunning of Charles V. who was certainly one of the ableſt princes that ever ſat upon their throne. In all probability the ſenſe King Edward had of this great change in his affairs, and his foreſight of the miſeries that would attend a minority in ſuch troubleſome times, might poſſibly haſten his death, which happened on June 21, 1377, in the fifty-firſt year of his reign[z].

In the courſe of this reign we have taken notice of the great jealouſy the king expreſſed for his ſovereignty of the ſea; but, if we had mentioned every inſtance thereof, it would have ſwelled the account beyond all reaſonable bounds: ſome ſpecial caſes, however, it may not be amiſs to touch here. In the peace made by him with King John, wherein Edward renounced all title to Normandy, he expreſsly excluded all the iſlands

[y] Cont. Nic. Trivet. & Adam Murimuth, annal. vol. ii. p. 129. Froiſſart, chap. cccx. T. Walſinghami Ypodigma Neuſtriæ, p. 529. T. Otterbourne, p. 147.

[z] Contin. Nic. Trivet. & Adam Murimuth, annal. vol. ii. p. 138. T. Walſingham, p. 192. H. Knyghton, p. 2629. W. Wyrceſter, annal. p. 440.

dependent

dependent thereupon, that he might preſerve his juriſdiction at ſea entire [a]. In his commiſſions to admirals and inferior officers he frequently ſtyles himſelf ſovereign of the Engliſh ſeas, aſſerting that he derived this title from his progenitors, and deducing from thence the grounds of his inſtructions, and of the authority committed to them by theſe delegations [b]. His parliaments likewiſe, in the preambles to their bills, take notice of this point, and that it was a thing notorious to foreign nations, that the king of England, in right of his crown, was ſovereign of the ſeas [c]. He was alſo, as we have before ſhewn, very attentive to trade, and remarkably careful of Engliſh wool, the ſtaple of which he managed with ſuch addreſs, that he long held the principal cities of Flanders attached to his intereſt, contrary to the duty they owed to their earl, whom he more than once engaged them to expel [d].

Yet, for all this, his conduct in the laſt years of his life was fatal to the naval power of this nation: for by long wars, and frequent embargoes, he mightily injured commerce; while, on the other hand, the French king was all this while aſſiduous in his endeavours to cultivate a maritime force in his dominions; in which he ſo far ſucceeded, that he became this way a formidable enemy to the Engliſh [e], as will be ſeen in our account of the next reign. But, before I part with this, I muſt take notice, that not only the ſtate was exceedingly exhauſted by the king's French wars, but that prince himſelf alſo driven to ſuch neceſſities, that he thrice pawned his crown; firſt, in the ſeventeenth year of his reign, beyond the ſeas [f]; again, in the twenty-fourth, to Sir John Weſenham his merchant [g]; and yet again, in the thirtieth of his reign, to the ſame perſon, in whoſe hands it then lay eight years, through the king's inability to redeem it [h]. Neither is this a ſlight report, or a ſtory taken from private memoirs, but appears in our records, and ought, therefore, to be a caution to ſucceeding monarchs, not to lay

[a] Thom. Walſingham, ad xxxiv. Edvardi III. [b] Rot. Scotiæ, 10. Ed. III. membran. 16. [c] Rot. parl. 46 Ed. III. num. 20. [d] Mezeray, vol. iii. p. 86. [e] Hiſtoire de la milice Françoiſe, par P. Daniel, tome ii. p. 448. [f] Pat. Parſ. 1. an. 17° Edw. III. [g] Pat. annal. 24. membran. 21. [h] Clauſ. annal. 30 Edw. III. Com. de Term. Hil. 38 Edw. III. ex parte rem. regis.

too

too great a ſtreſs on their foreign expeditions; which, though ſometimes honourable in appearance, have been always in effect ruinous to their predeceſſors.

RICHARD II. from the place where he was born ſtyled Richard of Bourdeaux, the ſon of the famous Black Prince, ſucceeded his grandfather in the kingdom with general ſatisfaction, though he was then but eleven years old. He was crowned with great ſolemnity; and, being too young to govern himſelf, the adminiſtration naturally devolved upon his uncles, and particularly John of Gaunt duke of Lancaſter, then ſtyled king of Caſtile and Leon[i]. While the great men in England were employed in adjuſting their intereſts, and getting good places, the French king's fleet, conſiſting of fifty ſail of ſtout ſhips, under the command of admiral de Vienne, infeſted our coaſts; and a body of troops landed in Suſſex, by whom the town of Rye was burnt. This was in the latter end of June, within ſix days after King Edward's deceaſe; of which the French having notice, they thence took courage to attempt greater things. On the twenty-firſt of Auguſt they landed in the Iſle of Wight, pillaged and burnt moſt of the villages therein, and exacted a thouſand pounds of the inhabitants for not burning the reſt; and, afterwards paſſing along the coaſt, they landed from time to time, and deſtroyed Portſmouth, Dartmouth, and Plymouth, to the great diſhonour of the lords about the young king, who were ſo much employed in taking care of themſelves, that they had little time to ſpare, and perhaps as little concern for the affairs of the nation; ſo that, if private perſons had not interpoſed, matters had gone ſtill worſe: for, though Sir John Arundel drove the French from Southampton with loſs, yet they burnt Haſtings, and attempted Winchelſea, which was defended by the abbot of Battel. At Lewes they beat the prior, with ſuch troops as he had drawn together; and having killed about a hundred men, not without conſiderable loſs on their ſide, re-embarked their forces, and returned home[k].

[i] Contin. Nic. Trivet. & Adam Murimuth, annal. vol. ii. p. 140, 141. T. Walſingham, p. 195—197. H. Knyghton, p. 2630. [k] Froiſſart, ch. 317. Vita R. Richardi II. a Monach. de Eveſham ſcript. p. 2, 3. T. Otterbourne, p. 148.

In ſome meaſure to wipe off the ſhame of theſe miſadventures, a conſiderable fleet was at length ſent to ſea under the command of the earl of Buckingham, who had with him many gallant officers, and who intended to have intercepted the Spaniſh fleet in their voyage to Sluys; with which view he twice put to ſea, and was as often forced into port by contrary winds; ſo that his project came to nothing [l]. The duke of Lancaſter, on a promiſe to defend the nation againſt all enemies for one year, got into his hands a ſubſidy granted by parliament for that purpoſe; yet he executed his truſt ſo indifferently, that one Mercer, a Scots privateer, with a ſmall ſquadron, carried away ſeveral veſſels from under the walls of Scarborough-caſtle; and, afterwards adding ſeveral French and Spaniſh ſhips to his fleet, began to grow very formidable, and greatly diſturbed the Engliſh commerce [m].

In times of public diſtraction private virtues are commonly moſt conſpicuous. There was one Alderman John Philpot of London, who, with great wealth and a fair reputation, had a very high and active ſpirit, and could hardly digeſt the affronts daily done to his country by the French admirals and the Scots pirates. This man, at his own expence, fitted out a ſtout ſquadron, on board which he embarked a thouſand men at arms, and then went in queſt of Mercer, whoſe fleet, ſuperior in force, and fluſhed with victory, he engaged and totally defeated, taking not only his ſhips with all the booty on board them, but alſo fifteen Spaniſh veſſels, richly laden, which a little before had joined Mercer, beſides all the prizes he had carried from Scarborough. For this glorious act Alderman Philpot, according to the ſtrange policy of thoſe times, was called before the council, and queſtioned for thus manning a ſquadron without legal authority; but he anſwered the earl of Stafford ſo wiſely, and juſtified himſelf ſo fully, that the lords were content to diſmiſs, with thanks, a man whoſe virtues were more illuſtrious than their titles [n].

But, as there could be no dependence on theſe extraordinary remedies, the parliament provided in ſome meaſure for the ſe-

[l] Contin. Nic. Trivet. & Adam Murimuth, annal. vol. ii. p. 141. T. Walſingham, p. 208, 209. [m] Stowe, p. 281. Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 419. Speed. [n] Vit. R. Ricardi II. p. 6. T. Walſingham, p. 211. Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 419.

curity of navigation by the impoſition of certain duties. The very learned Sir Robert Cotton ſays, theſe impoſitions were by ſtrength of prerogative only[o], the contrary of which appears clearly by the record, which is ſtill extant. But before we ſpeak of theſe, which in their own nature are the ſtrongeſt proofs of our ſovereignty at ſea, it will be neceſſary to obſerve what former kings had done in this reſpect.

In King John's time, as we find it recited upon record in ſubſequent reigns, the town of Winchelſea was injoined, in the ſixteenth year of his reign, to provide ten good and large ſhips for the king's ſervice in Poictou[p]; at another time twenty; Dunwich and Ipſwich being to find five each, and other ports in proportion, all at their own expence[q]. Edward I. had from the merchants a twentieth, and afterwards a ſeventh, of their commodities[r]: he impoſed a cuſtom of a noble upon every ſack of wool[s], which in his ſon's time was doubled. In Edward II.'s time we find, that the ſea-ports were for twelve years charged to ſet out ſhips, provided with ammunition and proviſion, ſometimes for one month, ſometimes for four, the number of ſhips more or leſs, according as occaſion required[t]. Edward III. heightened the ſubſidy upon wool to ſix and forty ſhillings and fourpence a ſack[u], being ſeven times the firſt impoſition. As for ſhips, he injoined the ſea-ports frequently to attend him with all their ſtrength[w]. In the thirteenth year of his reign he obliged the cinque ports to ſet out thirty ſhips, half at his coſt, and half at theirs, the out-ports furniſhing fourſcore ſhips, and the traders of London being commanded to furniſh ſhips of war at their own expence[x]. Complaint being made, on account of theſe hardſhips, to parliament[y], no other anſwer could be had, than that the king would not permit things to be otherwiſe than they were before his time[z]; that is, would not permit his prerogative to be diminiſhed. By theſe methods he raiſed his cuſtoms

[o] Anſwers to reaſons for foreign wars, p. 46. [p] Ex. Johan. Everſden. Pat. an. 3. E. I. m. 26. [q] Rot. Clauſ. an. 26. H. III. [r] Rot. Vaſconiæ, an. 22. E. I. m. 8. [s] Ex. Hiſtoria Johan. Everſden. See Brady's hiſtory in that king's reign. [t] Rot. Scot. an. 2. E. II. m. 17. Rot. Scot. an. 12. E. II. m. 8. Rot. Pat. an. 4. E. II. Dorſ. Clauſ. an. 17. E. II. m. 2. [u] See Brady's hiſtory, Molloy de jure maritimo, p. 289. [w] Clauſ. an. 1. E. III. Rot. Scot. eod. an. [x] Rot. Scot. an. 13. Ed. III. m. 15. [y] Rot. Scot. an. 10. Ed. III. [z] Rot. Alman. an. 2. Ed. III. m. 2.

in

in the port of London to a thouſand marks *per* month [a]. Theſe were certainly hardſhips, and hardſhips that would not have been borne under any other pretence.

But now, under the minority of King Richard II. when things could not be carried with ſo high a hand, and yet the neceſſity of maintaining a conſtant ſquadron at ſea for the ſecurity of the coaſts was apparent, a new order was taken, equally agreeable to juſtice and reaſon, for impoſing certain duties on all ſhips ſailing in the north ſeas, that is, from the mouth of the river Thames northwards. Theſe duties were to be levied not only on merchants, but on fiſhermen, and on thoſe belonging to foreign nations, as well as of Engliſh ſubjects. It conſiſted in paying ſixpence *per* ton; and ſuch veſſels only were excuſed as were bound from Flanders to London with merchandize, or from London to Calais with wool and hides. Fiſhermen, particularly ſuch as were employed in the herring-fiſhery, were to pay ſixpence *per* ton every week; other fiſhermen a like duty every three weeks; ſhips employed in the coal-trade to Newcaſtle, once in three months; merchantmen ſailing to Pruſſia, Norway, or Sweden, a like duty: and, for the collecting theſe impoſitions, ſix armed veſſels were to be employed.

As for the authority by which this was done, it will beſt appear by the title of the record, which runs thus: "This is the "ordinance and grant by advice of the merchants of London, "and of other merchants to the north, by the aſſent of all the "commons in parliament, the earl of Northumberland, and the "mayor of London, for the guard and tuition of the ſea-coaſts "under the juriſdiction of the admiral of the north ſeas [b]," &c. This, as I obſerved before, is the cleareſt proof, that our ſovereignty of the ſea in thoſe days was admitted by all nations, otherwiſe this ordinance would not have been ſubmitted to; about which it appears, there was no kind of ſcruple or apprehenſion, ſince ſo ſmall a force was appointed to collect it.

In 1378, the earls of Arundel and Salisbury paſſed with conſiderable forces into France, where, being able to perform little, they in their return were attacked at ſea by a Spaniſh ſquadron. Part of the Engliſh fleet ſeems not to have engaged; and my

[a] Clauſ. an. 5. E. III. ſchedula.

[b] Rot. Parl. an. 2. Ric. II. part ii. art. 39. in

author charges Philip and Peter Courtney, who commanded the ſhips that fought, with temerity. However it was, they both behaved very gallantly; and Philip eſcaped, though much wounded. As for Peter, he was taken with a few of his men, who were never heard of afterwards; and as there periſhed, in this fight, abundance of Devonſhire and Somerſetſhire gentlemen, it was looked upon as a very great misfortune[c]. It was, however, followed with a greater. The duke of Lancaſter, with a very numerous army and a very potent fleet, ſailed to the aſſiſtance of the duke of Bretagne about midſummer; and having ſpent near a month in a fruitleſs ſiege of the town of St. Malo, which he miſſed taking by his own negligence and ill conduct, he returned to England with little reputation to himſelf, the French fleet in the mean time having ſpoiled the coaſts of Cornwall[d].

The foes of the French court very naturally applied themſelves for aſſiſtance to England, and ſeldom failed to obtain it, though it was not often that either we or they were gainers by it in the end. The king of Navarre, who had ſhewn himſelf a bitter enemy to the houſe of Valois, and who met hitherto with but indifferent ſucceſs in a great variety of intrigues and enterprizes into which he had entered, at laſt addreſſed himſelf to King Richard, and offered to put the fortreſs of Cherburg in Normandy into his hands; which was accepted, and with ſome difficulty obtained in the month of October, 1379. In the latter end of the ſame year, Sir John Arundel, going with a conſiderable reinforcement to Bretagne, was ſhipwrecked, part of his ſquadron being driven on the coaſts of Ireland, ſome on the Welch ſhore, and others into Cornwall; ſo that himſelf and a thouſand men at arms periſhed. This loſs, and the uneaſineſs following upon it, occaſioned the calling of a parliament.

The next year, however, new ſupplies were ſent under the command of the earl of Buckingham, Sir Robert Knollys, and Sir Hugh Calverley, to Calais, and from thence paſſed through the heart of France into Bretagne, where the duke employed

[c] Cont. Nic. Trivet. & Adam Murimuth, annal. vol. ii. p. 143. Vit. R. Ricardi II. p. 6. Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 419. [d] T. Walſingham, p. 211, 213. Vit. R. Ricardi II. p. 7. Contin. Nic. Trivet. & Adam Murimuth, annal. vol. ii. p. 144.

them

them in the ſiege of Nantes, a city which refuſed to acknowledge him; and, taking very little care to ſupply them with neceſſaries, they were by degrees reduced to ſuch miſery, that the Engliſh ſoldiers were glad to return in ſmall companies through France, not in a hoſtile way, but begging their bread; which ought to have put an end to all theſe inconſiderate expeditions, that ſerved only to waſte the ſtrength of the nation, and to expoſe us to foreigners; for in the mean time the French gallies burnt Graveſend, and plundered the whole Kentiſh coaſt [e].

In 1383 a new kind of war broke out, which, though inconſiderable in its conſequences, ought not to be paſſed over in ſilence. There was at this time a ſchiſm in the church of Rome: Urban IV. was owned in that city, and Clement VII. was acknowledged for pope at Avignon. The ſeveral princes of Europe conſulted their own advantage in the choice they made of theſe pontiffs; and, as the French had owned Clement, the Engliſh grew very warm on the behalf of Urban. He, therefore, to ſerve his own intereſt, and to heighten their zeal, proclaims a croiſade againſt his opponents, and conſtitutes Henry Nevil, biſhop of Norwich, his general in England. This prelate, a man of noble birth, was of a fit character for ſuch an enterprize, having a high ſpirit, a reſolute courage, and a very intriguing genius. He, knowing that the Flemings were then in arms againſt their earl, and that they were naturally inclined to the Engliſh, reſolved to make uſe of his commiſſion to over-run, if poſſible, that country. Paſſing over with this view to Calais, he there ſuddenly aſſembled 50,000 foot and 2000 horſe, with whom, and a good fleet attending, he ſuddenly fell into Flanders, where he cut to pieces a body of 12,000 men belonging to the earl, took Dunkirk, Graveling, Mardyke, and other places, and at length beſieged Ypres; his fleet proceeding with like good fortune at ſea. But the French king marching with a great army into Flanders, and the Flemings beginning to fall off, the biſhop of Norwich was glad to retire, and, after all his ſhort-lived ſucceſſes, to return with a handful of men into England.

[e] Contin. Nic. Trivet. & Adam Murimuth, annal. vol. ii. p. 147—150. T. Otterbourne, p. 150. W. Wyrceſter, annal. p. 441. Mezeray, vol. iii. p. 111, 112.

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The next year the French fitted out ſeveral ſquadrons to infeſt the Engliſh coaſt, in which they were but too ſucceſsful, while our inteſtine diviſions hindered us from taking that due care of our affairs, which our great ſtrength at ſea enabled us to have done: yet the inhabitants of Portſmouth, to ſhew the martial ſpirit of this nation was not quite extinguiſhed, fitted out a ſquadron at their own expence, which, engaging the French with equal force, took every ſhip, and ſlew all, but nine perſons, on board them, performing alſo other gallant exploits before they returned into port [f]. So very apparent it is, that, if our affairs go wrong, this ought to be aſcribed to the rulers, and not to the people, who are naturally jealous of our national glory, and ever ready enough to ſacrifice, as is indeed their duty, both their perſons and properties for its defence.

The French king, Charles VI. was, in the year 1385, perſuaded to revive his father's project of invading England, in order to compel the Engliſh to abandon the few places they ſtill held in France. With this view, he at a prodigious expence, purchaſed ſhips in different parts of Europe, and, by degrees, drew together a very great number; an author of credit, who lived in thoſe times, ſays, twelve hundred and eighty-ſeven ſail; inſomuch that, if it had been neceſſary, they might have made a bridge from Calais to Dover [g]. On the other hand, King Richard prepared a numerous army, and alſo drew together a powerful navy; yet, after all, there was no great matter done: for the French king's uncles, the Dukes of Berry and Burgundy, fell at variance upon this head; and the deſign was ſo long protracted, that, at laſt, they were obliged to lay it aſide for that year [h]. Mezeray ſeems to attribute this to the duke of Burgundy [i]; but father Daniel aſcribes it to the Duke of Berry [k]; however, it was not entirely given over, but rather deferred till the ſucceeding ſpring, when the French failed a ſecond time; partly through the treachery of the Duke of Bretagne, and partly through the cowardice of admiral de Vienne. This man had been ſent,

[f] T. Walſinghami Ypodigma Neuſtriæ, p. 535. T. Otterbourne, p. 156, 157. Vit. R. Ricardi II. p. 44, 45. Dupleix, tom. ii. 605, 606. R. Daniel, tom. v. p. 308, 309. [g] Hiſtoire de Charles VI. A. D. 1385. [h] Froiſſart, vol. iii. cap. xxv. [i] Abregé de l'hiſtoire de France, vol. iii. p. 139. [k] Hiſtoire de la milice de Françoiſe, vol. ii. p. 448.

with

with a fleet of ſixty ſhips to Scotland, in order to excite and enable the inhabitants of that kingdom to make a diverſion; but he behaved there very indifferently: for he declined fighting the Engliſh, when they deſtroyed all the country before them; and entered into an amour with a princeſs of the royal blood; which, ſays Mezeray, the barbarous Scots, being ſtrangers to French gallantry, took amiſs, and ſhewed their reſentment in ſuch a manner, as obliged him to leave their country very abruptly. On his return he reported the Engliſh army to conſiſt of ten thouſand horſe, and a hundred thouſand foot, which ſtruck the French with terror. As for the Duke of Bretagne, on ſome private diſtaſte, he clapped up the conſtable of France in priſon, who was to have commanded the forces that were to be tranſported in this mighty fleet, which new diſappointment fruſtrated the whole deſign.

Father Daniel is juſt enough to acknowledge, that it is doubtful whether the duke, by this act of treachery, did the Engliſh or the French moſt ſervice; ſince, if this deſign had miſcarried, the greateſt part of the nobility of France, who were embarked therein, muſt have neceſſarily periſhed. As it was, a great number of ſhips belonging to this huge fleet, in ſailing from the haven of Sluys, were driven on the Engliſh coaſt and taken; and the year before, the earls of Arundel and Nottingham, with the Engliſh fleet, had attacked a great number of French, Spaniſh, and Flemiſh merchantmen; and, having beat their convoy, took upwards of a hundred ſail. Thus this wild ſcheme ended in the deſtruction of the naval power of France; which as it is in itſelf unnatural, ſo whenever it receives a conſiderable check, it is very hard to be reſtored again, as Father Daniel tacitly acknowledges; for he owns, that during the remainder of the reign of Charles VI. as alſo during that of Charles VII. which takes in upwards of half a century, they attempted little or nothing by ſea, and not much in the ſucceeding fifty years [1].

The expedition of the duke of Lancaſter into Spain, deſerves to be mentioned in a work of this nature; for though it be true, that it did not concern the kingdom of England, yet as the whole naval ſtrength of the nation was employed therein,

[1] Hiſtoire de la milice Françoiſe, vol. ii. p. 448. Stowe, Holingſhed, Speed, Brady, Tyrrel, &c.

and

and as the reputation of the Engliſh arms was ſpread thereby over all Europe, it would be unpardonable to omit it. The duke's title, notwithſtanding the ſlight put on it by ſome authors, was in reality a very good one; he claimed in right of his ſecond wife Conſtantia, who was the daughter of Peter, the cruel king of Caſtile; whereas the poſſeſſor of that crown was of a baſtard line. The king of Portugal was likewiſe in his intereſt, and ſent into England ſeven gallies and eighteen ſhips, to join the duke's fleet, which was a long time in preparing.

At length, about midſummer 1386, he embarked with 20,000 men, and the flower of the Engliſh nobility, himſelf commanding the army, and Sir Thomas Piercy the fleet. The firſt exploit they performed was the relieving Breſt, at that time beſieged by the French, by which the duke gained great reputation; after this, embarking again with freſh proviſions, and ſome recruits, they arrived at the port of Corunna, or, as our ſailors call it, the Groin, on Auguſt 9, and there ſafely landed their forces [m]. The king of Portugal behaved like a good ally, and many of the Spaniſh nobility acknowledged the duke for their king; yet the war, at the beginning, was not attended with much ſucceſs, great ſickneſs waſting the Engliſh army; and, through the precautions of John king of Caſtile, the country was ſo deſtroyed that a famine enſued, which proved of ſtill worſe conſequence to the duke's affairs. By degrees, however, the ſoldiers recovered their health, and the duke, who had himſelf endured a ſharp fever, reſumed his ſpirits, and continued the war with freſh vigour, and with better fortune. John king of Caſtile, ſeeing his dominions deſtroyed, and the French, who had promiſed him great ſuccours, very ſlow in performing, wiſely entered into a negotiation, which quickly ended in a peace [n].

By this treaty King John paid the duke about ſeventy thouſand pounds for the expences of the war, and aſſigned him and his dutcheſs an annuity of ten thouſand pounds. The eldeſt

[m] Marianæ hiſt. Hiſpan. tome ii. lib. xviii. cap. x. p. 155. M. Faria y Souſa, lib. iv. cap. 11. T. Walſingham, p. 321, 322. H. Knyghton, p. 2676. Vit. R. Ricardi II. p. 70, 71. [n] Ferrera's hiſt. de Eſpan. p. viii. § 14. De la Clede, hiſt. de Portugal, tome i. p. 336. T. Walſingham, p. 342. W. Wyrceſter, annal. p. 442.

daughter of the duke married Henry prince of Auſtrias, King John's heir, and the duke's ſecond daughter eſpouſed the king of Portugal. After this agreement made, the duke, with the remains of his army, which an eminent French writer ſays, might amount to about a ſixth part of the forces he carried abroad [o], returned into England towards the end of the year 1389; and a little after, the king was pleaſed to honour his uncle with the title of Duke of Aquitain [p].

In 1394 an inſurrection in Ireland obliged the king to paſs over thither, being attended by the duke of Glouceſter, the earls of March, Nottingham, and Rutland. In this expedition he had better fortune than in any other part of his life; reducing moſt of the petty princes to ſuch ſtraits, that they were glad to do him homage, and give him hoſtages; but, at the requeſt of the clergy, he returned too haſtily, in order to proſecute heretics, when he might have ſubdued his rebels, and ſettled that kingdom. This miſtake in his conduct proved afterwards fatal to his crown and life [q]. The diſputes he had with his nobility at home, inclined the king to put an end to all differences abroad; and therefore, after a long treaty, it was agreed, that King Richard ſhould eſpouſe the French princeſs Iſabella, though but a child between ſeven and eight years old.

On this occaſion he paſſed over to Calais, where he had an interview with the French king; and having eſpouſed this young princeſs on October 31, he ſoon after brought her home, and cauſed her to be crowned, but very little to the people's ſatisfaction, who fancied there was ſomething ominous in the loſs of part of her portion, in the ſhort paſſage between Calais and Dover, in a ſudden ſtorm [r]. Some time after, he was drawn into a much more unpopular act, by giving up the fortreſs of Cherburgh to the king of Navarre, and the town of Breſt to the Duke of Brittany: and the diſturbances which followed theſe meaſures in England, encouraged the Iriſh to rebel [s]. In the firſt fury of theſe people they cut off Roger Mortimer, earl of March, governor of Ireland for King Richard, and preſump-

[o] Mezeray, tome iii. p. 134. [p] T. Walſinghami Ypodigma Neuſtriæ, p. 344. T. Otterbourne, p. 177, 179. [q] Chron. Hibern. A. D. 1394. [r] Rymer's fœdera, tome vii. p. 802. T. Walſinghami, p. 353. Vit. R. Ricardi II. p. 128, 129. P. Æmyle, p. 601. Du Tillet, p. 309. [s] Chron. Hibern. A. D. 1395.

tive heir of the crown. The news of this ſo much provoked the king, that he determined to paſs over into that iſland, in order to chaſtiſe the authors of ſo black a fact. With this view he drew together a conſiderable army, and a fleet of two hundred ſail, with which he ſafely arrived at Waterford, in the ſpring of the year 1399[t].

The king had ſome ſucceſs in this, as he had in his former expedition, it being the conſtant foible of the Iriſh to be wonderfully ſtruck with the preſence of a prince, and the pomp of a court. But his ſucceſs was quickly interrupted by the mortifying news of his couſin Henry of Lancaſter's being landed in England, and in open rebellion. This young nobleman, ſtyled in his father's lifetime firſt earl of Derby, and then duke of Hereford, had ever been of a martial diſpoſition, and had attained to great military ſkill, by ſerving in Pruſſia under the Teutonic knights. He had been very indifferently treated by King Richard, yet had no thoughts of pretending to the crown, when he firſt returned home: but finding the people univerſally diſaffected, the king in Ireland, and himſelf ſurrounded by a number of briſk and active young noblemen, he grew bolder in his deſigns, though he ſtill acted with much caution. The king, on the firſt advice of this rebellion, returned into England, where he no ſooner arrived, than all his ſpirits failed him, inſomuch, that the firſt requeſt he made to the earl of Northumberland was, that he might have leave to reſign his kingdom[u]. The precedent of his grandfather Edward II. was too recent to leave the rebels any ſcruple of making uſe of the king's puſilanimous temper; they therefore brought him up priſoner to London, where he was committed to the Tower; and ſhortly after, by authority of parliament, depoſed, when he had reigned twenty-two years, and was in the thirty-third year of his age[w].

After this his life was of no long continuance; for, being carried from place to place, he at length ended his days at Pom-

t T. Walſingham, p. 356. T. Otterbourne, p. 187. Chron. Hibern. A. D. 1399. u Vit. R. Ricardi II. p. 151—155. T. Walſingham, p. 358, 359. T. Otterbourne, p. 201—206. Chron. Godſtovian, p. 126. Fabian, p. 345.
w Atteſted copies of all theſe proceedings, from the original records in the Tower, the reader will meet with in H. Kynghton, col. 2743—2762.

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freſt caſtle, in the year 1401; but how, or with what circumſtances, is not clearly known to poſterity. Some ſay, that hearing of the misfortunes which attended his friends, who endeavoured to reſtore him, and had miſerably loſt their lives in the attempt, he refuſed ſuſtenance, and ſtarved himſelf; others, with greater probability, affirm, that with hunger and cold, and other unheard of torments, his cruel enemies removed him out of their way[x]; and to this opinion Camden inclined, who, in ſpeaking of Pomfret caſtle, ſays it is a place *principum cæde & ſanguine infamis*[y].

THE hiſtory of our commerce within this period of time would be equally curious and uſeful, if carefully and impartially collected from our records and hiſtories. What I have to offer on this head, is only the fruit of my own reflections upon ſome remarkable paſſages, that, in the compoſition of this hiſtory, appeared of too great importance, in reference to the ſubjects under my conſideration, to be paſſed by without notice, amongſt a long train of common events. Such obſervations, I conceive, may be of more uſe, becauſe, generally ſpeaking, our writers upon political arithmetic, have very rarely carried their reſearches ſo high as theſe times, from a notion, very probably, that there was not much in them to their purpoſe; in which, however, I muſt confeſs myſelf of a very different ſentiment, being fully ſatisfied, that many points of the greateſt conſequence might be very much enlightened, if due attention were paid to ſuch occurrences, in theſe times, as any way regard our foreign and domeſtic trade, the ſcarcity and plenty of coin, and the different ſtate of the finances of our ſeveral monarchs; for all which, though there may not be ſufficient materials to compoſe a complete hiſtory, yet there are more than enough to convince us, that the vulgar opinion of the poverty of our anceſtors, in paſt times, is very far from being founded in truth, but is rather the conſequence of an ill-grounded complaiſance for our own age.

We have before obſerved, that Henry I. left behind him a very large ſum of money at his deceaſe; his grandſon Henry II.

[x] T. Walſingham, p. 363. Vit. R. Ricardi II. p. 169. T. Otterbourne, p. 228, 229. [y] Deſcript. Brit. p. 83.

reigned about the ſame ſpace of time, that is, four months ſhort of thirty-five years, as his grandfather reigned four months more than that number of years. Their tempers were much alike with reſpect to economy; that is to ſay, both of them were inclined to collect and leave behind them as much wealth as they could: the former for the ſake of eſtabliſhing his family; the latter that he might make a proviſion for the expedition into the Holy Land, which he certainly had very much at heart. But Henry II. at his demiſe, left in gold and ſilver, excluſive of jewels and other curioſities, the ſum of nine hundred thouſand pounds; which would be a thing altogether incredible, if we had not as good authority for this as for any hiſtorical fact whatever [z]. It is indeed true, that ſome writers have repreſented him as an avaricious, and even rapacious prince; but the facts which they aſſign to prove this, are ſuch as will ſcarce ſatisfy an impartial reader. He levied, from time to time, conſiderable ſums upon the Jews, who were the monied people of thoſe days: he had conſiderable aids from his nobility; and he kept biſhoprics, and other eccleſiaſtical benefices in his hands for ſeveral years together. His predeceſſors, however, had done as much without acquiring any ſuch treaſure; and therefore we may conclude from this fact, that the nation was become much richer.

It is ſaid, and very truly ſaid, that coin or ready money is the PULSE of a ſtate. If it beats high and even, there is no reaſon to queſtion the health of the body politic: but if it grows low, and intermits, even wiſe men may be allowed to doubt as to the public ſafety. We may therefore ſafely collect that the trade of this kingdom was very much increaſed during the courſe of this reign, though we had no other argument to prove it; ſince in the ſame ſpace of time, and without having recourſe to any extraordinary methods, this monarch was able to leave, after beſtowing very conſiderable ſums in ready money for the holy war, a treaſure nine times as great as that of

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The beginning of King Richard's reign was very fatal to the eſtates and revenues of the crown, as the latter end of it was exceſſively burdenſome upon his people: yet thoſe who, from the difficulty of paying his ranſom, would infer, that this kingdom was grown wretchedly poor, and that the wealth of the nation was nothing then to what it is now, are far from being ſo much in the right as they may imagine, as will appear from hence, that Hubert archbiſhop of Canterbury, when he deſired the king's leave to withdraw from the adminiſtration, gave this as his reaſon, *viz.* that there had been levied upon the ſubjects, in the years 1195 and 1196, the ſum of 1,100,000 marks[a]; which I have the authority of an ingenious and judicious writer to bear me out in affirming, was equal to eleven millions in our times[b]. So that it was not the poverty of the kingdom which made the impoſitions of thoſe days ſeem inſupportably hard; but the impoſitions themſelves were ſo exceſſive, and ſo often repeated, that at laſt they really made the nation poor.

Another thing to be obſerved, in regard to this reign, is the tax, or rather ſubſidy given in wool, which is the firſt time any thing of that nature occurs in hiſtory; though, without all doubt, wool was long before one of the principal ſtaple commodities of this country. If we look into this affair carefully, we

[a] Roger Hoveden, p. 767, 768, aſſures us, the ſcope of that prelate's letter to the king was to ſhew how much the wealth of England was exhauſted, and as a proof, added, "Quod infra biennium proximo præteritum, adquiſierat ad opus "illius undecies centena millia marcarum argentide regno Angliæ." Robert de Brunne in his chronicle informs us, that though the ſums levied were large, yet the king's viſible neceſſity, and the bad behaviour of King Philip of France, made the nobility contribute cheerfully to their maſter's aſſiſtance, as well in their perſons, as out of their purſes.

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ſhall find ſomething in it very different from what is commonly underſtood: for it was not a tax impoſed upon wool for leave to export it; a thing frequent in ſucceeding times, and which, for any thing we know, might not have been altogether new even then: it was not a grant to the crown of a certain quantity of wool, which was the land-tax of thoſe times, and very commonly granted to his ſucceſſors; but it was a loan taken from the Ciſtercian monks, who then exported the wool of this iſland to Flanders, and other countries, the produce of which, for that year, was received to the king's uſe, in order to complete his ranſom, and was to be repaid: and perhaps the different accounts we have of the ſum to which that amounted, might be owing, in ſome meaſure, to this manner of raiſing it. But, however theſe things may ſtand, there is nothing clearer than that the vaſt ſums raiſed in this reign muſt have been brought into this iſland by foreign trade, that is, by the produce of our commodities and manufactures. The latter, without queſtion, were very inconſiderable in compariſon of what they have ſince been, and yet not altogether ſo inconſiderable as is commonly thought: but, as for our ſtaple commodities, we certainly had them then as well as now; and I believe there is ſome reaſon to think that they were not only exported in very large quantities, but were alſo vended in foreign markets, at very high prices; that is, the proportion of things in thoſe times, and in theſe, being duly weighed and conſidered[c].

In the reign of King John, if we may believe moſt of our hiſtorians, there was nothing but oppreſſion and taxes; and immenſe ſums of money, from time to time, levied upon the nation; which, however, is a proof there was money in the nation, as the great number of ſeamen he had conſtantly in employment ſhews there muſt have been trade. The Ciſtercian monks were ſtill the exporters of wool; and that this was no inconſiderable thing, may appear from hence, that they charge

[c] Two things principally contributed, in thoſe days, to turn the ſcale of trade in our favour: Firſt, we were not given to refined luxury: if we indulged in any extraordinary degree, it was in our native and unpurchaſed bleſſings, which made our wants the leſs. And, ſecondly, commerce not being ſo extenſive, ſome of our ſtaple commodities were highly valued, and from thence brought in the more money.

the king with taking from them by violence, in the ſpace of a few years, ſixty-ſix thouſand pounds: It may be, he only took by violence what they had before got by fraud; for why ſuch vaſt ſums were to reſt in the hands of religious men, when the public treaſury was empty, it will be hard to render a juſt reaſon. The ſame king is ſaid to have impriſoned an archdeacon of Huntingdon, till he extorted from him twenty-two thouſand marks: this might be injuſtice in the king; but public affairs could not be well regulated, when a clergyman of his rank was able to pay ſo much[d]. If King John had not bore ſo hard upon the prieſts and monks, they would have furniſhed, or at leaſt they would have allowed him a better character in their chronicles: if he had been more indulgent to his nobility, they might poſſibly have been more loyal; but if he had not ſhewn himſelf a lover of trade, and a kind maſter to the commons, he would not have had the ſeamen, the ſea-ports, and the trading towns at his devotion, London only excepted: and, amongſt other provocations given to her, it was no ſmall one, that this monarch favoured the out-ports; ſo that the trade of Boſton in Lincolnſhire approached in ſome degree to that of London; as appears from the cuſtoms in both during this reign.

It has been hinted, that our manufactures were not quite ſo low at this time as they are generally repreſented: and it looks like a proof of this, that in the nineteenth year of Henry III. there paſſed a law for regulating ſome branches of the weaving buſineſs; and it appears from this very law, that the branches regulated thereby were different kinds of broad cloth. This does not indeed ſhew when we began to make cloth; for, without doubt, this could not be then a new manufacture: but it plainly ſhews, that we had it in a good degree of perfection,

[d] Matth. Paris, Ralph Coggeſhale, and John Everſden, are the chief authors of what is reported of King John's exceſſive taxations: and the firſt of theſe ſpeaks of him in a manner ſo full of indecency, that one naturally ſuſpects ſo angry a writer of ſometimes making free with truth. An unmarried clergy, immenſely rich, was equally repugnant to the principles of ſound policy and of the goſpel: the king, therefore, might well take ſomewhat, from their immenſe revenues, for the public ſervice, without deſerving to be thought either tyrant or infidel; though theſe charitable authors have pawned their credit with poſterity, that he was both.

above

above a hundred years before moſt of our hiſtories ſpeak of its introduction into England[e]. In this king's reign aroſe the firſt complaints about clipping of money, which not only produced a ſtandard[f], but alſo a new regulation, which, though it proved a remedy for the evil, was accounted almoſt as great an evil as that which it was intended to cure. In ſhort, the taking money by tale, as is the cuſtom now, and which firſt began to grow into a cuſtom then, was prohibited, and people were directed to pay and receive by weight, in the manner that has been before deſcribed.

There are few princes that have ſat upon this throne, whoſe behaviour we find repreſented in a worſe light to poſterity than that of this monarch; for he had the misfortune, like his father, to be upon bad terms with the barons and the clergy, who, not contented with keeping him a beggar all his life, have tranſmitted his memory to ſucceeding times with as heavy a load of infamy upon it as was in their power. It is indeed out of doubt that King Henry did levy large ſums upon his people, which Matthew Paris, who lived in his time, and wrote the hiſtory of his reign, has very dexterouſly magnified, by reckon-

[e] Some circumſtances relative to this manufacture are mentioned in the reign of Henry II. nor does it then appear to be a new thing, but rather the contrary. It was in this reign, if not ſooner, introduced into Scotland; which put the government on contriving methods to prevent wool being carried thither from any of the northern counties, but with very little ſucceſs.

[f] There is ſome diverſity in our old hiſtorians, and much more amongſt our modern critics, about this matter; we will give the truth as near, and in as few words as we can. King John is by ſome reckoned the author of our ſtandard, but this muſt be with regard to fineneſs eſpecially, the ſterling, or eſterling, which was the name of a penny made of good ſilver, being introduced in his reign. As to weight, Thomas Rudborn tells us, William the Conqueror ordained, A. D. 1083, that a penny ſhould weigh thirty-two grains of wheat out of the midſt of the ear; and the ſtatute 53. H. III. ſays the very ſame thing; but, however, there was a diſtinction, though not a difference. It was found by experience, that grains of wheat differed in weight; that thoſe kept for the king's balance were affected by the weather, and that no certainty could ariſe while this method was continued. It was agreed, therefore, that twenty-four pieces of braſs, equal in weight to the thirty-two grains of wheat, ſhould be ſubſtituted, as an eaſy number to divide; and thenceforward the penny-weight was ſaid to contain twenty-four grains.

ing the ſame tax ſometimes over and over again[g]. Upon the whole, he tells us, in the ſpace of forty-one years (he reigned in all fifty-ſix) he had been the ſpoiler of the kingdom; that he had not taken leſs than nine hundred and fifty thouſand marks: yet the reader has ſeen, that King Richard levied conſiderably more than this ſum in two years. He might very well want extraordinary ſupplies, if what the ſame monk, in another place[h], inadvertently tells us was true, that the whole ordinary revenue of the crown fell conſiderably ſhort of ſixteen thouſand pounds a-year.

If we ſhould conclude from theſe clamours, from the meanneſs of the king's circumſtances, and from the diſtreſſes to which King Henry was driven, that the nation was quite exhauſted, and that the nobility and clergy, who always complained, and often rebelled, were plundered and pillaged till they had nothing left to ſubſiſt them, we ſhould be extremely miſtaken. The king's brother, Richard earl of Cornwall, laid up out of his eſtate near 250,000 pounds, with a part of which he purchaſed the diadem of Germany. We are alſo told, that the Lord Warine, who is ſaid to be the wiſeſt, and yet not affirmed to be the richeſt baron in England, diſpoſed, by will, of 200,000 marks, which he had by him in money[i]; ſo that private men (if the nobility in thoſe times might be ſo called) were really very rich, though their king was often in a ſtate of downright want. In ſhort, pro-

[g] When an hiſtorian writes with a viſible leaning to one ſide, the reader, to ſet things ſtraight, muſt lean a little to the other. King Henry might have, and, to be ſure, had great faults; but there was the leſs need to exaggerate them. Matthew Paris furniſhes matter for his own refutation: he acknowledges, the nobility were always rebellious, and yet blames the king for loving ſtrangers: he exclaims againſt his avarice, and owns he gave away all he could obtain.

[h] It is in a manner by accident that Matthew Paris lets us into this important point; for, inveighing againſt the papal oppreſſion, he ſays, that the revenue of the alien clergy in England amounted to no leſs than 70,000 marks *per annum*, when the king's ordinary income came to ſcarce a third part of that ſum; which, conſidering the largeneſs of the king's family, was, even in thoſe days, a very pitiful thing.

[i] Mat. Paris, p. 968. n. 10. I cite the place ſo particularly, becauſe Sir William Dugdale, in his baronage, vol. i. p. 561. after making very honourable mention of this Warine de Muntchenſi, and, ſpeaking particularly of his great riches, ſets down what he diſpoſed of by his will at no more than 2000 marks, which is viſibly a miſtake, as he quotes the very ſame author that I do, and the very ſame edition.

perty was in thoſe days ſtrangely divided; and though, by the balance of trade, vaſt ſums were brought into the nation, yet a very great part of theſe came into the coffers of the monks and of the Jews; and as for the remaining produce of domeſtic induſtry, it was almoſt wholly ſwallowed up by the barons and the prieſts.

In the glorious reign of Edward I. we find many things worth obſerving; and firſt, as to the coin; for though the fineneſs thereof had been eſtabliſhed in the reign of his grandfather, and various regulations made in his father's long adminiſtration, yet in his time it was that the matter was entirely ſettled, and put into ſuch a condition, as that in ſucceeding reigns the manner only has been ſuſceptible of change. This was done in the ſeventh year of his reign, when he fixed the weight of his round ſilver penny at the twentieth part of an ounce Troy, whence our denomination of a penny-weight: as to the fineneſs, it remained the ſame as before; that is, there were eleven ounces two penny-weights of fine ſilver, and eighteen penny-weights alloy[k] in a pound of ſilver, which was coined into 240 pence. However, in the twenty-eighth year of his reign, he reduced his penny ſomewhat; and this was the firſt variation of its kind from the Saxon times. It was the weight and purity of his coin that tempted the Jews over hither, in greater numbers than ever, to exerciſe their laudable trades of uſury and clipping; for which laſt offence he hanged two hundred and eighty of them at once; and having in vain endeavoured to moderate the rigour of their extortions, he at length baniſhed them out of his dominions, to the number of 15,000, to prevent their preying upon the induſtry of his ſubjects, having exhorted them more than once by proclamation to apply themſelves to honeſt labour, or to the exerciſe of lawful trades, and to forbear fleaing his people. In 1299 the king ſettled as a dowery, upon Margaret daughter to the

[k] It is now hardly to be expected, that any clear account ſhould be gained of the motives on which this change was made: but, by the ſmalneſs of it, there is good reaſon to conclude, that it was rather for the ſervice of the ſtate, than to ſerve a turn. But it is time to ſhew what this change was. The pound of ſilver, hitherto accounted equal to twenty ſhillings, was now raiſed to twenty and threepence; the ſhilling (or rather twelvepence) weighed 264 inſtead of 288 grains; and in ſhort ſilver was by this means raiſed from twenty pence to twenty pence farthing an ounce.

king

king of France, 18,000 livres *per annum*, which amounted to 4500 pounds ſterling: ſo that four French livres were then worth an Engliſh pound[l]; which is a point of great conſequence towards underſtanding the tranſactions of thoſe times.

In this king's reign there were certain ſilver mines wrought in Devonſhire, to conſiderable profit; in the twenty-ſecond year of his reign they produced, from the twelfth of Auguſt to the laſt of October, 370 pounds weight of ſilver; the next year 521 pounds and a half; in the twenty-fourth year 704 pounds: they yielded afterwards more, but how much more is not ſaid; nor have we any account when they were worn out[m]. We may form ſome judgment of the courſe of trade in his time from hence, that, having occaſion to borrow a large ſum of money for carrying on his wars againſt the Welch, he took up 8000 marks from the city of London, and 1000 from the port of Yarmouth. In reference to the wealth of private men, there is a particular fact recorded that gives us ſome light. The judges were found to have been guilty of corruption, and were fined amongſt them 100,000 marks, of which Sir Edward Stratton paid 34,000[n]. There was in his reign a great clamour againſt foreign merchants, who now began to keep houſes and warehouſes of their own in the city of London, whereas before they lodged in ſome citizen's houſe who was their broker: and to this the citizens would very willingly have reduced things again, but the king and his council held, that it was for the public benefit they ſhould remain as they were; and with this they were forced to be ſatisfied.

In the reign of Edward II. we meet with very little to our purpoſe, unleſs it ſhould be thought ſo, that, upon the depoſing of this unhappy monarch, the allowance ſettled for his maintenance in priſon was 100 marks a-month, or 800 pounds a-year: yet this monarch had given to the Lady Theophania, a French woman, who was nurſe to his Queen Iſabella, an eſtate

[l] This comparative value of coin is a ſubject hitherto hardly conſidered, and yet ancient hiſtories are unintelligible without a due regard being had to it.

[m] Theſe mines were opened again in Queen Eliſabeth's time, and been alſo wrought ſince, but have not anſwered the coſt of working.

[n] Matt. Weſtmon. p. 414. n. 10. Knyghton, col. 2466. Thomas Wayland, who was the moſt guilty, loſt his whole eſtate.

of 500 pounds a-year [o]. The taxes in his reign were very inconſiderable.

In the reign of Edward III. *anno Domini* 1331, the king granted a protection to one John Kent, a cloth-weaver, who came over from Flanders, and at the ſame time invited over fullers and dyers [p]; from whence it has been ſuppoſed, that clothing was then introduced into this kingdom, which is directly contrary to truth, that trade having been here long before, indeed ſo long before, that there is no record extant to ſhew when it was introduced. As King Edward was a very martial prince in his temper, and his reign almoſt a continued ſeries of wars, there were ſucceſſive impoſitions levied upon his ſubjects, and theſe amounting to ſuch vaſt ſums as very clearly prove, that, at the beginning of his reign, England was far richer than in the times of any of his predeceſſors.

Some attempts have been made to ſettle, by the help of the taxes in this reign, the manner in which they were levied, and the produce of them, the value of our wool: and, without doubt, ſomething very near the truth may be diſcovered, if we proceed cautiouſly. In the year 1338, the laity [q] granted him one half of their wool, and the clergy nine marks a ſack upon their beſt wool. We know not what number of ſacks the king received; but it is ſaid, that he ſent over 10,000 ſacks into Brabant, which produced him 400,000 pounds, that is, at the rate of forty pounds a-ſack one with another: and, from this, ſome writers think themſelves warranted to compute the produce of our wool in foreign markets at leaſt at forty pounds a-ſack; and by the help of this calculation they eſtimate our annual exportations at a very large ſum. We will ſhew firſt what this is, and then conſider whether it be right, or whether the price ſhould not be reduced.

[o] My author, for the firſt of theſe facts, is Thomas Walſingham, and, for the latter, Mr. Rymer, both unqueſtionable in ſuch points.

[p] Rymer's fœdera, tom. iv. p. 496. There is very little room to doubt, that the true reaſons of theſe encouragements were, firſt of all, inſtructing our own people to the utmoſt perfection in this capital art, and next drawing over the workmen here, that, as we roſe in that manufacture, our neighbours might alſo gradually decline.

[q] The computations mentioned in the text are to be found in the hiſtorical account of taxes, p. 106.

When

When it is ſaid, that we know not what quantity of wool the king received by that grant, it is to be underſtood, that we know it not from the hiſtorians who mention this grant; but it appears from the records, that it amounted to 20,000 ſacks[r]. Thoſe who made the computation, of which we have been ſpeaking, compute the exportation of wool that year at 40,000 ſacks, which amounts to 1,600,000 pounds; and the aid to the king comes to half that money, which they ſay is amazing and prodigious; and indeed well they might. But, when a grant was afterward, made to the king of 30,000 ſacks of wool, we find it eſtimated far lower, *viz.* at ſix pounds a-ſack the very beſt, the ſecond ſort at five, and the worſt at four pounds a-ſack, which, however, was excluſive of the king's duty or cuſtom. This computation was certainly very fair; and this grant to the king was in the nature of a land-tax, which is the reaſon that the produce of it was computed at the rate wool ſold here, though there is no manner of doubt, that, by exporting and ſelling it abroad, the king made much more of it. We will try, however, if it be not practicable to extract ſomething more certain out of the facts mentioned by ancient authors, becauſe, if it could be done, it would be very ſatisfactory.

A certain writer has preſerved the ſtate or balance of the Engliſh trade, as found upon record in the exchequer, in the twenty-eight year of this monarch; and there is no reaſon to ſuſpect its authenticity[s]. In this the export of wool is ſet down at 31,651 ſacks and a half, valued at ſix pounds a-ſack; but then the duty is excluded. It appears alſo from this account, that a conſiderable quantity of cloth, both fine and coarſe, and of worſted alſo, was exported. We cannot therefore doubt, that, when the commons granted King Edward 30,000 ſacks of wool, it was at leaſt as much as giving him 150,000 pounds in money out of their pockets. But, if we are inclined to know what it brought the king,

[r] By this method of receiving taxes in kind the king became in ſome meaſure a merchant, and that to his great profit.

[s] This account was publiſhed in a treatiſe entitled, The circle of commerce, p. 119, 120. written by Mr. Edward Miſſelden, and printed in 1633. After drawing from it the remarks mentioned in the text, I thought it would be for the conveniency of the reader, and render my obſervations more perſpicuous, if a place was allowed this curious paper in the notes.

The

king, we may perhaps find the means of diſcovering it. In the laſt year of his reign the citizens of York complained, that a German lord [t] had ſeized thirty-ſix ſurples of their wool, which they valued at 1900 pounds for a debt due from the king, and, according to this reckoning, wool was worth in that country thirteen pounds a-ſack, and ſomething more: ſo that the aid granted to the king could not produce much leſs than 400,000 pounds, which was a very large ſum for thoſe days.

The balance of the Engliſh trade in the 28th year of Edward III. as ſaid to be found upon record in the exchequer.

EXPORTS.

	£.	s.	d.
One and thirty thouſand ſix hundred fifty-one ſacks and a half of wool, at ſix pounds value each ſack, amount to	189,909	0	0
Three thouſand ſix hundred ſixty-five fells, at forty ſhillings value each hundred at ſix ſcore, amount to —	60,73	1	8
Whereof the cuſtom amounts to — — —	81,624	1	1
Fourteen laſt, ſeventeen dicker, and five hides of leather, after ſix pounds value the laſt, — — — —	89	5	0
Whereof the cuſtom amounts to — — —	6	17	6
Four thouſand ſeven hundred ſeventy-four cloths and a half, after forty ſhillings value the cloth, is — —	9,549	0	0
Eight thouſand and ſixty-one pieces and a half of worſted, after 6 s. 8 d. value the piece, is — — —	6,717	18	4
Whereof the cuſtom amounts to — — — —	215	13	7
Exports	294,184	17	1

IMPORTS.

	£.	s.	d.
One thouſand eight hundred thirty-two cloths, after ſix pounds value the cloth, — — — —	10,992	0	0
Whereof the cuſtom amounts to — — — —	91	12	0
Three hundred ninety-ſeven quintals and three quarters of wax, after the value of 40 s. the hundred or quintal,	759	10	0
Whereof the cuſtom is — — — —	19	17	0
One thouſand eight hundred and twenty-nine tons and a half wine, after 40 s. value *per* ton,	3,659	0	0
Whereof the cuſtom is — — — — —	182	0	0
Linen cloth, mercery and grocery wares, and all other manner of merchandize, — — — —	22,943	6	10
Whereof the cuſtom is — — —	285	18	3
Imports	38,970	13	8
Balance	255,214	13	8

N. B. The totals do not anſwer the particulars exactly; but, at this diſtance of time, it is impoſſible to aim at correcting them with any degree of certainty.

[t] This foreign nobleman had ſerved the king in his wars, and pretended ſo much money was due to him; he had alſo ſhips in our ports, with goods on board, which the citizens thus injured deſired might be ſeized.

BUT

BUT we muſt not part with this account, without drawing from it ſome other obſervations. We find the whole imports of that year computed at ſomething leſs than 39,000 pounds, whereas the exports amounted to above 294,000 pounds; ſo that the clear balance, in favour of this nation, was above 255,000 pounds. Yet this is not all: we muſt conſider, that in this account there is no notice taken of lead and tin, probably becauſe the accounts relating to them might not be brought into the exchequer, that is, not into the exchequer at Weſtminſter; which will raiſe the account very conſiderably; inſomuch that there ſeems very good reaſon to believe, the intrinſic value of the coin in thoſe days, being compared with ours, the whole balance of trade fell very little, if at all, ſhort of 900,000 pounds, as our money is now reckoned; which is indeed a very large ſum, and much beyond what thoſe, who had never looked into theſe matters, could poſſibly have imagined. Yet the probability at leaſt, if not the truth, of this computation, might be ſhewn in another way, that is, from the conſideration of the immenſe ſums that were conſumed by this monarch in foreign wars and alliances, which it is impoſſible this nation could ever have furniſhed, if the balance of trade had fallen any thing ſhort of what it appears to be from the foregoing computation.

That commerce was very much the object of King Edward's attention, and his parliaments, very fully appears from the many acts made within the compaſs of his reign for its regulation. It is indeed true, that ſeveral of theſe laws are contradictory; that what was eſtabliſhed in one year was ſometimes overturned in the next; that frequent alterations were made in the ſtaple; that the cuſtoms were ſometimes high, ſometimes low; and that the ſtandard of money was twice varied. But, notwithſtanding all this, the former aſſertion will ſtill remain unimpeached, ſince there can be nothing clearer, that that even theſe variations aroſe from the regard that was paid to commerce: and perhaps the alteration in the coin was made neceſſary from the conduct, in that particular, of our neighbours. We likewiſe find, that, towards the latter end of this king's reign, there were great frauds and impoſitions committed in obtaining licen-

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ces[u] for the exportation of goods, and in other reſpects, of which complaints were made in parliament againſt the Lord Latimer, the king's chamberlain, and Richard Lyons of London, merchant, for which they were convicted and puniſhed.

King Edward III. was the firſt of our princes who coined groſſes or groats, ſo called from their being the groſſeſt or greateſt of all money, the ſilver penny having been till then the largeſt coin in uſe. The purity of the ſtandard he never debaſed; but, in the twentieth year of his reign, he ſaw reaſon to make it lighter; ſo that, inſtead of twenty ſhillings, the pound of ſilver, was raiſed to the value of twenty-two ſhillings and ſixpence, and, in the twenty-ſeventh year of his reign, the value of a pound of ſilver was raiſed to twenty-five ſhillings. The reader will obſerve, that the ſhilling was imaginary then, as the pound is ſtill, or rather it was a denomination of money, and not a coin. He alſo firſt coined the noble, half-noble, and quarter-noble, in gold; for, before his time, none of our king's had ſtamped any gold. He likewiſe called in all clipped money, and prohibited baſe coin, which ſhews, that what he did in altering the weight of his coin was for the conveniency and benefit of his ſubjects, who, by the increaſe of their trade, ſtood in need both of gold coin and of larger pieces of ſilver, and not with any intention to enrich himſelf at their expence, though the contrary is aſſerted by an ancient hiſtorian, who charges William Eddington, biſhop of Wincheſter, and lord-treaſurer, with conſulting the king's profit more than that of the kingdom, by adviſing him to coin groats that were not ſo heavy as they ſhould be. There was alſo ſome variation in the value of gold in his time, a pound of that metal coined going ſometimes for fifteen, then for little more than thirteen, afterwards for fourteen pounds of their money; but at length the king raiſed it again to its old price of fifteen pounds[w], which, all things conſidered, is pretty

[u] An inquiſitive reader may conſult Barnes's hiſtory of this reign; but the records are ſtill fuller and clearer. It would be of infinite ſervice to the nation, if the facts they contain were digeſted into chronological order, and made public. This would effectually refute many groſs miſtakes univerſally believed, and diſcloſe many new truths.

[w] As one ſhilling was nearly equal to three of ours, an ounce of gold, then worth twenty five ſhillings, was in fact at three pounds fifteen of our money; ſo that the proportions between gold and ſilver have not altered very much ſince that time.

near the proportion that it now holds, only king Edward's gold was ſomewhat finer than our coin is at preſent.

In the reign of Richard II. we find a great many laws relating to trade; and it appears to have been a great controverſy then, whether foreign merchants ſhould, or ſhould not, be allowed to vend their commodities freely in London and other corporations. The ſenſe of the legiſlature, as appears from their laws, was in favour of the foreign merchants; but the clamour ſtill continued, and parliaments were ſeldom held without petitions for the redreſs of this, which was called a grievance. It was alſo deſired, that the ſtaple of wool might be removed from Calais to ſome town in England; and Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, and chancellor of England, a nobleman eſteemed to be very knowing in points of this kind, declared publicly in parliament, that the king's ſubſidy on wools yielded a thouſand marks a-year more, when the ſtaple was in England, that when it was fixed at Calais, which is a proof that the exportation was greater [x].

As the foreign wars in this reign were of little conſequence, and proſecuted with no great vigour, ſo whatever ſums were levied upon the people, and in what manner ſoever they were diſſipated by their profuſe prince, yet this being all amongſt themſelves, and the balance of foreign trade continuing, and perhaps increaſing, the wealth of the nation could not but be prodigiouſly augmented: to which ſome writers attribute the broils and diſturbances of this reign, in which, if there be any truth, it muſt have been owing to the unequal diſtribution of property. This, indeed, is certain, that the commons complained loudly of oppreſſion from the lords and from the lawyers, as, on the other hand, both the nobility and the commons were highly incenſed againſt the clergy, on account, as they alledged, of their haughtineſs and avarice: but the churchmen ſuggeſted, that the luxury of the age was ſo great, that, notwithſtanding their vaſt eſtates, the expences of the nobility exceeded their income, and was the principal cauſe that inclined them to form cabals, for alienating and dividing amongſt themſelves the revenues of the church.

[x] The family of this chancellor had acquired an immenſe eſtate by trade; and other inſtances of a like kind might be given in theſe times.

As to the coinage in this reign, it remained in a great measure, at leaſt, upon the ſame foot as in the former, and therefore there is no need of dwelling upon it: one thing, however, deſerves to be inſiſted upon, which is this; the great luxury of theſe times had ſo viſibly increaſed the importation of foreign commodities, that it was taken notice of in parliament; and in the laſt year of King Richard's reign a law paſſed, by which it was provided, that every merchant ſhould bring into the Tower of London an ounce of foreign gold coin for every ſack of wool exported, or pay thirteen ſhillings and fourpence for his default, and to give ſecurity for the performance of this, before he was allowed to export the wool into foreign parts. There was alſo a law made in this reign, allowing every perſon to make cloth of what length and breadth he would: ſo that in thoſe days they thought it very practicable to encourage the clothing manufactury, without reſtraining the ſubject from tranſporting wool, and this upon the plain principle of doing nothing that might ſink the price of this ſtaple commodity, which brought in continually ſuch vaſt ſupplies of bullion, and which it is likely they knew not how to obtain, in caſe the exportation of wool had been put under any ſevere reſtriction [y].

Theſe obſervations on a period of ſo great extent, in which it may be eaſily conceived, that matters of this nature muſt have ſuffered many changes and alterations, cannot but be acceptable in as much as they greatly contribute to the illuſtration of the principal points with which our hiſtory is concerned; for naval force, and the ſovereignty of the ſea, being the reſult of extenſive commerce, whatever contributes to explain the riſe and progreſs of that, muſt ſhew how theſe are to be kept, as well as demonſtrate in what manner they have been obtained.

Within this period there happened, or at leaſt there are ſaid to have happened, ſome extraordinary diſcoveries, of which, therefore, we ought to ſpeak. Firſt, then, it is affirmed, that America was diſcovered by the Welch about the year 1170. The ſtory is thus told, That, on the death of Owen Guyneth, diſſenſions aroſe among his ſons; one of them, whoſe name was Madock, reſolved to truſt the ſafety of himſelf, and ſuch as were

[y] It may deſerve the conſideration of an able ſtateſman, whether ſome uſe might not be ſtill made of this maxim of our anceſtors.

with

with him, rather to the mercy of the ſeas than to the uncertain iſſue of a civil war; and therefore, embarking with his followers on board a few ſhips well victualled, he put to ſea in ſearch of new countries. Accordingly he ſailed due weſt, till ſuch time as he left Ireland to the north, and then continued his voyage till he came to a large, fruitful, and pleaſant country. After ſome time ſpent therein he returned home, and reported the happy effects of his voyage, and the large poſſeſſions which every man might acquire who would go with him. He at length prevailed with as many of both ſexes as filled ten ſhips; and with theſe he returned to his new plantation: but neither he nor his people were heard of more[z]. It muſt be confeſſed, that there is nothing here which abſolutely fixes this diſcovery to America; though it muſt likewiſe be owned, that the courſe before ſet down might very poſſibly carry him thither. The great point is, to know how far the fact may be depended upon: and in relation to this, I will venture to aſſure the reader, that there are authentic records in the Britiſh tongue as to this expedition of Madock's, wherever he went, prior to the diſcovery of America by Columbus; and that many probable arguments may be offered in ſupport of this notion, that theſe Britons were the diſcoverers of that new world, is alſo true, though at preſent we have not opportunity to inſiſt upon them.

Some reports there are concerning great diſcoveries in the north, made by a friar of Oxford, one Nicholas de Linna. Of this man the famous John Dee, who was both a great antiquary and a ſkilful mathematician, informs us, that in the year 1360, being the thirty-fourth of Edward III. he ſailed, in company with ſeveral of his countrymen, to the northern iſlands, and there leaving his aſſociates, he travelled alone, and drew up an exact deſcription of all the northern countries, with their ſurrounding ſeas; which book he entitled, *Inventio Fortunata*; or, A Diſcovery of the northern parts, from the latitude of fifty-four degrees, to the pole: and preſented it at his return

[z] Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 1. Meredith ap Reece, a Cambrian bard, who died A. D. 1477, compoſed an ode in his native language on this expedition, from which the particulars above mentioned are taken; and this was prior to Columbus's diſcovery: ſo that fact could never have encouraged the framing of this fable, even ſuppoſing it to be ſo.

to King Edward. However, for the better ſettling theſe diſcoveries, he returned no leſs than five times into thoſe northern regions. To render this odd ſtory ſomewhat more probable, Mr. Dee remarks, that from the haven of Lynn in Norfolk, of which this friar was both a native and an inhabitant, to Iceland, was not above a fortnight's ſail, and in thoſe days a common thing, as appears particularly by a charter granted to the town of Blakeney in Norfolk, by King Edward III. exempting the fiſhermen of that port from attending his ſervice, on account of their trade to Iceland [a]. This is, in ſome meaſure, confirmed by the teſtimony of that famous geographer Gerard Mercator, who confeſſes that he borrowed his deſcription of the northern countries from one who owned his having them from this friar of Oxford, whom he well deſcribes, though he does not name him. Yet it muſt be acknowledged, that Leland ſpeaks very largely of this Nicholas of Lynn, who, according to his account, was a Carmelite, and a great aſtrologer: but in all his eulogium there is not a ſyllable concerning his travels, though he concludes with ſaying, that his works ſufficiently praiſed him [b]. John Bale tranſcribes this account of Leland's exactly, but gives us a much more copious detail of the friar's writings; and yet, even in his liſt, we meet with nothing as to this *Inventio Fortunata*; though on the other hand we muſt allow, that Bale ſays he wrote other things which he had not ſeen [c].

The diſcovery of the iſland of Madeira is likewiſe attributed to one Macham an Engliſhman; which is thus reported by ſeveral of the Portugueſe writers. They ſay that this man, having ſtolen a lady with whom he was in love, intended to have carried her into Spain, but being by a ſtorm driven out to ſea, after much toſſing and danger of his life, was forced into this iſland, in which the harbour where he lay at anchor is to this time called Machico. On his going aſhore with the lady and ſome of his ſervants, the ſhip's crew took the opportunity of ſailing, and got ſafe into ſome Spaniſh port. In a very ſhort time after, the lady who was extremely ſea-ſick, and not a little fatigued by what ſhe was forced to undergo on ſhore,

[a] Hakluyt, vol. ii. p. 121. [b] Commentar. de Script. Britan. vol. i. p. 347. [c] Scriptor. Britan. vol. i. p. 468.

died;

died; and her diſconſolate lover, having firſt erected and conſecrated a little chapel to the holy Jeſus, buried her therein. After paying this duty to the lady, whoſe love for him coſt her the loſs of life, Macham addreſſed himſelf to the contriving his eſcape, which he effected by hollowing a large tree, and making thereof a canoe, in which himſelf, and thoſe that were with him, paſſed over to the oppoſite ſhore of Africa, where, being taken priſoners by the Moors, they were ſent by way of preſent to the king of Caſtile. This accident is by ſome placed in the year 1344, but by others, and I think with reaſon, ſomewhat later. It is remarkable that we are indebted for this account to foreigners, who can hardly be ſuppoſed any way prejudiced in our favour againſt themſelves [d].

We might add here ſome accounts of the expeditions made to Jeruſalem, Barbary, and Pruſſia, by ſome famous Engliſhmen; as alſo the beginning of our commerce with the Hanſe-towns: but as to the former, it would ſwell our work too much with things already mentioned by others; and as to the latter, it may with equal propriety be reſerved for the cloſe of the next chapter, to which therefore we refer it.

[d] Hakluyt, vol. ii. p. ii. p. 1. from Antonio Galvano.

LIVES

LIVES
OF THE
ADMIRALS:
INCLUDING A NEW AND ACCURATE
NAVAL HISTORY.

CHAP. VI.

The Naval Hiſtory of England during the reigns of Henry IV. Henry V. and Henry VI. of the houſe of Lancaſter.

Containing the ſpace of about 60 years.

HENRY IV. called ſometimes Henry of Bolingbroke from the place of his birth, and ſometimes Henry of Lancaſter from his father's dukedom, was crowned on the 13th of October, 1399, and his title generally acknowledged. When he came over againſt King Richard, it was from France; and moſt of our hiſtorians affirm, that he received conſiderable aſſiſtance from thence; which, however, French writers deny[a]. Certain it is, that, after the death of his unfortunate predeceſſor, the duke of Orleans, then director of the public affairs in that kingdom during the lunacy of Charles VI. treated King Henry as a murderer and uſurper, though he had been formerly his friend; yet, in all probability, this

[a] Polydor. Virgil. hiſt. lib. xxi. Hiſtoire de France par le P. Daniel, tom. v. p. 395.

was

was rather out of policy than from any motive of juſtice; for all the uſe the French made of it was, to attempt upon the Engliſh poſſeſſions on the continent [b]. King Richard being born, and for ſome time bred at Bourdeaux, his countrymen the Gaſcons diſcovered a ſtrong reſentment of his ill uſage, and ſeemed diſpoſed to revolt. To ſooth this humour of theirs, the French aſſumed this appearance of indignation, in hopes that they would immediately have put themſelves under their protection [c]. But Mezeray juſtly obſerves, that the advantages they drew from the Engliſh commerce hindered them from haſtily taking this ſtep, and diſpoſed them to receive the Lord Piercy for their governor, who was ſent over with that title by King Henry [d]. Not long after, King Richard's young queen was ſent back to France with the whole of her fortune, and all her jewels; and thereupon the truce between the two nations was renewed for twenty-ſix years; which ſhews how little of reality there was in the concern expreſſed by the French court for the cruel death of King Richard [e].

In 1403 the king, who was then a widower, married Joan the daughter of Charles king of Navarre, and very lately widow to John Montford, duke of Brittany, which proved the cauſe of great diſaſters to this kingdom; for the inhabitants of that dutchy, conceiving an ill opinion of this marriage, and being powerful at ſea, ſuddenly landed in the weſt, and burnt Plymouth, at a time when the king's hands were full, through the conſpiracy of the earl of Northumberland, and other great lords [f]. This, however, did not remain long unrevenged; for the inhabitants of Plymouth having fitted out a ſquadron under the command of William de Wilford, admiral of the narrow ſeas, he ſeized forty ſhips laden with iron, oil, ſoap, and wine, and then burnt the like number in their harbours, reducing the towns of Penmarch and St. Matthew, and waſting with fire and ſword a great part of the coaſt of Brittany [g]. Admiral de Caſtel, who commanded the enemy's fleet, in the mean time

[b] Abregé de l'hiſtoire de France par Mezeray, vol. iii. p. 140. [c] P. Daniel, tome v. p. 396. [d] Abregé de l'hiſt. de France, tome iii. [e] Froiſſart. cap cxix. P. Daniel, tome v. J. Roſſi, antiquarii Warwicenſi, hiſtoria regum Angliæ, fol. 166. b. [f] T. Walſingham, p. 367, 369. W. Wyrceſter, annal. p. 452. Chron. Godſtovian, p. 131, 132. [g] T. Walſingham Ypodigma Neuſtriæ, p. 561. Stowe, p. 319. Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 524.

attempted

attempted to land in the iſle of Wight; but, failing of ſucceſs there, he ſteered for Devonſhire, where, actually landing, he briſkly attacked Dartmouth, but was defeated by the country militia, with the loſs of 400 men, and 200 taken, among whom were himſelf and two other perſons of diſtinction: yet his ſquadron, and the Flemings, ſtill infeſted the coaſt, took many ſhips, and, to ſhew their inveterate hatred to the Engliſh nation, moſt inhumanly hanged all the ſeamen who fell into their hands[h]. In the mean time the French, without any regard to the treaty ſubſiſting between the two crowns, invaded the dutchy of Guyenne, and ſent an army of 12,000 men, with a fleet of 140 ſail, to the aſſiſtance of Owen Glendour: theſe forces they ſafely debarked in Milford haven; but the Lord Berkeley and Henry Pay, who commanded the ſquadron of the cinque ports, attacked them in that port, where they took fourteen, and burnt fifteen of the French veſſels, which ſo frighted thoſe on board the reſt, that ſoon after they fled home[i].

About the ſame time the earl of Kent ſailed, with a conſiderable fleet, to the coaſt of Flanders, where he cruiſed for ſome time upon the enemy, the Flemings being then ſubject to a prince of the houſe of France; at laſt, entering the port of Sluys, they found four ſhips lying at anchor, took three Genoeſe merchantmen, of a very large ſize, at the entrance of the haven, though not without a gallant reſiſtance; after which they ſearched all the ports on the Norman coaſt, and, making deſcents in ſeveral places, burnt at leaſt ſix and thirty towns, and then, with an immenſe booty, returned in triumph to Rye[k]. Some mariners, belonging to the port of Cley in Norfolk, ſailing on the north coaſt in a ſtout bark, took, near Flamborough-head, a Scots ſhip, having on board Prince James, duke of Rotheſay, and heir apparent to that crown, to which he afterwards ſucceeded by the name of James I. Him, with his attendants, an earl, and a biſhop, they ſent to King Henry at Windſor, who kept him there as a priſoner indeed; but, during

h T. Walſingham, p. 370. T. Otterbourne, p. 247, 248. Argentre, liv. x. chap. v. i T. Walſinghami Ypodigma Neuſtriæ, p. 566. Stowe, p. 333. Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 531. k T. Otterbourne, p. 253, 254. Fabian, p. 382. Hall, fol. 24. Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 528.

his captivity, uſed him in all reſpects as a prince. The Scots writers treat this as a plain breach of faith; but the French hiſtorians inſtruct us better: they acknowledge they had lately renewed their treaties with Scotland for the uſual purpoſe of annoying England; and, in ſuch times of public diſturbance, this prince ought to have been furniſhed with letters of ſafe conduct, ſince he was going to France, an enemy's country, which every day infeſted the Engliſh coaſts by their fleet[l]. In ſupport of Owen Glendour, the Welch malecontent, the French court ſent another ſquadron on the coaſt of Wales, of which only thirty arrived, the reſt being taken by the Engliſh; and a ſhort time after, the famous Henry Pay, admiral of the cinque ports, ſurpriſed the Rochelle fleet, conſiſting of 120 ſail of merchantmen, richly laden, and took them all. Theſe exploits, in veſſels belonging to merchants, ſhew, that, beyond all contradiction, trade in thoſe days was not altogether ſo inconſiderable a thing as by moſt of our modern writers we are taught to believe[m].

The king in 1407 narrowly eſcaped the fate of the Scots prince. He had ſpent part of the ſummer at Leeds-caſtle in Kent; and, his affairs calling him into Eſſex, he ventured to ſail from the port of Queenborough with only five ſhips: in his paſſage he was attacked by certain French privateers, who, after a very briſk engagement, took every veſſel but that in which the king was, and carried them to their own coaſts[n]. This taught that monarch, by experience, the neceſſity of keeping better fleets at ſea; and therefore he ordered a very ſtrong one to be fitted out the next year under the command of the earl of Kent, who effectually ſcoured the narrow ſeas, and, when he had cleared our own coaſts, ſtood over to Brittany, where he boldly landed in the little iſland of Briehac, and there attacked a town of the ſame name, in which the privateers had taken ſhelter, took it by ſtorm, and put them all to the ſword: but in this ac-

[l] T. Walſinghami Ypodigma Neuſtriæ, p. 566. J. Fordun. Scotichron. continuatio, p. 1162. J. Major de geſtis Scotorum, lib. v. fol. 125, 126. Hector Boeth. hiſt. Scot. lib. xvi. p. 339. P. Daniel, tome v. p. 404, 420.

[m] T. Walſingham, p. 376. Stowe, p. 334. Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 553.

[n] Hall, fol. 26. Graſton, p. 431. Stowe, p. 334.

tion received himſelf a wound, which proved mortal[o]. In 1410 an Engliſh fleet of ten ſail, under the command of Sir Robert Umfreville, went againſt the Scots, and, ſailing up the Forth, ſpoiled the coaſts on both ſides, ravaging the country, burning all the ſhips in their harbours, and amongſt the reſt the largeſt they had, called the Grand Galliot in Blackneſs, carrying away fourteen ſhips, and ſuch a vaſt quantity of corn, as reduced the price of that commodity, which was then very high in England; whence the admiral obtained the ſurname of Robert Mend-market[p].

Whenever the French affairs were in a tolerable condition, they were conſtantly forming ſchemes to the prejudice of the Engliſh, which, generally ſpeaking, were defeated by the breaking out of their own domeſtic troubles. King Henry, therefore, wiſely held intelligence with both the factions in that kingdom, aiding ſometimes the one, and ſometimes the other. Thus he this year ſent a conſiderable body of auxiliaries to the aſſiſtance of the duke of Burgundy, with whom they entered Paris. The ſervice they did made it ſo evident, that the king of England's aſſiſtance was the ſureſt method of turning the balance in favour of any party in France; that the oppoſite faction, headed by the dukes of Berry and Orleans, ſent their agents to London, who entered into a treaty with King Henry, by which they acknowledged his right to the dutchy of Guyenne, and promiſed their homage to him for the lands and caſtles they held therein, and the king, on the other hand, undertook to ſend them a conſiderable ſuccour, which he performed[q]. Theſe troops embarked in the month of July, 1412, under the command of Thomas duke of Clarence, the king's ſon. It appears by our hiſtories, that great expectations were raiſed by this expedition; inſomuch that there was ſome talk of recovering France: but theſe notions quickly appeared to be very ill founded; for, upon the landing of the duke of Clarence with his troops in Normandy, they were informed that the duke of

[o] T. Otterbourne, p. 264. Chron. Godſtovian, p. 134. Cooper's chronicle, fol. 254. Hall, fol. 28. Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 536. Dupleix, tome ii. p. 699. P. Daniel, tome v. p. 500, 501. T. Otterbourne, p. 268—270.

[p] Hall, fol. 26. Stowe, p. 338.

[q] Rymer's fœdera, vol. viii. p. 738.

Orleans,

Orleans, and the reſt of the princes to whoſe aſſiſtance they came, had made a treaty with the king and the duke of Burgundy; ſo that nothing was left for them but to go home again. The duke of Clarence, juſtly provoked by ſuch uſage, firſt ravaged Lower Normandy, and Anjou, and, then entering the dutchy of Orleans, lived there at diſcretion, till ſuch time as the duke came to an agreement of allowing 320,000 crowns of gold for the expences of their voyage, part of which he paid down, and ſent his brother into England as a hoſtage for the reſt[r]. This treaty was particular with the duke of Orleans; for, as to the war with France, it ſtill went on, and Sir John Pendergaſt, who commanded the fleet in the narrow ſeas, took a great many French ſhips laden with proviſion, which, ſays my author, got him little reputation with the nobles, but much love from the people, who by this means enjoyed plenty of French commodities at a very cheap rate. This admiral had, ſome years before, felt the ſevere effects of that envy which was borne him by the nobility; for having had the command of a ſquadron intended to ſcour the ſeas from pirates and privateers, which he worthily performed, yet, when he returned, a complaint was made that himſelf had taken ſuch extraordinary rewards for his ſervices, as rendered him little better than a pirate. Upon this he took ſanctuary at Weſtminſter, where for ſome time he lay in a tent in the church-porch; but at laſt he had juſtice done him: and now when his country required the ſervice of a ſtout and able ſeaman, he was called again to command[s]. Things being in this uncertain ſtate, King Henry, worn out by continual labours, and not a little grieved by his late diſappointments, deceaſed, as is generally ſaid, of a leproſy, on the 20th of March, 1412, in the 46th year of his age, and the 14th of his reign[t]. He was a monarch (even his enemies allow) of great courage and wiſdom; and, if he did not promote trade and naval power ſo much as ſome of his predeceſſors, it ought rather to be aſcribed

[r] P. Æmyle, p. 607. Gaguin, p. 194. Mezeray, tome iii. p. 181. Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 540. Hall, fol. 31, 32. [s] T. Walſinghami Ypodigma Neuſtriæ, p. 571. T. Otterbourne, p. 271. Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 530. [t] T. Walſingham, p. 382. Chron. Godſtovian, p. 135. W. Wyrceſter, annales, p. 452. Stowe, p. 342.

to the diſorder of theſe times, than to any want either of will or capacity in the prince [u].

HENRY V. from his birth-place ſtyled Henry of Monmouth, ſucceeded his father, and, in the beginning of his reign, ſhewed a laudable inclination to do all that could be expected from him for his people's good [w]. It happened, that the wealth and ſtate, as well as the pride and ambition of the clergy, had raiſed a ſtrong ſpirit of reſentment againſt them throughout the nation; to divert which it is generally believed, that the archbiſhop of Canterbury inſpired the king with an eager deſire of ſubduing France, to which it was no difficult matter to perſuade him that he had a clear right. Indeed the condition that kingdom was in, might ſeem to invite ſuch an attempt. The king was oftener out than in his ſenſes: the whole nation was divided in two factions; the duke of Burgundy at the head of one, and the duke of Orleans at the other: two Dauphins died, one ſoon after the other, by poiſon; and the third was but a child. However, King Henry concealed his deſign for ſome time, and even treated of a marriage between himſelf and the Princeſs Catharine, daughter to King Charles VI. In 1415, the French King ſent his ambaſſadors hither, with very advantageous propoſals, who had their final audience of the king on July 6, when, if Father Daniel is to be believed, Henry would have been content to have concluded a truce for fifty years; but the archbiſhop of Bourges inſiſted abſolutely on a definite peace, and ſo theſe negotiations were broken [x]. Some of our writers mention a ſtrange ſtory of the dauphin's provoking the king, by ſending him a preſent of tennis-balls; which, however, is very improbable, conſidering the youth of that prince, and the known apprehenſion all France had of the Engliſh power. The French writers ſeem to give a better account of this matter: they tell us that the firſt flaſh of lightning before this dreadful ſtorm, was an angry letter written to the French king, with this addreſs: "To the moſt ſerene Prince Charles,

[u] P. Daniel, tom. v. p. 507.

[w] Thom. de Elmham, vita & geſta Henrici quinti Anglorum regis, cap. xiv. Tit. Liv. in vit. Henry V. p. 6. Chronicon Godſtovian, p. 136.

[x] Hiſtoire de France, tom. v. p. 536. Tit. Liv. vit. Hen. v. p. 6.

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"our couſin and adverſary of France; Henry, by the grace "of God, king of England and of France, *&c.*" This letter was dated July 28, from Southampton: and the French king returned an anſwer in the ſame angry ſtyle, dated the twenty-third of the next month; ſo that, thenceforward, the war, though not actually begun, was looked upon as declared on both ſides [y].

King Henry acted with greater caution, and with more military prudence than moſt of his predeceſſors. The deſign he had formed was not that of ravaging the country, or ſeizing ſome of the provinces of France, but making an entire and abſolute conqueſt of the whole realm; which he knew was not to be undertaken without a numerous army, a very great fleet, and theſe conſtantly ſupported by competent ſupplies of money. He therefore drew together ſix thouſand men at arms, twenty-four thouſand archers, the reſt of his infantry completing the army to at leaſt fifty thouſand men. That theſe might be tranſported with the greater conveniency, he hired from Holland and Zealand abundance of large ſhips, which, with thoſe belonging to his own ſubjects, rendezvouſed in the month of Auguſt at Southampton, where the whole fleet appeared to conſiſt of no leſs than ſixteen hundred ſail. As to ſupplies, his parliament being wrought, more eſpecially by the arts of the clergy, into a high opinion of this expedition, furniſhed him liberally: ſo that with all the advantages he could deſire, the king embarked his mighty army, which he landed ſafely in Normandy without meeting with any reſiſtance [z]. He was attended by his brothers the dukes of Clarence and Glouceſter, his uncle the duke of York, and moſt of the nobility of England [a]. It is remarkable, that though the conſtable of France had a very numerous army, with which he might well have diſputed the landing of the Engliſh, yet he choſe to retire; for which conduct of his he was afterwards queſtioned in a court-martial: but he juſtified himſelf by producing his orders from

[y] Mezeray, vol. iii. p. 192. Thom. de Elmham, p. 29, 30. Fabian, p. 390. Hall, fol. 9. b. Grafton, p. 448, 449. [z] T. Otterbourne, p. 276. W. Wyrceſter annal. p. 453. Chron. Godſtovian, p. 136. T. Walſingham Ypodigma Neuſtriæ, p. 582. [a] Thom. de Elmham, cap. xviii. Tit. Liv. p. 7. Polydor. Virgil. lib. xxii. Speed, p. 630.

court,

court, directing him not to hazard a battle on any terms whatever, but to leave the Engliſh, if they were ſo inclined, to waſte their force in long marches, and tedious ſieges. Would to God, ſays my author, this maxim had been as ſteadily purſued as it was wiſely laid down [b]! The policy of France, therefore, is to cheat us whenever they make peace, and to deſtroy us when we break with them by means of a dilatory war; which though troubleſome to them, becomes ſoon inſupportable to us; and thus their cunning gives them advantages which they never could derive from the force of their arms.

The firſt enterprize of importance undertaken by the king, was the ſiege of Harfleur, a ſea-port town of great conſequence at that juncture, well fortified, and in which the French had a numerous garriſon. It was inveſted both by land and ſea; and though it was defended with great reſolution, it was at laſt taken for want of relief. The French, however, ſucceeded in their policy thus far, that by this ſiege the Engliſh army was exceedingly waſted; inſomuch, that by the time the place was taken, one half of it was abſolutely deſtroyed. On due conſideration of this it was reſolved, in a council of war, to leave a garriſon of Engliſh at Harfleur, and to march through Picardy to Calais, with the reſt of the army [c]. This paſſage appeared extremely dangerous, ſince the French army was by this time not only in the field, but alſo at their heels. The Engliſh forces, according to the French writers, conſiſted of two thouſand men at arms, and eleven thouſand archers. Our authors ſay, there were but nine thouſand in the whole; whereas the French were at leaſt three, if not five times their number. To prevent the needleſs effuſion of blood, King Henry was contented to have made peace on very reaſonable terms; but this was refuſed by the French, who flattered themſelves, that they ſhould be able to make him and all his army priſoners [d]. In conſequence of this obſtinacy of theirs, a deciſive battle was fought on October 25, A. D. 1414, in the

[b] Hiſtoire de France, tome v. p. 538. [c] Thom. de Elmham, cap. xxii. et ſeq. Tit. Liv. p. 11—15. T. Walſingham, p. 391, 392. Stowe, p. 348, 349. Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 552. Speed, p. 631. [d] Tit. Liv. p. 15. Dupleix, tom. ii. p. 712. Mezeray, tom. iii. p. 193. P. Daniel, tom. v. p. 540. Speed, p. 631.

plains

plains of Agincourt, wherein the French were entirely defeated by the Engliſh, through the bravery of their troops, ſays Father Daniel, and the wiſe conduct of their officers [e]. There fell in the field ſeven princes of the blood, and five were made priſoners, the flower of the nobility of France, no leſs than eight thouſand gentlemen, and about ten thouſand common men; about fourteen thouſand being taken priſoners. The Engliſh loſt, as our writers alledge, about four, the French ſay ſixteen hundred; and amongſt them the duke of York and the earl of Oxford [f]. A French manuſcript [g] of that time mentions a circumſtance, no where elſe ſo particularly recorded, *viz.* that King Henry loſt his baggage, even to his crown and jewels; a great body of peaſants having forced the Engliſh camp, during the heat of the engagement. Father Daniel ſays, very judiciouſly, that nothing but arrogance, imprudence, and temerity, were viſible in the conduct of the French; whereas the Engliſh behaved with the utmoſt coolneſs and addreſs, as well as the moſt determined valour [h]. After this victory, the king continued his march to Calais, and in a ſhort time paſſed into England with the chief of his priſoners: the next year the French had leiſure to recover themſelves a little, notwithſtanding a new misfortune that befel them, little inferior to that of the loſs of this battle; for the duke of Burgundy puſhed his reſentment ſo far, as to make a treaty with King Henry, and to acknowledge him for king of France; as appears by his letters and treaties, which are preſerved in Mr. Rymer's moſt valuable collection [i].

The firſt attempt of the French, for the repair of their late diſhonour, was their beſieging Harfleur by land and ſea. In order to this, they made a treaty with the Genoeſe; who, in

[e] Hiſtoire de France, tom. v. p. 541, 542. [f] Thom. de Elmham, cap. xxvii—xxix. Tit. Liv. v. p. 17—20. The Batayll of Agynk Corte, an ancient MS. in rhime in the Cotton library. Vitellius, D. xii. 11. fol. 214. Mezeray, Stowe, &c.

[g] This MS. is of thoſe times, and is in the library of the Abbe Baluze. It ſeems to be a kind of factum for the ſeigneur de Gaucourt, againſt the ſeigneur d'Etouteville. The former of theſe gentlemen was taken in Harfleur; and, to procure his liberty, traced out the effects belonging to the king, ſo that moſt of them were recovered.

[h] Hiſtoire de France, tom. v. p 546. Fœdera, vol. ix.

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consideration of large subsidies, furnished them with a very considerable fleet, in which were many vessels of an extraordinary size: by the same prevailing argument, the French also drew considerable succours from the king of Castile; and having thus raised for the present a great maritime force, they attempted Southampton and the Isle of Wight, but without success; after which their fleet returned again to the siege, or rather blockade of Harfleur. The place was gallantly defended by the earl of Dorset, whom the king had appointed governor there; but at last he was brought to such straits, that without relief it was evident the town must have been lost. King Henry directed, therefore, an army of twenty thousand men to be drawn together; and having embarked them on board a fleet of four hundred sail, sent them under his brother John, duke of Bedford, to attack the French navy. This service he performed with courage and conduct: for having gained the advantage of the wind, he attacked the French with such vigour, that after a long and bloody dispute he entirely defeated them; taking or sinking five hundred sail, and amongst them three of those large ships which had been furnished by the Genoese, and which, by the French and their Italian allies, it was believed the English would not have had courage enough to engage. Not long after, the French army retired from before Harfleur, and the earl of Dorset with his garrison, which was now reinforced, made excursions through all Normandy[k]. In 1417, the earl of Huntingdon being sent to sea with a strong squadron, met with the united fleets of France and Genoa, which he fought and defeated, though they were much superior to him, not only in number, but in the strength and size of their ships; taking the bastard of Bourbon, who was the French admiral, prisoner, with four large Genoese ships, and on board them a quarter's pay for the whole navy: so great in those days, and so well directed too was the English power at sea[l]!

There being now sufficient security for the safe landing of troops in France, the king, in the spring of the year, began to

[k] Thom. de Elmham, cap. xxx. Tit. Liv. p. 25—31. T. Walsingham. p. 394. S. Dupleix. tom. ii. p. 719. Mezeray, tom. iii. p. 196. P. Daniel, tome v. p. 551, 552. [l] Thom. de Elmham, cap xxxvi. T. Otterbourne, p. 278. Stowe, p. 353. Holingshed, vol. ii. p. 558.

make mighty preparations for paſſing the ſea, with ſuch an army as might ſpeedily and effectually decide the fate of this diſpute, by giving him the poſſeſſion of that country, as well as the title. As he was a more prudent undertaker in theſe matters than any of his predeceſſors, and bid infinitely fairer for both getting and keeping the French crown than they ever did, it will be proper to give a ſuccinct detail of this grand expedition; the rather becauſe it has a near connection with our ſubject, the dominion of the ſea. His army conſiſted in part of troops in his own immediate pay, and in part of forces raiſed by his barons. Of the firſt there were 16,400 men; of the latter 9,127; and of this army about a fourth part was horſe. To tranſport them from Dover, a navy was prepared of 1500 ſhips, of which two were very remarkable. They ſeem to have been both admirals, and were equally adorned with purple ſails, embroidered with the arms of England and France: one was ſtyled the King's Chamber, the other his hall; from whence it plainly appears, that he affected to keep his court upon the ſea, and to make no difference between his palace and his ſhips royal. They embarked on July 28, and landed in Normandy Auguſt 1.[m] As ſoon as the army was ſafely debarked, he diſmiſſed the fleet, keeping only a few ſmall veſſels for tranſporting his artillery, which ſhewed, that he did not intend to return haſtily, and before his buſineſs was half finiſhed, into England. Before the end of the year, he totally ſubdued Normandy and a great part of the adjacent countries. As faſt as he reduced the great cities, he put garriſons into them: ſuch of the French as ſubmitted he received into his protection; but, where he became maſter of countries by force, he beſtowed the lands in them as he thought fit, for the encouragement of Engliſh adventurers; and, in the ſpace of two years more, he by a ſlow and regular war reduced the greater part of France to his obedience, and at length forced the unfortunate monarch Charles VI. to beg a peace almoſt upon any terms[n]; a thing that none of his anceſtors had been able to accompliſh, and which this king chiefly performed by awing his enemies with fleets on their coaſts, at the ſame time that he in-

[m] Thom. de Elmham, cap. xxxviii. Tit. Liv. p. 31—33. T. Otterbourne, p. 279. Fabian, p. 396. Hall, fol. 23. b. Graſton, p. 464.

[n] P. Æmyle, p. 617, 618. Gaguin, p. 200. Duplcix, tom. ii. p. 735.

vaded their countries by land, as appears in the larger hiſtories of his life, by us often quoted, and in the Engliſh collections from them, publiſhed by Godwin in his hiſtory of the life and reign of this victorious king.

By this treaty, dated May 21, 1420, King Henry's title to the crown of France was acknowledged by general conſent; and, on account of his eſpouſing the Princeſs Catharine, daughter to Charles VI. it was ſtipulated, that he ſhould be declared heir of France after the deceaſe of King Charles, and, on account of his weakneſs and infirmity of mind, ſhould govern the kingdom, during his life-time, with the title of regent[o]. As for the dauphin, he was declared incapable of ſucceeding to the crown; and afterwards, on a civil proſecution, he was attainted and convicted for the murder of the duke of Burgundy, (upon the precedent ſet in attainting King John), rendered incapable of all ſucceſſions, particularly that of the kingdom of France, and was alſo adjudged to perpetual baniſhment[p]. The two kings, Henry and Charles, with their two queens and a ſplendid court, continued, for ſome time after theſe regulations were made, at Paris: from thence King Henry went into Normandy, where he held an aſſembly of the ſtates; and, then paſſing through Picardy to Calais, he came to Dover, with his new queen, on Feb. 2, 1421[q]. The intent of this journey is very truly ſtated by the French hiſtorians, who ſay, that it was purely to obtain a freſh ſupply of treaſure and men, his wars having already exhauſted all that before this time had been tranſported thither[r]; a circumſtance worthy of attention!

As ſoon as the king's deſign was anſwered, and he had obtained, notwithſtanding the extreme poverty of the kingdom, a very large ſum of money, he immediately recruited his army, and, having ordered a conſiderable fleet to be drawn together, paſſed over into France, leaving Queen Catharine behind big with child. The Dauphin Charles had ſtill a conſiderable party,

[o] Thom. de Elmham, cap. xc—xcii. Tit. Liv. p. 85, & ſeq. Mezeray, vol. iii. p. 209. Le Gendre, tome iii. p. 628. Rymer's fœdera, tome ix. p. 394. Stowe, p. 360. Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 573. Speed, p. 642. [p] See remarks on this treaty, and on King Henry's cauſing coin to be ſtruck, on which he is ſtyled *Rex Francorum*. Hiſtoire de France par Pere Daniel, tome v. p. 583, 585. [q] Thom. de Elmham, cap. cviii, cix. Tit. Liv. p. 91. Chron. Godſtovian, p. 143. [r] Mezeray, tome iii. p. 211.

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many ſtrong towns, as well as ſome large provinces, under his obedience, and, during King Henry's ſtay in England, had acquired both power and reputation, by defeating a great part of the Engliſh army, killing the duke of Clarence, and ſeveral other perſons of great diſtinction, on the ſpot; which moved King Henry at his return to uſe his utmoſt diligence in the proſecution of the war, that the kingdom might be entirely reduced, and the dauphin compelled to withdraw for his perſonal ſafety into Italy[s]. While he was thus employed, the queen, who remained at Windſor, brought him a ſon, and, as ſoon as ſhe was able to travel, followed him into France, where ſhe had an interview with her father at Paris; in which city both courts continued for ſome time: but the king, ever vigilant and active, in the month of June took the field in order to raiſe the ſiege of Coſne on the Loire, before which the dauphin lay. In this expedition he haraſſed himſelf ſo much, that he found a great alteration in his health, which hitherto had been, apparently at leaſt, almoſt unprejudiced by his fatigues. Through his want of reſt, and ſtill continuing an aſſiduous application to buſineſs, an inflammatory fever followed, which proved fatal to him at Vincennes, the French writers ſay, on the twenty-eighth, our authors, on the laſt of Auguſt, 1422[t]. He enjoyed his ſenſes to the very laſt, and died with as much glory as he lived, employing his laſt breath in giving ſuch directions as were neceſſary for the ſafety of both his kingdoms; and experience ſhewed, that, if his rules had been ſtrictly and ſteadily purſued, his family might have been as much indebted, for the preſervation of France, to his wiſdom, as they were for the poſſeſſion thereof to his courage and conduct. He was indiſputably one of the beſt and greateſt, as well as braveſt princes that ever ſat on the Engliſh throne, and would in all probability have provided effectually for the peace and proſperity of his Engliſh ſubjects, if he had lived to finiſh his wars. As it was, he performed a great deal in ſo ſhort a reign as nine years and a half, conſider-

[s] Thom. de Elmham, cap. cxvii, & ſeq. Tit. Liv. p. 92. T. Walſingham, p. 404. P. Æmyle, p. 618. Gaguin, p. 201. Mezeray, tome iii. p. 213. P. Daniel, tome v. p. 593, 594. [t] T. Walſingham, p. 407. Thom. de Elmham, cap. cxxvii. Tit. Liv. p. 95. W. Wyrceſter, annal. p. 455. Dupleix, tome ii. p. 754. Mezeray, tome iii. p. 214. Stowe, p. 362. Speed, p. 648.

ing alſo, that he was but in the thirty-fourth year of his age when he died.

It may be ſuppoſed, that the dominion of the ſea was fully maintained under ſo enterpriſing a prince, and one who was ſo remarkably jealous of his rights; I ſay, this might have been well ſuppoſed, though there had been no expreſs evidence of it; which, however, is far from being wanting. He took occaſion to have his title and authority in this reſpect mentioned in the preambles to acts of parliament [u]; he maintained ſtrong ſquadrons at ſea and on the coaſts, humbled all the maritime powers of Europe in his time on account of the ſuccours they gave the French, and thereby drew great advantages to his ſubjects, eſpecially from the trade of Flanders, which, by a cloſe alliance with the duke of Burgundy, he in a manner abſolutely ſecured to them. Yet, for all this, the nation was exceſſively diſtreſſed, as well through the interruption of foreign commerce, as by the immenſe taxes levied upon them for the ſupport of his wars; inſomuch that, in the eighth year of his reign, his chancellor bewailed to him in parliament the feebleneſs and poverty of the people, as himſelf expreſſed it, and beſought him to apply the only remedy which could preſerve them from ruin, a ſpeedy peace, and putting a ſtop to his expences; which the king promiſed: and indeed he could not but be ſenſible of the truth of what the chancellor ſaid, ſince he had been obliged to pawn his own imperial crown of gold to Henry biſhop of Wincheſter, for what in theſe days would be thought a very inconſiderable ſum of money [w]. All this he did to obtain his French dominions, which, in his ſon's time, the wiſeſt men in England thought more expedient to loſe than keep, time and experience having always juſtified this fundamental maxim of Engliſh policy, that the ſubjects wealth can have no other ſource than trade, and the majeſty of the crown no better ſupport than a firm truſt in the people's love, and, in conſequence of their extenſive commerce, a conſtant as well as a ſuperior power at ſea. This is the voice of nature in making our country an iſland, the dictates of ſound reaſon, which ſhews, that all force is leſſened by an unneceſſary extenſion, and the

[u] Selden's mare clauſum, lib. ii. cap. xxiii, anſwers to reaſons for foreign wars, p. 59.

[w] Sir Robert Cotton's

leſſon

leſſon taught us not only by our hiſtory in general, but by the occurrences under every reign: the reader, therefore, muſt not be ſurpriſed to find me frequently inculcating what ought always to be remembered, and what at every turn, notwithſtanding, we are, alas! but too too apt to forget.

HENRY VI. from the place of his birth ſtyled Henry of Windſor, ſucceeded his father, before he was a year old, under the tuition of his uncles, all men of great experience and abilities[x]. Of theſe, Humphrey duke of Glouceſter was protector of England, Thomas duke of Exeter had the cuſtody of the king's perſon, and John duke of Bedford was regent of France. It was not long before Henry became king of France as well as of England; for the French king Charles VI. dying on October 21, 1422, he was proclaimed at Paris, though the French immediately owned the dauphin, who was now called Charles VII.[y] In the beginning of his reign things went better than could well have been expected under an infant prince; for Humphrey duke of Glouceſter took care to ſupply his brother in France both with money and men; and the duke of Bedford, on his ſide taking all imaginable methods to preſerve the friendſhip of the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, maintained himſelf by their aſſiſtance in the poſſeſſion of all the dominions which were left to his ſon by King Henry V. and, if the ſame union had continued, muſt have conſtantly preſerved them; for the French king, Charles, was never ſtrong enough to have dealt with ſuch confederates; but it was not long before this harmony was diſſolved. The duke of Glouceſter, who was protector of England, took Jaqueline, dutcheſs of Hainault, from her huſband the duke of Brabant, married her, and, in her right, pretended to large dominions in the Low Countries, which he ſought to recover by the help of an Engliſh fleet and army. Theſe meaſures diſguſted the duke of Burgundy, who was extremely concerned for what had happened to his couſin the duke of Brabant, and, reſenting his ill uſage and diſhonour, became thenceforward diſaffected to the Engliſh, and

[x] Thom. de Elmham, cap. cxxix. Tit. Liv. p. 95. Chron. Godſtovian. p. 245. T. Walſingham, p. 407. [y] Dupleix, tome ii. p. 756. Mezeray, tome iii. p. 415. Le Gendre, tome iv. p. 1. Stowe, p. 363. Speed, p. 651.

ſhortly

ſhortly after totally deſerted them [z]. On November 6, 1429, King Henry was crowned king in England; and in the latter end of 1430 he was crowned king of France at Paris, where he remained for two years: yet during that ſpace his affairs rather declined than amended; and after his departure, and the death of his uncle, the wiſe and brave duke of Bedford, which happened in 1435, they fell into a rapid decay; ſo that they grew daily worſe and worſe [a].

In the ſucceeding year the duke of York was named regent of France: but, being hated by many of the great men in England, he was ſo diſappointed in the ſupplies which he ſhould have carried over into that kingdom, that, before his arrival, Paris fell into the hands of the French. The duke of Burgundy alſo, in the month of July, laid ſiege to the town of Calais with very great forces, which obliged the lord-protector to think of relieving it from England: accordingly he raiſed a potent army, which he embarked on board a fleet of 500 ſail, and, landing near Calais, marched directly to fight the enemy. The Flemings, however, raiſed the ſiege precipitately, and retired into their own territories, whither the regent purſued them with his army; and, after living in the country at diſcretion for ſome time, he returned again into England [b]. Towards the latter end of the year 1437 the earl of Warwick was ſent regent into France in the room of the duke of York, and, which is very remarkable, was ſhipped and unſhipped ſeven times before he made his voyage: he dying ſhortly after, the duke of York was ſent again in his place, where, notwithſtanding theſe ſupplies, the Engliſh affairs continually declined; ſo that in 1445 a peace was concluded, and King Henry was content, on very mean conditions, to marry a French princeſs, whoſe name was Margaret, the daughter of the duke of Anjou, much to the diſpleaſure of the nation, and which was attended with the worſt conſequences imaginable. A lingering war, and an inſidious peace, had deprived the Engliſh of all their conqueſts in France except Calais, and a very few other places; and, though

[z] Dupleix, tome ii. p. 784, 785. Mezeray, tome iii. p. 236, 237. Le Gendre, tome iv. p. 6. [a] Chron. Godſtovian. p. 145. W. Wyrceſter, annal. p. 455—457. Cooper's chronicle, p. 258, 259. [b] P. Æmyle, p. 624, 625. Gaguin, p. 217, 218. Dupleix, tome ii. p. 810—812. Polydor. Virgil. lib. xxiii. p. 619, 620.

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the nation was ſenſible of the mighty expence which attended the keeping them, yet they ſaw with grief the loſs of cities and provinces purchaſed, and ſo dearly! with the blood and the treaſure alſo of their anceſtors [c].

The French were not content with this; but, having ſtill in view the reduction of the Engliſh power, they meditated, even in a time of peace, a deſcent upon this kingdom, which they afterwards executed. As this is a matter chiefly reſpecting the naval hiſtory of England, I think myſelf not only at liberty, but even obliged, to ſet it in the cleareſt light. The reigning French king, Charles VII. was without queſtion one of the wiſeſt men, and one of the ableſt princes of his age: he ſaw with terror the Engliſh power at ſea, and with ſhame his own incapacity to diſpute therewith. In order to remedy this, he made a treaty, offenſive and defenſive, with Chriſtiern I. king of Denmark, by virtue of which that prince was obliged to furniſh him, on certain conditions, with at leaſt forty good ſhips, and between ſix and ſeven thouſand men, to be employed againſt England: yet, by another article in this treaty, this, for which alone it was made, was entirely defeated. The French king had engaged, that the then king of Scots ſhould give ſatisfaction to the Danes, with whom he had long had a difference; and, not being able to bring this to bear, the Danes refuſed to furniſh any auxiliaries. In the mean time the queen of England, like a true French woman, had entered into a ſecret negotiation with the king of Scots; and, finding that he was like to be too hard preſſed by the Engliſh, ſhe thought a French invaſion might at once ſerve her purpoſes, and ſave her friends. With this view ſhe applied herſelf to her relations in France, who eaſily prevailed upon the court to enter into this meaſure. A fleet accordingly was fitted out in Normandy, and in the month of Auguſt 1557 they made a deſcent on the coaſt of Kent, and debarked 1800 men about two leagues from Sandwich, to which place they had orders to march by land, while the fleet attacked it by ſea. We have a very circumſtantial relation of this whole affair in Father Daniel's hiſtory, and indeed I think a more diſtinct account than any I have met with of the like nature in our hiſtorians. He owns, however, that the Engliſh, notwithſtanding

[c] Rymer's fœdera, vol. xi. p. 59. Stowe, p. 383. Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 624. Speed, p. 661.

their

their being ſurpriſed, defended themſelves with incomparable valour, and that, though the town was burnt and pillaged at laſt, yet it coſt a great deal of blood, which might perhaps balance the booty acquired by it. The reflection he makes upon it is a little partial. "Thus," ſays he, "a prince, whom the "Engliſh thirty years before called in contempt king of Bour-"ges, was now powerful enough to inſult them in their own "iſland, and to menace their country with the ſame miſchiefs "which they had heretofore brought upon France[d]." As if there had been no difference between ſurpriſing the town of Sandwich, that was quitted the next day, and the gaining poſſeſſion of Paris, and keeping it for many years. However, his zeal for his country may well excuſe a greater error than this.

The French made alſo ſome other attempts upon the coaſt, and the Scots entered and plundered the borders[e]; but theſe accidents, far from producing the effects which the queen and her partizans expected, ſerved only to heighten that general diſaffection which now began to diſcover itſelf, and from whence it was but too viſible, that the councils of this French queen would undo the pious, innocent, well-meaning prince her huſband. The favourers of the houſe of York had with infinite pains cultivated an intereſt with the ſea-faring people, and amongſt the inhabitants of Ireland. The former they perſuaded that all attention to the coaſts was neglected, and into the latter they infuſed the ſtrongeſt reſentment of their preſent oppreſſions and apprehenſions of final deſtruction. The famous earl of Warwick, the then great ſupport of the houſe of York, had procured himſelf to be made admiral; and to ſhew his diligence in that office, and his concern for the Engliſh honour, cauſed ſeveral ſquadrons to put to ſea, to the officers of which he gave ſuch inſtructions as he thought proper. One of theſe ſquadrons, on Trinity Sunday 1458, fell in with the Spaniſh fleet, who treating them as enemies, they quickly and warmly returned their hoſtilities, and after a long and ſharp diſpute took ſix of their ſhips, laden with iron and other merchandize, and either ſunk or drove on ſhore twenty-ſix more[f]. This exploit many of our hiſtori-

d P. Daniel, tome vi. p. 292. Fabian, p. 462. Hall, fol. 88. a. Graſton, p. 630. e Dupleix, tome ii. Buchanan, lib. xi. Hall, fol. 89. b.
f Fabian, p. 464. Stowe, p. 404. Speed, p. 668.

ans confound with that which follows, and which was subsequent thereto in point of time. Though we cannot exactly fix its date, yet by a certain circumstance, it unquestionably appears they were distinct enterprizes, the former being performed only by ships of the earl of Warwick, whereas the latter was by him atchieved in person [g].

This great nobleman had, by authority of parliament, been appointed captain of Calais; but the queen having, with much artifice and flattery, drawn him to court, thought to have prevented his going back to his charge, by procuring him to be suddenly murdered. An attempt of this sort was actually made in the palace, from which the earl narrowly escaped, and flying immediately to a little vessel he had in the river, he therein transported himself to Calais, where he had a very strong squadron of stout ships. With fourteen sail of these, he shortly after put to sea, in order to scour the coasts, and to hinder the queen from receiving any succours from France, as also to aid, if occasion should so require, the duke of York and his party. It so fell out, that, sailing through the channel, he met with five very large ships, richly laden: three of these were Genoese, and two Spanish: he attacked them, though they were exceedingly well provided both with men and ammunition, as appeared by their defending themselves two days; at length, however, they were beaten, two escaping by flight, and the other three falling into his hands were carried into Calais, where their cargoes, valued at upwards of ten thousand pounds, were converted into money to the great profit of the inhabitants of that place. In this engagement the earl lost about fifty men, and the enemy near a thousand [h].

Thenceforward there were scarce any measures kept; the duke of York retiring into Ireland, and many of the principal nobility to Calais, where the earl of Warwick still kept a great fleet, and had besides such an interest in all the sea-faring people of England, that the king found it impossible to make use even of the little naval power that remained, against this formidable lord. The queen, however, sent down the Lord Rivers

[g] Compare the accounts given by Mr. Burchet and Echard with that of Rapin, and with the relation of the succeeding story in Holingshed.

[h] Stowe, p. 404. Holingshed, vol. ii. p. 648. Speed, p. 868.

to Sandwich, with directions to equip as ſtrong a ſquadron as he poſſibly could, in order to deprive the earl of Warwick of his government of Calais: but when theſe ſhips were almoſt ready, the earl ſent Sir John Dineham, an officer of his, who ſurpriſed this ſquadron in port, and not only carried away all their ſhips, but alſo their commander, Richard Lord Rivers, and Anthony Woodville his ſon, who remained long priſoners at Calais [i]. After this, one Sir Baldwin Fulford undertook to burn the earl's fleet in the haven of Calais, which quickly appeared to be but a vain enterprize. At laſt, the duke of Exeter being made admiral, and having information that the earl of Warwick was ſailed with his fleet into Ireland, ſtood to ſea with the royal navy to intercept him; but when the earl of Warwick's fleet appeared, the ſailors on board the king's ſhewed ſo much coldneſs, that it was not judged ſafe to fight: and the earl of Warwick, on the other hand, being tender of the lives of his countrymen, and unwilling to deſtroy any of the king's fleet, paſſed by without moleſting them. But he did not afterwards ſhew the ſame moderation, when, on an invitation from the Kentiſh men, he reſolved to make a deſcent in their country: for Sir Simon Mountford, being then warden of the cinque-ports, and lying with a very ſtrong ſquadron at Sandwich, to oppoſe his landing, he attacked, defeated, and deſtroyed the greateſt part of them; and amongſt the reſt Sir Simon himſelf periſhed [k]. After this, little remarkable happened, in naval affairs, during the remainder of this long, but unfortunate reign, which ended ſtrangely; for, after the duke of York had been defeated and killed in battle, his ſon Edward, earl of March, by the aſſiſtance of the earl of Warwick, made himſelf maſter of the city of London, where, by the general conſent of the nation, he was acknowledged for their lawful prince, and King Henry depoſed, after holding, though very unſteadily, the Engliſh crown near thirty-nine years [l].

i Fabian, p. 465—467. Hall, fol. 91. Grafton, p. 635, 639. k Stowe, p. 407. Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 652. Speed, p. 669. l Hall, fol. 101. b. Grafton, p. 656, 657. Cooper's chronicle. Polydor. Virgil. lib. xxiii.

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LET us now proceed, as we did at the close of the last chapter, to some commercial observations on events that happened within this period. Upon the great revolution in the government, made by deposing King Richard, and setting up his cousin, Henry of Bolingbroke, the parliament desired that the new king would resume whatever had been profusely thrown away, either in the dotage of Edward III. or by King Richard II. in the wantonness of his youth, and this with a view that the king might be the better able to live upon his own, without having recourse continually to impositions upon his subjects. This good as well as reasonable advice, however, had not such an effect as was expected; for Henry IV. received frequent supplies from parliament, and, in the eighth year of his reign, such a tax was imposed, as, to prevent the knowledge of it, or rather of the manner of raising it from coming to posterity, the house of commons desired, that after the accounts of such as had received it were once examined, they should be destroyed, that what they had been moved to by their zeal for once, might not pass into a precedent for succeeding times. The great exportation of wool, upon which, from time to time, he had considerable subsidies given him, must have made a very large addition to his revenue; and in this respect, for reasons with which we are unacquainted, he very much favoured the Italians, allowing them to export wool, paying no higher a tax than his own subjects.

The coin in his time received no alteration whatever; but in the second year of his reign, he was obliged to prohibit a kind of base coin, which had gained a currency through his dominions, to the great prejudice of his subjects. These were brought from abroad, chiefly on board the Genoese galleys, and were from thence called Galley-halfpence. About two years afterwards, he directed new money to be coined, but precisely after the old standard, in respect as well to fineness as weight.

After all the care and pains used to settle the revenue in the former reign, by which, no doubt, it was much improved; King Henry V. found his income but very limited, even with the assistance of his customs, the revenue of Wales and Cornwall, and the casual profits arising to the crown: for in the third year of his reign, it did not amount to quite fifty-seven thousand pounds *per annum*; and therefore to augment this, up-

on the petition of the commons, he took ten thouſand pounds a-year out of the penſions that were then ſubſiſting.

All the vaſt ſupplies that he received for carrying on the war with France, were ſwallowed up in that war; and the abſence of the king with the principal nobility, the frequent embargoes upon ſhipping, and the gradual declenſion of commerce, brought the nation lower, and made the people poorer than they had been at any time within the remembrance of perſons living in that age. He made very few laws relating to trade, which I do not mention at all to his diſcredit, but only to ſhew that commerce was then much ſunk; for when it was briſk and lively, petitions to parliament were frequent, and theſe were commonly attended to, and were of courſe followed with ſtatutes; and when any of theſe, as it very often happened from very different cauſes, were found inconvenient, they were by new laws repealed.

This monarch found it neceſſary, in the ninth year of his reign, to raiſe the value of ſilver from two ſhillings and a penny, to two ſhillings and ſixpence per ounce; but it does not appear that he debaſed the coin: on the contrary, he prohibited the currency of ſuſkins and doitkins, which had been brought in by foreigners. This king, after his victory at Agincourt, and peace with France, ordered a ſilver coin to be ſtruck, with this ſtyle or inſcription, *Rex Angliæ regens, & hæres Franciæ*; *i. e.* King of England, regent and heir of France. A gold coin, called a *ſalus* or ſalute, of the alloy of ſterling, value twenty-two ſhillings, with the angel ſaluting the Virgin Mary on one ſide, the one holding the arms of England, and the other the arms of France, with the king's titles, and *Chriſtus vincit, Chriſtus ſignat, Chriſtus imperat*, on the reverſe. But in the next reign, this ſilver coin, which was called a blanch, or white money, to diſtinguiſh it from the ſalus, or yellow money coined at the ſame time in France, being found not to be ſo fine as it ought to have been, that is, not of the alloy of ſterling, was alſo prohibited by order of the parliament in 1423.

The reign of Henry VI. was a continued ſeries of profuſion and miſmanagement: ſo that when he had ſat upon the throne twenty-eight years, his ordinary revenue was ſunk to five thouſand pounds *per annum*, and he owed at that time three hundred

red ſeventy-two thouſand pounds. This occaſioned a reſumption at the requeſt of the commons, and the ſame remedy for the ſame cauſes was repeated over and over again, but without any great effect. He mortgaged the cuſtoms of London and Southampton, to the Cardinal of Wincheſter, and engaged by an indenture for bettering his ſecurity, to turn the trade chiefly to thoſe ports. In the thirty-firſt year of his reign, he ſeized all the tin at Southampton, and ſold it for his own uſe; he granted licences to foreign merchants to tranſport wool, notwithſtanding the ſtatutes; he raiſed the price of ſilver to three ſhillings and three halfpence an ounce; but it does not appear that he debaſed the coin, unleſs the making of braſs money in Ireland can be ſo called, which he certainly did.

It appears from our records, that while the houſe of Lancaſter poſſeſſed the throne, extraordinary favour was ſhewn to the Hanſe-towns, the inhabitants of which had great privileges granted to them here, and were thereby enabled to engroſs, or, as they ſtyled it, to manage a good part of our trade[m]: the reſt was in a manner abſorbed by Florentines, and other Italians[n]; which was partly owing to the neceſſities of Henry V. during his French wars, and partly alſo to the weak adminiſtration under his ſon, eſpecially in the latter part of his reign, when, through the influence of the queen, the intereſt of foreigners, a fit intereſt for an intriguing buſy woman to ſupport, was conſtantly promoted. This occaſioned frequent tumults in the city of London, and was one great cauſe of that ſtrange revolution in favour of the houſe of York, who, as we before obſerved, made their court to the people, by ſhewing a ſtrong averſion to ſtrangers, and by cheriſhing the ſeamen, of whom little care had been taken in this laſt reign. How things inſtantly changed after King Henry's depoſition, and how the Engliſh reſumed again the ſovereignty of the ſea, will be ſhewn in the next chapter, from foreign writers as well as our own.

[m] Molloy de jure maritimo, p. 341. [n] Fabian, p. 459. Hall, fol. 87, b. Grafton, Stowe, and the reſt of our old hiſtorians; who diſcourſe very copiouſly on this ſubject.

LIVES

LIVES OF THE ADMIRALS:

INCLUDING A NEW AND ACCURATE NAVAL HISTORY.

CHAP. VII.

The Naval Hiſtory of England during the reigns of Edward IV. Edward V. and Richard III. of the houſe of York.

Containing the ſpace of about 25 years.

EDWARD IV. ſon to Richard duke of York, and by his grandmother heir to Lionel duke of Clarence, third ſon of King Edward III. and conſequently prior in title to the line of Lancaſter, whoſe anceſtor was John of Gaunt, fourth ſon to the ſame King Edward; aſſumed the crown on March 4, 1460-61, being then about twenty years of age[a]. He was compelled to fight for his crown, before he had well put it on: and though in the battle of Towton, which was fought on Palm-Sunday after his acceſſion, he totally defeated King Henry, who was conſtrained to fly into Scotland;

[a] W. Wyrceſter, annal. p. 489. Hall, fol. 101, b. See the claim of Richard duke of York, in his ſpeech to the Houſe of Lords, in Hall, fol. 95. Grafton, p. 658.

yet

yet his queen, paſſing over into France, procured their aſſiſtance, under the command of the famous Peter de Breſe, who in the former reign had taken Sandwich: but, through the affection which all the inhabitants of the ſea-coaſt bore to the houſe of York, ſhe was diſappointed in her purpoſe, and forced, after entering Tinmouth-bay, to put again to ſea, and retire that way into Scotland [b]. About this time the earl of Kent, who was abroad with a ſtout navy, ſcoured all the coaſt; and, landing in Bretagne with ten thouſand men, took and burnt the town of Conquet, ravaged the iſland of Rhe, and carried off a great booty [c].

This early care of the ſea, ſhews the temper and genius of this prince, and how fit he was to ſway the Engliſh ſceptre: yet he treated his predeceſſor Henry but indifferently; cauſing him to be brought priſoner to the Tower, and there kept very ſtrictly, though he was of a blameleſs life, and generally revered as a kind of ſaint by the people [d]. The defection of the earl of Warwick, whoſe power had greatly contributed to gain him the crown, was very near taking it from Edward again; yet whence that defection grew is not eaſily known. I muſt confeſs this is not properly my buſineſs; but inaſmuch as the great power of this earl of Warwick ſprung from his being admiral and captain of Calais, it may not be amiſs to remark the errors that are crept into almoſt all our hiſtories concerning him; the rather becauſe the matter is new, and not only affects our own, but ſome alſo of the moſt accurate among foreign hiſtorians.

The ſtory we are told is, that the earl of Warwick was ſent into France to treat of a marriage between King Edward and the Lady Bona of Savoy, ſiſter to the queen of France; and that while he was abſent on this embaſſy, the king married the Lady Grey, daughter to the Lord Rivers, by Jaquelina dutcheſs of Bedford [e]. But Mr. Hearne has publiſhed ſome memoirs of this reign, written by a perſon who not only lived therein, but

[b] Fabian, p. 473, 493. Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 666. Speed, p. 676. [c] Graf-ton, p. 659. Stowe, p. 416. Rapin queſtions this fact, becauſe not taken notice of by the French hiſtorians: which ſeems no juſt exception, while Bretagne was ſubject to its own duke. [d] Stowe, and all our abbey chronicles. [e] Polyd. Virgil. lib. xxiv.

was

was alſo well acquainted with the king, and the principal perſons in his court [f]. He vouches the thing to be quite otherwiſe; and that this ſtory was deviſed in after times to hide the truth. According to him, the earl of Warwick had not been in France before the king's marriage, which was on the firſt of May 1463; but four years afterwards, *viz.* in 1467, he was ſent to treat with King Lewis, with whom he began to hold privately ſome intelligence, for the reſtoring King Henry, to whoſe party the French had always been inclined [g]. Indeed this ſeems to be the truth, and accords much better with facts and dates than the other ſtory; ſince it is not eaſy to conceive, how a man of the earl of Warwick's violent temper, ſhould diſſemble his reſentment ſo many years together. [h]

The true cauſe, therefore, of his quitting the king, was his immeaſurable ambition, and the apprehenſions he was under that the new queen's kindred would ſupplant him and his friends; and this notwithſtanding the great offices of which he was poſſeſſed, and which, as my author ſays, brought him twenty thouſand merks *per annum* [i]. The means he uſed to diſtreſs the king was, drawing off his brother the duke of Clarence, whom he married to his own daughter, and then retired with him to Calais. On this occaſion, the fleet ſtuck to the earl againſt the king, having been long under his command. This circumſtance enabled him to return ſpeedily into England, where he and his ſon-in-law, the duke of Clarence, ſoon raiſed a powerful army, and marching to Warwick ſurpriſed the king's forces, beat them and took him priſoner [k].

Edward, however, eſcaped ſhortly after, and drove the earl and duke to ſuch diſtreſſes, that they were forced to join their party to that of the depoſed King Henry; and even this helped them very little: for, after ſeveral diſputes, in which the king had the better, the duke retired into France, and the earl went on board his fleet, with which he ſailed to Calais; and being there refuſed entrance, put into ſeveral harbours in Normandy, where he met with all the favour and aſſiſtance he could deſire,

[f] Printed at the end of Thomæ Sprotti Chronica, 8vo. Oxford, 1719.
[g] Anonymous chronicle, juſt mentioned, p. 297—299. [h] 1497. [i] Ibid. p. 300. [k] Memoires de Philip de Comines, liv. iii. chap. iv. P. Daniel, tom. vi. p. 414. Polydor. Virgil. lib. xxiv. Stowe, p. 422.

from the French king[l]. While an army was providing to be, by the earl of Warwick, tranſported into England, part of his fleet cruized upon the Flemings, and took many of their ſhips, becauſe the duke of Burgundy, their ſovereign, ſided with King Edward, whoſe ſiſter he had married. The duke, to revenge this ill uſage, drew together a great fleet, and, therewith ſailing to the mouth of the Seine, blocked up the earl of Warwick's ſhips in their harbour. Towards the beginning of the month of September, 1471, the French king furniſhed the earl of Warwick, the duke of Clarence, and Queen Margaret, all now of one party, with great ſuccours, not only of men, but of ſhips, which enabled them to force their paſſage: ſo that landing on the 13th of September, ſome at Plymouth, others at Dartmouth, they quickly drew together ſo great a ſtrength, and withal brought ſo many of the king's court to deſert him, that Edward, fearing his perſon might be betrayed, fled with ſuch of his friends, as he could beſt truſt, to Lynn in Norfolk, and in getting thither ran very great hazards[m]. There, on the third of October, he embarked on board an Engliſh ſhip, and his friends on board two Dutch hulks, intending to have paſſed over into Flanders; but ſome ſhips, belonging to the Hanſe towns, attacked him: nor was it without great difficulty that his ſmall ſquadron got clear, and at laſt landed him ſafe in Zealand. His queen, whom he left big with child, and in the utmoſt diſtreſs, took ſhelter in the ſanctuary at Weſtminſter, where ſhe brought forth her eldeſt ſon, afterwards the unfortunate Edward V.[n]

As ſoon as the king's flight was known, Henry VI. was releaſed from his impriſonment, and again ſeated on the throne, Edward proclaimed an uſurper, and many of his favourites put to death as traitors, his own brother the duke of Clarence concurring in all theſe meaſures; for which the crown was entailed upon him and his heirs, in caſe the male line of King Henry ſhould fail[o]. Edward, however, ſtill kept up his ſpirits, and

[l] Philip de Comines, liv. iii. chap. v. Dupleix, tome iii. p. 62, 63. Mezeray, tome iii. p. 314. Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 674. [m] Fabian, p. 500. Hall, fol. 17—19. Speed, p. 681. Philip de Comines, tome i. p. 154. [n] Grafton, p. 688, 690. Stowe, p. 422. Cooper's chronicle, fol. 267. [o] Fabian, p. 301. Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 677. Speed, p. 681.

though he found himſelf diſappointed in the only friend to whom he truſted, his brother-in-law, Charles duke of Burgundy, who durſt not provoke both England and France by openly aſſiſting him, yet he reſolved to venture, with the ſmall train he had about him, and in a few ſhips which were lent him, to return into his own country[p]. This was certainly acting like an Engliſh king, who ought rather to die in the field aſſerting his right, than diſgrace himſelf and his ſubjects, by living long as an exile in foreign parts.

His whole force conſiſted but in four ſhips of war, and fourteen tranſports, on board of which were embarked about 2000 men[q]. He intended to have landed in Norfolk, but a ſtorm prevented him, and obliged him, after ſome days toſſing at ſea, to run with a ſmall ſquadron into the port of Ravenſpur in Yorkſhire, from whence he marched directly towards York, declaring at this time, as the firſt monarch of the Lancaſtrian line had done in the like caſe, that he ſought no more than his inheritance as duke of York, and that he was content King Henry ſhould wear the crown: but, as ſoon as he found himſelf at the head of a conſiderable army, he laid aſide this pretence, reſumed his royal title, and in the famous battle of Barnet[r] defeated and killed the potent and ambitious earl of Warwick, who from his ſucceſs acquired the ſurname of Make king[s]. Shortly after he defeated Queen Margaret, and her ſon the prince of Wales, at Tewkſbury[t], where the latter loſt his life[u].

In the mean time the fleet was ſtill in very bad hands. The baſtard Fauconbridge, who commanded under the earl of Warwick, held it in the name of King Henry, but in reality to his own uſe. His firſt project was the taking and plundering of the city of London in the king's abſence, in order to which he brought his ſhips into the mouth of the river Thames, and landed himſelf with 17,000 men, with whom he boldly attacked

[p] Philip de Comines, tome i. p. 163. P. Æmyle, p. 666. Habington's hiſt. of Edw. IV. in Kennet, vol i. p. 447. [q] Hall, fol. 24. b. Stowe, p. 412. Gaguin, lib. x. p. 260, 261. [r] April 14, 1471. [s] Fabian, p. 503, 504. Hal. fol. 28, 29. Grafton, p. 703—705. Polydor. Virgil. hiſt. lib. xxiv. [t] May 5, 1471. [u] Stowe, p. 414. Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 688. Speed, p. 684. Habington, p. 453.

the

the place, and was as gallantly received, the citizens defending themſelves with ſuch reſolution, that he was forced to retreat with great loſs [w]. Soon after he gave up the fleet, and ſubmitted himſelf to the king, who knighted him, and made him vice-admiral; which honour, however, he did not long enjoy; for, entering into ſome new intrigues, he was detected, and loſt very deſervedly his head [x].

King Edward had no ſooner ſettled affairs at home, and reſtored the peace and naval power of England, than he thought of revenging himſelf on the French for the trouble they had given him; for which a fair occaſion offered, by the breaking out of a war between Lewis XI. and Charles duke of Burgundy [y]. To the aſſiſtance of the latter he paſſed over with a mighty army, attended by a fleet of 500 ſail, with which, in the month of July 1475, he entered the road of Calais, where he debarked his forces. This ſufficiently ſhews the great maritime ſtrength of England in theſe times, when the king, after ſuch an unſettled ſtate, and ſo many revolutions as had lately happened, was able in a year's ſpace to undertake ſuch an expedition as this, and that too with ſo great a force [z].

When he came to take the field, however, he did not find that aſſiſtance from his allies which he expected; and therefore, though at the beginning he pretended to no leſs than the entire conqueſt of France, yet, on King Lewis's deſiring to treat of peace, he was content to enter into a negociation, which ended much to his ſatisfaction, and all things conſidered, to the honour of the Engliſh nation; for the French king gave very large ſums by way of preſent to the Engliſh ſoldiers, and diſcovered, by various other acts, ſuch a terror at the Engliſh name, as might ſerve inſtead of many victories [a]. This peace is generally ſtyled the peace of Amiens, from the place where it was treated; and the curious reader may find it at large in Rymer's collection [b], as well as ſome remarkable circum-

[w] This man's name was Thomas Nevil, ſon to Lord Fauconbridge, created by this King Edw. IV. earl of Kent. Hall, fol. 33. Speed, p. 685. [x] Stowe, p. 414. [y] Philip de Comines, liv. iv. ch. v. P. Æmyle, p 669. Gaguin, lib. x. p. 267. [z] Fabian, p. 508. Grafton, p. 719. Cooper's chronicle, fol. 267. b. Polydor. Virgil. lib. xxiv. [a] Dupleix, tome iii. p. 87. Mezeray, tome iii. p. 327. P. Daniel, tome vi. p. 461—463. [b] Fœdera, tome xii. p. 17.

ſtances relating thereto in Philip de Comines, and in the moſt authentic of the French writers[c].

In conſequence of this treaty the king received an annual penſion, from France, of 50,000 crowns, which he looked upon, not without reaſon, as a kind of tribute, and applied a great part of it to the repair of his navy, for which he always ſhewed a great concern, and, by keeping ſquadrons continually at ſea, held the timorous Lewis XI. king of France in continual terrors, who, to ſecure his own quiet, diſtributed annually vaſt ſums amongſt the privy council of England[d]. A war with Scotland gave the king an opportunity of diſplaying his force, by ſending a great army, under the command of his brother the duke of Glouceſter[e], into that country, and a powerful fleet upon its coaſts, which ſo terrified the Scots, that they obliged their prince to accept of ſuch propoſals as were made to him[f]. After the coming back again of the duke of Glouceſter the king's affairs began to take a leſs fortunate turn. He had created great troubles at home by removing his brother the duke of Clarence, not without ſtrong ſuſpicions of injuſtice[g]. He had croſſed the humour of the nation, in refuſing ſuccour to the Flemings, who were the natural allies of the Engliſh, and from whom they annually gained large ſums by the balance of trade. Add to all this, that it became every day more and more apparent, that the French king never intended to perform the moſt eſſential points of the laſt peace, particularly that relating to the marriage of the dauphin with the Princeſs Eliſabeth, which perplexed the king exceedingly, and at laſt determined him to break with this perfidious monarch.

In this war he reſolved to rely chiefly on his own ſtrength at ſea, and not at all on the promiſes of his allies, by whom himſelf and his predeceſſors had been ſo often deceived, and of which he had a recent example in the conduct of the Emperor Maximilian, who, notwithſtanding the king had lately ſent a

[c] Philip de Comines, liv. iv. Gaguin, lib. x. Mezeray, tome iii. p. 317, 318. [d] Fabian, p. 509. Hall, fol. 46, 47. Grafton, Holingſhed.
[e] A. D. 1482. [f] Stowe, p. 432. Speed, p. 689. Leſliæ de rebus geſtis Scotorum, lib. viii. p. 321, 322. Buchanan, lib. xii. p. 399, 400. [g] Hall, fol. 50. b. Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 703. Habington, p. 475.

ſquadron

ſquadron of ſtout ſhips under Sir John Middleton to his aſſiſtance, had not only made a peace, but entered into a cloſe union with France, which highly provoked the king[h]. The pains King Edward took in diſpoſing all things for a French war, and eſpecially in drawing together a numerous fleet, was ſo highly agreeable to his people, that they ſeemed heartily inclined to bear the expence which ſuch an expedition muſt have brought upon them. The care, however, of ſo important an enterprize, joined to his unuſual fatigue in providing every thing for undertaking it, threw that monarch into a ſudden illneſs, when his fleet and army were almoſt ready, which brought him unexpectedly to his end on the ninth of April, 1483, after he had reigned ſomewhat more than twenty-two, and had lived very little above forty-one years[i]. The French writers will have it, that he died of chagrin at the dauphin's marriage, becauſe, from the treaty of Amiens, he had always ſtyled his eldeſt daughter Eliſabeth dauphineſs[k]: but Mezeray very honeſtly owns, that his death was a great deliverance to France, and freed her from the terror of beholding once again an Engliſh army, under a victorious king, at the gates of Paris[l].

He was, though too much addicted to his pleaſures, a very wiſe, as well as a very fortunate prince; had true notions of naval power, and of the conſequences of an extenſive commerce. The former he maintained throughout his whole reign, and the latter he encouraged as much as his domeſtic troubles gave him leave to do. He made ſeveral treaties with foreign powers, Denmark, Burgundy, the Hanſe towns, very ſerviceable to the merchants, and one with Henry king of Caſtile, A. D. 1466, and another in A. D. 1467, which proved very beneficial to his people. He reformed many abuſes that had crept in during the civil wars. He prevailed on the ſeveral companies to be at the expence of rebuilding London-wall; and the emulation of finiſhing the parts aſſigned them, in the ſpeedieſt and ſtrongeſt

[h] Grafton, p. 473. Stowe, p. 431. Speed, p. 689. Corps diplomatique du droit des gens, tome iii. p. xi. p. 100. Rapin, vol. i. p. 625. [i] Hall, fol. 59——61. Grafton, p. 755. Cooper's chronicle, fol. 268. b. Polydor. Virgil. lib. xxiv. [k] Dupleix, tome iii. p. 130. P. Daniel, tome vi. p. 551, 552. Le Gendre, tome iv. p. 106, 107. [l] Abregé de l'hiſtoire de France, tome iii. p. 346.

manner,

manner, cauſed the whole to be very quickly finiſhed. At this time Biſhopſgate was ſumptuouſly rebuilt by the Eſterlings. Indeed his principal maxim was maintaining a good correſpondence with the city of London, to which he conſtantly adhered, and of which he found the good effects in his adverſity, as well as proſperity, as is well obſerved by Philip de Comines[m], who attributes to this his reſtoration, after the potent earl of Warwick had driven him out of his dominions; and one of the laſt acts of his life was an extraordinary compliment to that city, of which we have a long account in our old chronicles[n]. In one thing he was ſingularly happy, that he died in full poſſeſſion of the hearts and affections of his ſubjects.

EDWARD V. ſucceeded, or rather ſeemed to ſucceed his father; for he never had any thing more than the ſhadow of royalty; and even this did not continue above the ſpace of ten weeks, through the ambition of his uncle Richard duke of Glouceſter. My ſubject does not lead me to ſay much of this matter, which, I muſt own, appears to me one of the darkeſt parts of our hiſtory; for though I am far from thinking that Buck in his panegyric, rather than hiſtory of King Richard, hath written all things according to truth, yet I muſt own, that I do not believe he errs more on one hand, than Sir Thomas Moore, in his hiſtory of Edward V. on the other: which hiſtory, however, has been the ground-work of all ſucceeding ſtories.

Thus much of certainty, undoubtedly, there is, that immediately after the death of Edward IV. Richard duke of Glouceſter aſſumed the office of protector, and cauſed the young prince to be proclaimed; after which, on various pretences, he cut off ſeveral great perſons, who were the principal friends of his deceaſed brother's queen; and, having thus paved the way for his own promotion, he next infuſed into the people's minds a bad opinion of the late monarch's adminiſtration, and ſome doubts as to the legitimacy of his children, which, by the help of the duke of Buckingham's management of the lord-mayor and citizens of London, was improved into a popular demand, that the

[m] Memoires, tome i. lib. iii. chap. 7.

[n] Fabian, p. 512. Grafton, p. 757. Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 705.

young

young prince ſhould be laid aſide, and Richard, inſtead of protector, declared king; which at firſt he refuſed, but was quickly prevailed upon to change his mind, and accept[o].

RICHARD III. was proclaimed the 22d of June, 1483, and crowned upon the ſixth of July following, together with Anne his queen, and his title effectually confirmed by a parliament called in January following[p]. This act is perhaps the beſt drawn piece, conſidering the deſign it was to cover, that is extant in any language; and many of our modern hiſtorians might have avoided the groſs miſtakes into which they have fallen about this prince, if they had carefully conſidered it. But Sir Thomas Moore's rhetoric had ſo much warmed them, that, generally ſpeaking, they confound the duke of Clarence's treaſon with the duke of Glouceſter's pretenſions, which, though they might be as bad, yet certainly they were not the ſame[q]. Clarence, in framing his title to the crown, was obliged to ſet aſide that of his elder brother King Edward; which put him upon alledging, that the king was not in reality the ſon of Richard duke of York[r]: but as Richard duke of Glouceſter was under no neceſſity of doing this, ſo he was much too wiſe a man to attack his mother's honour without cauſe.

We find, therefore, nothing of this in the before-mentioned act of parliament, but a title of quite another kind. The right of King Edward is clearly acknowledged, but his marriage with Queen Eliſabeth is declared to be null, not, as Sir Thomas Moore ſays, becauſe of the king's marriage before God to Lady Eliſabeth Lucy, a matter which had been long before cleared up, but in reſpect to a pre-contract, or rather marriage, between the king and Lady Eleanor Butler, daughter to the earl of Shrewſbury, which was proved by a biſhop[s], in conſequence of which all his poſterity were illegitimate. Then again, as to the

[o] Stowe, Holingſhed, Speed. Sir Thomas Moore is tranſcribed in theſe three hiſtories; and as for Buck's laboured apology, it is to be met with in the firſt volume of the complete hiſtory of England by Biſhop Kennet. [p] Fabian, p. 516. Hall, fol. 1. Cotton's abridgment of the records, p. 709. [q] Compare Buck's hiſtory with the reſt, and conſider the authorities produced on both ſides. [r] See the grounds of the duke of Clarence's attainder in Stowe, p. 430. [s] Philippe de Comines, liv. vi. chap. 9. Mezeray, tome iii. p. 346.

poſterity

poſterity of the duke of Clarence, which were ſtill in Richard's way, they were ſet aſide on account of their father's attainder, which could not have been alledged, if Richard had queſtioned King Edward's right. The caſe then, in few words, ſtood thus: the crown of England had been entailed by parliament on the poſterity of the duke of York in the reign of King Henry VI.: this duke left three ſons, Edward, George, and Richard: Edward, by virtue of that entail, claimed and enjoyed the crown, but (as this act ſays) left no lawful iſſue; George in the life-time of his brother Edward had been attainted of treaſon, by which his family became incapable of ſucceeding; and therefore Richard duke of Glouceſter was called to the throne as the next heir in the parliamentary entail[t].

An indifferent title he had at beſt; but this did not hinder his making a good king, I mean in a political ſenſe; for he made wiſe laws, governed the people gently, and took all imaginable care to promote trade, and to preſerve the ſuperiority of the ſea. In all probability theſe were the effects of his refined policy for the ſtrengthening of himſelf and his family; but, be that as it will, the nation was undoubtedly the better for it: yet all his wiſdom did not preſerve him, becauſe he ſuffered himſelf to be deceived by appearances, and to quit the prudent care which, at the beginning of his reign, he had taken for the guard of the Engliſh coaſts at that very juncture when it became moſt neceſſary: and, as this is a point of great conſequence to the ſubject I am upon, it will be neceſſary to enter into a diſtinct detail of the earl of Richmond's expedition, which, as it is taken from foreign hiſtorians, will, I hope, prove both agreeable and inſtructive to the reader.

We have already ſhewn how the quarrel between the houſes of York and Lancaſter began by Henry IV.'s aſſuming the crown on the depoſition of King Richard II. Henry earl of Richmond was by his mother's ſide held a deſcendant of the houſe of Lancaſter, and had been, in the battle of Tewkſbury, with Queen Margaret and Prince Edward: after that ſignal defeat he retired into Bretagne, where he was well received by Francis II. then duke thereof, and protected throughout the reign of Edward IV.

[t] See this act at large in Speed, p. 711.

notwithstanding all the intrigues of that crafty prince to get him into his hands[u]. Richard III. sent his agents to the duke, promising vast sums, if he would deliver up Earl Henry, but to no purpose; which arose from this secret reason: there were great factions at that time in Bretagne, the duke being entirely governed by his minister, a man of low birth, though of strong parts, and high spirit, whose name was Peter Landois; which induced the nobility to confederate themselves against him. This statesman, having good intelligence in England, knew perfectly the scheme that was set on foot for placing Earl Henry on the throne, and uniting the two houses of York and Lancaster by marrying the said earl to the Princess Elisabeth, eldest daughter to Edward IV. He likewise knew, that the duke of Buckingham, and some other very great persons, were engaged in that design, which he resolved, therefore, to promote, not doubting but that, when Henry should be once seated on the English throne, he would speedily enable the duke his master to quell his rebellious barons.

As soon, therefore, as he was informed that the duke of Buckingham's designs were ripe for execution, he furnished the earl of Richmond with a fleet of fifteen sail, on board which were embarked about 5000 men[w]; but King Richard, having early intelligence of the duke of Buckingham's project, and of his negotiations with the earl of Richmond, took effectual care to disappoint both. The duke's forces he defeated by surprise, made himself master of his person, and beheaded him[x]. As to the earl's landing, he prevented that likewise by keeping a strong squadron at sea, and guards on all the coasts; so that, when the earl with his little fleet approached the Welch shore, he saw it was impracticable to land, and therefore bore away to Dieppe, where he safely arrived, and from thence went by land into Bretagne[y]. Thus we see of what consequence such precautions are in times of danger, and how very possible it is for an English

[u] Hall, fol. 33. b. Grafton, p. 712, 713, 737. Philip de Comines, liv. vi. ch. 9. Argentre, liv. xii. [w] Hall, fol. 16. b. Speed, p. 710. Argentre, histoire de Bretagne, liv. xii. Duplein, tome iii. p. 148. [x] Grafton, p. 824—826. Stowe, p. 465. Polydor. Virgil. lib. xxv. [y] Holingshed, vol. ii. p. 745. Argentre, ubi supra. Mezeray, tome iv. p. 354. P. Daniel, tome vi. p. 601.

prince to hinder invaders from ſetting foot in his dominions: but if his meaſures, on this occaſion, demonſtrated the wiſdom of King Richard, his ſubſequent behaviour was of a quite different kind; for immediately upon the earl's retreat he diſmiſſed his forces, laid up and unrigged his fleet, as if, after eſcaping ſo great a danger, he meant to invite a greater; at leaſt ſo it proved, and might have been eaſily foreſeen. But let us now return to the earl of Richmond.

He found things on his coming back much altered in the court of Bretagne; for events will ever change the meaſures of thoſe who ſuffer their councils to be governed by expectations of profit, rather than regard to principle. Peter Landois, who had been his warmeſt friend, was now become his bittereſt enemy; for perceiving that the earl's deſigns were fruſtrated, the Duke of Buckingham dead, the counteſs of Richmond confined, and England quietly ſubmitting to Richard, he ſuddenly changed his politics; and ſince he could not reduce the confederate lords by the help of an Engliſh king of his own making, he reſolved to have recourſe to an Engliſh king then reigning, and therefore entered into a treaty with Richard, for putting the earl of Richmond into his hands [z]. But doctor Richard Morton, biſhop of Ely, a firm friend to the houſe of Lancaſter, then in exile in Flanders, having diſcovered this deſign, gave timely notice of it to the earl of Richmond, adviſing him to fly immediately into France, which he did, and yet very narrowly eſcaped, a troop of horſe, ſent to retake him, miſſing him but an hour.

He was well received by the French king, Charles VIII. who promiſed him his protection and aſſiſtance: nor had he been long at his court, before the earl of Oxford, who was a priſoner at Calais, prevailed upon the governor of that ſtrong place to embrace his intereſt, and to go with him into France in order to concert meaſures for a new invaſion of England [a]. Some of the French hiſtorians ſay poſitively, that King Charles furniſhed Henry of Richmond with four thouſand men: Father Daniel ſays, they were choice

[z] Hall, fol. 21, 22. Grafton, p. 832. Rapin, vol. i. p. 643. Argentre, liv. xii. [a] Stowe, p. 467. Speed, p. 721. P. Æmyle, p. 682. Gaguin. Chalon hiſtoire de France, tome ii. p. 220.

troops;

troops[b]; but our Engliſh writers ſpeak of no more than 2000, nay, and inſiſt, that theſe were hired with money which the earl borrowed[c]. However it was, with this inſignificant force embarked on board a very ſcurvy fleet, the earl ventured to put to ſea on the firſt of Auguſt, 1485, from the port of Havre de Grace, and landed at Milford-haven on the eighth of the ſame month. He was quickly joined by great bodies of the Welch, and, paſſing the Severn at Shrewſbury, met with many of his Engliſh friends, and then marched directly into Leiceſterſhire, where he knew King Richard lay with his army[d]. Upon this followed a deciſive battle, fought near the town of Boſworth, on the 22d of Auguſt, wherein King Richard, fighting gallantly, was ſlain with his ſword in his hand, after a ſhort reign of two years and two months, wherein he ſhewed himſelf a better king than moſt of our hiſtorians are willing to repreſent him. An exemplary inſtance of this was his ſuffering his nephew Edward Plantagenet, earl of Warwick, ſon and heir to his brother, George duke of Clarence, to live quietly and freely in Yorkſhire, though one of the firſt acts of his ſucceſſor was to ſhut up this unhappy youth in the Tower, where he was afterwards beheaded for no greater crime than deſiring freedom.

IN the reign of theſe monarchs of the houſe of York there were no grievous taxes drawn from the ſubject: when Edward IV. wanted money, he had recourſe to an expedient (which, whatever it might be in law, was certainly not amiſs in politics) of ſending for perſons in eaſy circumſtances, and, having opened to them his occaſions for money, and his reaſons for ſuppoſing they could ſupply him, deſired they would give what they pleaſed; by which he raiſed money without aid of parliament by a new kind of prerogative, ſtyling ſuch a voluntary contribution BENEVOLENCE. As he was a debonair prince, this method, odd as it was, brought him in very conſiderable ſupplies. Amongſt others that in this manner he once ſummoned was a

[b] Philip de Comines, indeed, very modeſtly acknowledges this aid to have conſiſted but in 3000 Normans, and thoſe the very refuſe of the people, liv. vi. chap. ix. P. Daniel, tome vi. p. 602. [c] Hall, fol. 27. a. Stowe, p. 468. Speed, p. 722. [d] Fabian, fol. 519. Grafton, p. 849, 850. Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 759.

gentlewoman of London, eſteemed rich in thoſe times, to whom having ſtated his caſe in a free and familiar manner, he aſked her what ſhe would give him? "My liege," anſwered ſhe, "for the ſake of that ſweet and comely face, you ſhall have "twenty pounds." The king being extremely well pleaſed with this teſtimony of her good-will, gave her a kiſs; which royal favour procured him another twenty pounds. He is likewiſe ſaid to have made uſe of the perſonal affections of his ſubjects, in borrowing conſiderable ſums; which, however, was attended with no ſmall diſlike, and was therefore laid aſide by one of his ſucceſſors.

We are told by Stowe, in his chronicle, that this monarch ſought ſome private advantage in the alterations which he directed to be made in the coin; but it is very juſtly obſerved by Biſhip Nicholſon, that this imputation upon his government is ill founded. It is indeed very certain, that this king directed, that all the bullion received for ſtaple commodities at Calais ſhould be coined in the mint there: but then, as appears by the indentures, it was of the ſame weight and fineneſs with that of his predeceſſors. Another great antiquary, I mean Sir Robert Cotton, ſays much in praiſe of King Edward, for reſtoring the ſtate of our coin, which had been greatly injured in the preceding reign; and, for ſaying this, he is cenſured by Biſhop Fleetwood, who ſhews, that the money coined by Edward IV. was not either better or worſe than that of Henry VI. But, notwithſtanding this is certainly very true, yet the former obſervation might be true likewiſe.

We have ſeen, that, in the reign of King Henry, there was great indulgence ſhewn to ſtrangers, and more eſpecially to Italians; and we have likewiſe ſeen, that it was by theſe people that great ſums of baſe money were brought into and circulated through the kingdom: and as there is no doubt that this was publicly prohibited, and effectually reſtrained by Edward IV. ſo we may very reaſonably conclude, that for this, and for the coining great ſums, as well in ſilver as in gold, of due weight and fineneſs, by which the occaſion and neceſſity of uſing theſe adulterated coins was taken away, he afforded juſt ground for Sir Robert Cotton's remark. In his reign, the Lord Haſtings was appointed maſter of the king's mints in England, Ireland, and France; and he coined largely in the ſeveral mints of all the three kingdoms. Sir John Davis aſſures us, that it was

Edward

Edward IV. who firſt introduced a difference between the Engliſh and the Iriſh coin, ſo that the former was worth a fourth part more than the latter. Upon whatever motives he did this, and whether the doing it was laudable, or otherwiſe, we dare not decide; but, however, there is no doubt at all, that the cuſtom was purſued by his ſucceſſors; ſo that in ſucceeding times an Iriſh ſhilling was worth no more than ninepence in England, and the ſame proportion held in all their other coins.

In the ſhort reign of King Richard III. there was but one parliament called, and but one tax granted, which was a tenth upon the clergy. At the ſame time the king, of his own accord, gave life, as one of our antiquaries expreſſes it, to another law, by which the ſubject was for ever freed from BENEVOLENCES, which is ſaid to have flowed from an evil intention in that prince, to captivate the minds of the people by this extraordinary ſhew of ſelf-denial. It is very poſſible it might be ſo, but perhaps it would be very difficult to find any evidence to prove it. It is a dangerous thing to put bad conſtructions upon ſuch actions as are viſibly good, either in kings or in private men. If this monarch was really guilty of one half of the crimes with which ſome of our hiſtorians have been pleaſed to charge him, there was no need of miſrepreſenting what had the appearance of right in his conduct, in order to render him a monſter. All that I incline to add further upon this ſubject is, that ſuch as are determined to believe the worſt of him muſt be contented with what is ſaid in our chronicles, public hiſtories, and memoirs: for as to the ſtatute-books and records, they bear no teſtimonies of his being either an oppreſſor or a tyrant; yet I readily allow, what vindicates his public, cannot be extended to juſtify his private character, becauſe both hiſtory and experience ſufficiently teach us, that a very bad man may be a very good king; but then it is neceſſary that he ſhould reign long, in order to be ſo eſteemed.

As to the hiſtory of our trade during this period, it is better preſerved than in any other, becauſe, perhaps, it now began to grow more conſiderable. A great variety of laws we have relating thereto, and a long charter preſerved in Hakluyt, whereby King Edward IV. grants large privileges to the Engliſh merchants ſettled in the Netherlands. Some of our hiſtorians, it is true, blame that prince for ſuffering certain ſheep, out of Herefordſhire,

fordſhire, to be tranſported into Spain; whence they would have us believe, aroſe that plenty of fine wool, for which that country hath been ſince renowned. But this perhaps is in ſome degree vanity in us, ſince nothing is more certain than that the Spaniſh wool was, long before, in ſome requeſt; ſo that, in the thirty-firſt year of Henry II. the weavers of London had it granted to them, upon their petition, that wherever they could diſcover cloth entirely fabricated of Spaniſh wool, or even with a mixture of Spaniſh wool, they were authoriſed to carry it before the mayor of London, who was to cauſe it to be burnt[e]. At this time, however, the prevailing notion was here, that without our wool the beſt cloths could not be made; and indeed, if there had been no excellence in their fleece, a few of our ſheep had been no fit preſent for one king to make, or the other to receive.

The hiſtory I mention is contained in a little treatiſe, preſerved in Hakluyt[f], entitled, *De politia conſervativa maris*, written in verſe, and, as it ſeems from his preface, never before printed, though written copies were pretty common. We know not by whom, or exactly when, it was compoſed, and yet we may come pretty near the time, for it is ſaid, in the cloſe, to have been examined and approved by the wiſe baron of Hungerford; which nobleman loſt his head at Saliſbury, in 1466, being the ſixth of Edward IV[g]: conſequently this book muſt have been written ſome time before, probably about the beginning of that king's reign. There is a particular title to every chapter; that to the general introduction runs thus:

"Here beginneth the prologue of the proceſſe of the libel of "ENGLISH POLICIE, exhorting all ENGLAND to keep the "SEA, and namely the NARROWE SEA: ſhewing what profite "commeth thereof, and alſo what worſhip and ſalvation to "ENGLAND, and to all ENGLISHMEN."

In this introduction the author ſhews both the utility and the neceſſity of England's preſerving the dominion of the ſea; and tells us, that the Emperor Sigiſmund, who came over hither in 1416, and went into France with Henry V. adviſed him to keep the two towns of Dover and Calais, as carefully as he would

[e] Hall's chronicle in the reign of Edward IV. fol. vii. a. edit. 1550. Graſton, p. 668. [f] Collection of voyages, vol. i. p. 187. [g] Stowe's annals, p. 419.

his

his two eyes. The author next explains to us the device on our nobles, a gold coin firſt ſtruck in 18th of Edward III. introducing his remarks thus:

" For foure things our NOBLE ſheweth unto me,
" King, ſhip, and ſword, and power of the ſea."

In his firſt chapter this writer gives us a very clear and exact account of the commodities of Spain and Flanders, and of the commerce between thoſe countries; wherein he remarks, that neither country could live without the other; that the Spaniſh wool cannot be wrought by the Flemings, without a mixture of Engliſh; and, beſides this, that, from their ſituations, the trade between theſe two countries muſt be altogether precarious, if both were not at peace with England. This is the author's main point, and he urges it very ſenſibly. The Low Countries were then, what the United Provinces were in the laſt century, *viz.* the centre of the commerce of Europe: and therefore while Calais, as well as Dover, was in our hands, that commerce could not be carried on but by our permiſſion, which was expreſſed by King Edward's gold noble.

The ſecond chapter treats of the commodities and trade of Portugal; wherein he obſerves, that the inhabitants of Portugal were always our friends, and that a very advantageous trade had ever ſubſiſted between the two nations, the ſtream of which, he complains, began now to be turned into Flanders. He ſpeaks of the commerce, and of the piracies carried on by the inhabitants of the dutchy of Bretagne; and exclaims grievouſly at the outrages they were wont to commit on the Engliſh coaſts, particularly on the maritime towns of Norfolk, and then tells us a remarkable ſtory of what happened in the time of Edward III. The merchants, he ſays, repreſented to that prince, that notwithſtanding the peace between him and the duke of Bretagne, the privateers of that dutchy took their veſſels; of which the king, by his ambaſſadors, complained to the duke, who, in anſwer, ſaid, that theſe privateers belonged to the ports of St. Michael and St. Malo, which, though in his dominions, he could not ſay were under his obedience, being inhabited by a ſort of people who would do what they pleaſed: upon which the king directed Dartmouth, Plymouth and Fowey

to

to be fortified, and gave the inhabitants leave to fit out privateers to cruize upon the coaſt of Bretagne. This expedient ſoon anſwered his purpoſe, by bringing the ſubjects of the duke into ſuch diſtreſs, that he was glad to undertake for the future good behaviour of his two lawleſs towns, that he might be rid of the troubleſome viſitants which daily diſtreſſed his coaſts from our three.

The commodities of Scotland, hides, felts and wool, and her commerce with Flanders, make the ſubject of the fourth chapter. He ſhews that the Scots wool was then in the ſame, that is, in as low eſteem as the Spaniſh, and unfit to be wrought without a mixture of Engliſh; for the truth of which he appeals to the knowledge and experience of our manufacturers and merchants; adding, they well knew in what ſchool he was taught theſe ſecrets. He further obſerves, that houſhold-ſtuff, haberdaſher's wares, and all utenſils of huſbandry, even to cart-wheels and wheel-barrows, were by the Scots ſhips carried home, in return for their ſtaple commodities: from whence he infers, that England, being poſſeſſed of the narrow ſeas, and a ſuperior naval force, may at all times awe Spain and Scotland, by the interruption of that commerce, without which they could not ſubſiſt.

In the fifth he treats of the trade of Pruſſia, Germany, and the Hanſe-towns, and of the inland countries dependant upon them. The commodities and trade of Genoa employ the ſixth; whence it appears, that at this time they carried on the trade of Africa, and the Indies; that is to ſay, imported Indian and African commodities here; and, in return, exported wool and woollen commodities, and all this in certain very large ſhips, in thoſe days called carracks. The trade of Venice and Florence follows next, to which the author ſeems no great friend, as ſuppoſing that the balance thereon was greatly in their favour, and that the things bought of them were mere inſtruments of luxury. Much pains is taken in this chapter to ſhew the advantages that foreigners had in trade over Engliſh natives, and what frauds were committed by the Italian bankers, and by the factors of that nation employed here.

The trade of Flanders takes up the eighth chapter: wherein great complaints are made of the inſolence of ſhips belonging

to the Hanſe towns, and of the folly of Engliſh merchants lending their names to cover foreigners goods imported hither. In the ninth we ſee a copious and exact account of the commodities and commerce of Ireland, except that the author ſpeaks confidently of gold and ſilver being found there, which time hath not verified. Towards the concluſion there is a project of the then earl of Ormond, ſuggeſting, that, if one year's expence in the maintenance of French wars were employed in the reduction of Ireland, it would anſwer the purpoſe effectually, and produce a very conſiderable profit annually to the Engliſh nation. Yet this, as the writer complains, was ſlighted, from views of private profit, to the great detriment of the public.

The old trade carried on to Iceland from Scarborough, and of late years from Briſtol to the ſame place, is deſcribed in the tenth chapter; at the cloſe of which the author diſcourſes of the importance of Calais. In the eleventh chapter he deſcants on the naval power of King Edgar, and the mighty fleets of King Edward III. and Henry V. who, he ſays, built larger and ſtronger ſhips than any of their predeceſſors. The twelfth and laſt chapter is a conciſe recapitulation of the principal matters ſpoken to before, with a pathetic exhortation to Engliſh ſtateſmen thoroughly to conſider the importance of theſe points, and eſpecially the great one of maintaining our power or ſovereignty at ſea, on which, he ſays, the peace, plenty, and proſperity of this iſland eſſentially depend.

One cannot help wondering, on the peruſal of this piece, that no pains has ever been taken to make it more uſeful, by re-publiſhing it, either in modern verſe, or, as it now ſtands, with notes, ſince it is evidently written with equal ſcience and ſpirit; ſo that it is not eaſy to ſay, whether it gives us a better idea of the author's head or heart. Beſides, it is a full proof that trade was then a very extenſive and important concern, which will appear more clearly to the reader, if he conſiders the different value of money then and now.

It likewiſe ſhews, that the reaſons and grounds of our naval dominion were then as thoroughly underſtood, and as clearly and plainly aſſerted, as ever they have been ſince; which is the reaſon that Mr. Selden cites this book as a remarkable

authority, both in point of argument and antiquity[h]. But we are now coming into brighter times, wherein that ſpirit of commerce, which this author ſo earneſtly wiſhed for, began really to appear; and when there ſeemed to be a conteſt between private men, and thoſe in the adminiſtration, who ſhould ſerve the public moſt; a ſpirit to which we owe our preſent correſpondence with all parts of the world, our potent and ſtately fleet, and, above all, our numerous plantations, the chief ſupport of our maritime ſtrength, as well as the moſt conſiderable branch of our trade ſtill remaining.

[h] Mare Clauſum, lib. ii. c. xxv.

LIVES

LIVES
OF THE
ADMIRALS:
INCLUDING A NEW AND ACCURATE
NAVAL HISTORY.

CHAP. VIII.

The Naval Hiſtory of England under the reign of Henry VII. including the memoirs of ſuch eminent ſeamen as flouriſhed in his time.

HENRY VII. was crowned king on the field of battle, the diadem of King Richard being found among the ſpoils[a]. By what title he held the regal dignity, is difficult to determine. In his own days he would not ſuffer it to be drawn into queſtion, and poſterity have not much conſidered it ſince[b]. As to deſcent, he could ſcarce be accounted of the royal family; for his father was of Wales, his mother

[a] It was placed upon his head by Sir William Stanley, afterwards Lord Chamberlain of his houſhold, and brother of Thomas Lord Stanley, created by this monarch earl of Derby, in regard to the near relation in which he ſtood to the king; being married to his majeſty's mother. Hall, fol. 34. Grafton, p. 852. Stowe, p. 470. Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 760, 779. Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 248. [b] See what the celebrated Lord Bacon hath thought fit to deliver upon this head in his admirable hiſtory of this prince in his works, vol. ii. p. 268—271. edit. 1753.

of the houſe of Beaufort, deſcended indeed of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter; but ſo as to be legitimate only by an act of parliament, with an expreſs exception in that very act as to the crown[c]. By conqueſt he could not be king; for no people conquer themſelves, and his army at Boſworth were Engliſhmen as well as King Richard's.

His cleareſt, and therefore his beſt title then, muſt be marriage, which he had not till ſome time after; for though he was ſolemnly crowned on the thirtieth of October, yet he did not marry the Princeſs Eliſabeth till the eighteenth of January, 1486[d]. He was generally eſteemed the wiſeſt monarch of his time, and was, without all doubt, an accompliſhed prince; to which the difficulties he went through in his youth muſt have contributed not a little; for he was an exile before he was a man, and at the head of his party by that time he was at years of diſcretion. He had great obſtacles to ſurmount, even after his acceſſion to the throne; for the common people were generally fond of the houſe of York, and the dutcheſs of Burgundy took care to furniſh them with variety of pretenders of that line: yet ſuch was the care King Henry took of his coaſts, and ſo wiſely did he provide for the ſecurity of the ſea, that his enemies could ſcarce ever ſet foot directly in this kingdom; which was the reaſon that Simnel went firſt to Ireland, and Perkin Warbeck into Scotland, where, having procured aſſiſtance, he thence invaded England[e].

Another ſtrain of his policy was, his keeping up a martial ſpirit among his own ſubjects at the expence of his neighbours, repaying thereby the French in their own coin. Thus he privately aſſiſted the duke of Bretagne with a conſiderable body of troops under the command of the Lord Woodville, uncle to the queen; and, when the French king expoſtulated on this head, he excuſed himſelf by ſaying, that lord tranſported forces into Bretagne without his conſent or permiſſion[f]. Soon

[c] T. Walſingham, hiſt. Angl. p. 353. Cotton's abridgment of the records, p. 363. Tyrrel's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 959. Speed, p. 727. Dugdale's baronage, vol. ii. p. 123, 237. [d] Fabian, p. 527. Speed, p. 729. Cooper, fol. 269. b. [e] Stowe, Holingſhed, Speed, Rapin, but, above all, Lord Bacon's hiſtory of his reign, and his finiſhed character of Henry VII.
[f] A. D. 1488.

after

after he openly aſſiſted the Britons againſt the French, becauſe he ſaw that theſe expeditions were pleaſing to his own people, and ſerved his purpoſes at the ſame time. On the ſame principles he threatened an open rupture with France, for which he provided a very formidable army, and a numerous fleet; and yet his real view was not ſo much attacking the French king, as drawing aids from his own parliament; which on this expectation, and upon this only, they were inclined to give. He tranſported, however, his forces to Calais, took the field, and, having terrified the French, made ſuch a peace as ſatisfied him, and ſo returned home, keeping, however, his ſquadrons at ſea; for though he loved peace, yet it was his fixed maxim, that he might keep it, to be in conſtant readineſs for war; which was the reaſon that, during his reign, the marine was in better condition than under any of his predeceſſors. The cares of government took up his whole time, and left no room either for thoughts or expences of pleaſure [g].

The French hiſtorians ſay, that, of all our Engliſh kings, this wiſe monarch was beſt inclined to them, and moſt obſervant of his treaties; which they aſcribe to his gratitude for the ſuccours afforded him in France, when he came over againſt King Richard [h]. I will not deny that ſome truth there may be in this, and yet I am inclined to believe, that the chief motive which ſo ſtrongly bound him to affect peace abroad was the almoſt continual inteſtine diviſions among his ſubjects at home, which might have created him even more uneaſineſs than they did, in caſe the malcontents had been ſupported by ſo powerful a prince as the French king.

Beſides, it was the policy of Henry VII. to divert the ſpirits of his ſubjects from war to trade, which he both underſtood and encouraged. His long reſidence in Bretagne had given him an opportunity of acquiring a much greater ſkill in maritime affairs than moſt of his predeceſſors; and this was ſo well known, that eminent ſeamen, even in foreign countries, frequently on that account, addreſſed themſelves to him for his favour and protection. Amongſt the reſt the famous Chriſtopher Colum-

[g] Hall, fol. 12—28. Grafton, Stowe, Rymer's fœdera, tome xii. p. 497.
[h] Gaguin, lib. xi. P. Daniel, tome vii. p. 19. Du Tillet, Recueil des Traites, Godefroy, ſupplement au memoires de Philip de Comines, chap. vii.

bus,

bus, who rendered his name immmortal by the diſcovery of America, and who ſent his brother Bartholomew hither, in order to have proſecuted that glorious expedition for the benefit of this nation; nor was it any fault in this wiſe king that he did not; though ſome modern writers, not only without, but againſt all authority, aſſert, that King Henry rejected his propoſals. I ſhall here give a conciſe account of that affair, of which I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak again in the memoirs of John Cabot, who, though he did not undertake to make diſcoveries till after the return of Columbus, yet ſaw the continent of the new world earlier than he, as will be fully proved in its proper place.

Experience ſhews us, that there are certain ſeaſons remarkably favourable to particular arts. This age of which we are ſpeaking had been ſo to navigation, which then proſpered exceedingly under different ſtates, but principally under the Portugueſe: they had diſcovered, or rather were diſcovering, a new route to the Eaſt Indies, by going entirely round the great continent of Africa, which, from the conſequences even of thoſe endeavours, rendered them ſo much richer and more powerful than their neighbours, that, by an emulation natural amongſt great men, the thoughts of all the active wits in Europe were turned towards undertakings of this kind.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, by birth a Genoeſe, but of what family is very uncertain, and I think very immaterial, had a head excellently turned for ſuch enterpriſes; by nature he was ſagacious, penetrating, and reſolute; he derived from education ſuch knowledge as enabled him to make the beſt uſe of his experience; and his ardent paſſion for the ſcience of navigation had inſpired him, from his early youth, with a deſire of engaging in diſtant and dangerous voyages. Abundance of lucky circumſtances concurred in giving him ſtill greater advantages than any of his contemporaries; but, as to the ſtory of his having the firſt hint of an undiſcovered continent in the weſt from the papers of an old pilot who died in his houſe, while he reſided in the iſland of Madeira, I entirely agree with

i See this matter largely diſcuſſed in a book publiſhed ſome years ago, entitled, A compleat hiſtory of Spaniſh America.

Sir

Sir William Monſon[k], that it is mere calumny, and for this reaſon, that, if Columbus had really received any ſuch information, he would ſcarce have embraced ſome opinions which expoſed his projects to many plauſible objections, and which, nevertheleſs, he retained to the laſt. It is by no means clear, though we have a life of him written by his ſon, and collected partly from his own writings, when he firſt entertained thoughts of finding out countries hitherto undiſcovered. It ſeems, however, to have been pretty early in his life, becauſe it appears, from notes of his own, that he had undertaken ſeveral voyages with a view of fixing, from the lights of experience, his ſpeculative notions on this ſubject.

When he had thoroughly methodized his ſcheme, and rendered it, as he thought, probable and practicable, he firſt propounded it to the ſtate of Genoa in the year 1482; but it was not accepted, becauſe they were then engaged in ſuch an extenſive commerce as they ſcarce knew how to manage, and were therefore afraid of launching out into new projects. Columbus offered it next to the king of Portugal, who was much too wiſe a prince not to diſcern the benefits which might ariſe from ſuch a diſcovery, or the ſtrength of thoſe reaſons which were urged by Columbus, to ſhew that the deſign was feaſible: he therefore appointed commiſſioners to treat with him about this undertaking, who dealt with that worthy man very baſely; for having, as they thought, drawn out of him his whole ſecret, they adviſed the king, while they entertained Columbus with objections, to fit out a ſhip, which, under colour of going to the Cape de Verd iſlands, might attempt the execution of what he had propoſed: but the iſſue of this contrivance was as unlucky, as that in itſelf was diſhonourable; for, the fraud coming to the ears of Columbus, he was ſo diſguſted thereby, that he determined to quit Portugal, and to ſeek protection in ſome more generous court[l].

It was towards the cloſe of the year 1484 that he came to a reſolution of going himſelf into Spain, and it was the next year that, after meeting with ſome difficulties there, he ſent his bro-

[k] Naval tracts, p. 403. [l] See the life of Chriſtopher Columbus, by his ſon, in Churchill's collection of voyages, vol. ii. p. 557, 688.

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ther Bartholouew into England, where Henry VII. had but juſt aſcended the throne. A man could ſcarce be more unfortunate than Bartholomew Columbus was in this voyage. He was firſt taken by pirates, who ſtripped him to the ſkin, and obliged him for ſome time to earn a ſorry living, by labouring at the oar. When he had made his eſcape from them, he found means to get into England, and to come to London, but in ſo poor a condition, and ſo worn by a lingering ague, that he wanted both opportunity and ſpirits to purſue the deſign he came about [m].

As ſoon as he had recovered a little, he applied himſelf to the making maps and globes, and, diſcovering thereby a more than ordinary ſkill in coſmography, he came to be known; ſo that at laſt he brought his deſign to bear, and was actually introduced to the king, to whom, on the 13th day of February, 1488, he preſented a map of the world of his own projecting, and afterwards entered into a negotiation on the behalf of his brother. The king liked the ſcheme ſo well, that they came ſooner to an agreement than Chriſtopher had brought things to a point in Spain; though, by a new ſeries of croſs accidents, Bartholomew was not able to carry any account of this to his brother, before he had actually diſcovered the American iſlands in the ſervice, and for the benefit of the crown of Spain [n], which he did in 1492.

As we have theſe facts from the ſon of Don Chriſtopher Columbus, and the nephew of Bartholomew, who publiſhed his father's life in Spain, I think the authority cannot be doubted, according to all the rules of evidence laid down either by lawyers or critics. Add to this, that the map made by Bartholomew Columbus was actually in being in the reign of Queen Eliſabeth; which is ſuch a corroborative proof as puts the matter out of diſpute [o], and ſhews, that we have at leaſt as good a title as the Spaniards, from our agreement with the firſt diſcoverer of a paſſage to this new world. If they plead the ſucceſs of their expedition, we may alledge our prior contract;

[m] Lord Bacon's hiſtory of Henry VII. vol. ii. p. 336. [n] Hakluyt's voyages, vol. iii. p. 2, 3. Purchas's pilgrims, vol. i. book ii. p. 9. Harris's voyages, vol. i. p. 3. [o] See the life of Chriſtopher Columbus, as before cited, p. 575.

and if this ſhould fail us; and their title be approved, we have then, as I hinted before, a better title than they, (even according to their own method of arguing), to the continent of America, in regard to which, our ſucceſs in diſcovering was prior to theirs.

I know, as was hinted before, certain writers have made ſome coarſe and bitter reflections upon King Henry for his dilatorineſs in this matter, by which they think we have ſuffered ſo much: but, when all things are more maturely weighed, perhaps we ſhall meet with no juſt grounds for theſe cenſures: for, firſt, it does not appear that the king delayed this affair at all, though it be true, that Bartholomew Columbus ſpent a long time in negotiating it; and the reaſon was, becauſe the king had then many arduous affairs upon his hands, ſuch as the attempt of Perkin Warbeck, an expedition into Scotland, his breach with France, and voyage thither, all which fell out within that ſpace: and, ſecondly, it does not ſeem to manifeſt, as theſe people imagine, that we are really ſuch mighty ſufferers by the Spaniards having the ſtart of us in this expedition; for which many reaſons might be offered; but there is one ſo obvious, and withal ſo clear and ſo concluſive, that it ſeems to ſuperſede the reſt. Spain, at the time ſhe undertook this diſcovery, was one of the greateſt maritime powers in Europe, though, ſince her poſſeſſion of the Indies, ſhe is become one of the moſt inconſiderable.

But it may be ſaid, that, if we had firſt ſeized and ſettled theſe countries, we ſhould have acted otherwiſe: yet this is not only a bare ſuppoſition, but at the ſame time a very improbable one. The heat of the climate, the luxuriancy of the ſoil, the profit of mines, *&c.* would have affected us, or indeed any other people, as much as it did them; ſo that, upon the whole, we have but little reaſon either to blame King Henry's conduct, or to repine at that of Providence. The Spaniards have purchaſed Mexico and Peru too dearly, at the expence of their naval power: we are really richer in virtue of our northern colonies, which have ſo prodigiouſly increaſed our induſtry, our commerce, and our ſhipping.

The great care the king had of maritime affairs induced him to make, in the eleventh year of his reign, a treaty with the king of Denmark, whereby he ſecured to his ſubjects, and particularly

to the inhabitants of Briſtol, the trade to Iceland, which they long before enjoyed, but in which they had of late ſuffered ſome diſturbance. By the ſtipulations in this league it was agreed, that the Engliſh were to furniſh the inhabitants of that iſland with all kinds of proviſion, with coarſe cloth and other commodities, without let or hindrance from the king of Denmark. This was a ſpecial privilege granted to no other nation, and, it is very probable, would not have been granted to us, if the Daniſh commerce had not been in a declining ſtate, of which we have an authentic account in the work of a very ancient writer. The care of theſe affairs brought to the king's notice that celebrated Venetian Sir John Cabot, who in his ſervice firſt diſcovered the continent of America, and that country which is now called Newfoundland [p]: of him, therefore, we will give a more particular account at the cloſe of this reign.

While this Sir John Cabot was thus employed in the proſecution of the expedition before mentioned, Bartholomew Columbus had paſſed from Spain to the Weſt-Indies, where he acquainted his brother with the diſpoſition of the Engliſh court, and the reaſon there was to apprehend, that it would not be long before other adventurers would endeavour to interfere in his diſcoveries [q]. This quickened the admiral; and, on his returning into Spain, he gave ſuch hints to that court and miniſtry, as induced them to take all imaginable pains to ſecure the great ſeamen of every nation in their ſervice, which in ſome reſpect anſwered their purpoſe, ſince Magellan who diſcovered the paſſage into the South ſeas, which has been of ſuch infinite ſervice to the Spaniards, was by this policy detached from his duty to his king and country for the ſake of pay; and this was likewiſe the caſe of Sebaſtian Cabot and others [r]. In ſo ſhort a time as four years after John Cabot's firſt voyage, we find, that King Henry granted his letters-patent to Hugh Elliot and Thomas Aſhurſt, merchants of Briſtol and others, for ſettling colonies in new-diſcovered countries; which grant bears date the ninth of Decem-

[p] Fœd. Dan. xi. Hen. VII. art. iv. quod in tabula legationis M.DC,II. etiam habemus. Rymer's fœdera, tom. xii. p. 381. Seldeni mare clauſum, lib. ii. cap. 31.

[q] Herrera's general hiſtory of the Weſt Indies, vol. i. p. 136—139.

[r] Herrera, Hackluyt, Purchas, Sir William Monſon's naval tracts.

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ber 1502[s], and is another proof of this monarch's aſſiduity in promoting commerce: he never, indeed, ſuffered any opportunity of that ſort to eſcape him.

Philip of Auſtria, who ſucceeded to the kingdom of Caſtile, ſailed from the Low Countries into Spain, together with his queen, in 1506; but, meeting unhappily with a ſtorm, they were driven on the Engliſh coaſt, and, being exceedingly fatigued, they would, contrary to the advice of the wiſeſt perſons about them, land at Weymouth; of which the king having notice, he ſent, under colour of reſpect, the earl of Arundel, with 300 horſe, to attend them, who brought the royal gueſts from thence by torch-light, and conducted them to his own houſe[t]. Some months they were detained by the extraordinary civilities paid them; and after their departure it appeared, how great uſe a wiſe prince may make even of the ſlighteſt accidents. In this ſhort ſpace the king did a great deal for himſelf, and not a little for his ſubjects: he prevailed upon King Philip to put into his hands Edmund de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, nearly related by his mother to the royal line[u], and he likewiſe concluded a very advantageous treaty of commerce between the crowns of England and Caſtile[w], which proved afterwards of great importance.

As to the remaining part of his reign, it was ſpent in peace, and in cares of a nature which by no means recommend them to our notice, farther than as the mention of them may prove admonitory to other princes. He had all his days been of a very frugal diſpoſition, and had alſo ſhewn a ſingular dexterity in the art of filling his coffers; but in the latter part of his life this grew upon him to a very great degree: and as covetous princes never want fit inſtruments, ſo this king found in Empſon and Dudley two ſuch as ſcarce ever had their fellows. They put him upon ſuch ſevere and unreaſonable extenſions of penal laws, as made him rich as a man, but poor as a prince, ſince, by wringing out their wealth, he effectually loſt the hearts of his ſubjects.

[s] Rymer's fœdera, vol. xiii. p. 37. [t] Hall, fol. 57. b. Grafton, p. 943. Polydor. Virgil. lib. xxvi. p. 776. Marianæ hiſtoria de rebus Hiſpaniæ, lib. xxviii. cap. xvi. p. 592. Petri Martyris epiſtol. lib. xix. epiſt. 296, 300.

[u] Stowe, p. 484. Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 793. Lord Bacon's hiſtory of this reign, vol. ii. p. 350. Ferrera's hiſt. de Eſpan. p. xii. § 16.

[w] Rymer's fœdera, vol. xiii. p. 142.

Another misfortune was, that these grievances fell upon the most eminent traders in those times.

Thus Sir William Capel, an opulent citizen, who had been mayor of London, suffered many years persecution and a long imprisonment, besides great losses. Out of Thomas Knesworth, at the expiration of his mayoralty, with his two sheriffs, the king and his ministers squeezed 1400 pounds. Christopher Hawes, an eminent mercer, and alderman of London, broke his heart through vexation, and Sir Lawrence Ailmer, a great merchant, and who had been mayor, remained a prisoner in the Tower, till he was delivered in the next reign [x]. These acts would have appeared flagrant oppressions in any other prince: but Henry made many wise laws for the public good; and such laws interfering sometimes with the methods men had been in a habit of practising for private profit, he took always advantage of the highest offenders, as yielding most to his coffers, and, from the terror of their punishment, impressing universal obedience; for, in most of his prosecutions, the welfare of the state was the apparent object, and the due execution of the laws the invariable pretence. He was, therefore, the laws being made by parliament, a rigid prince, but, acting ever by law, escaped the odium of being a tyrant.

Yet in some things the king shewed a magnificient spirit, particularly in building that noble chapel at Westminster, which bears his name, and which cost him 14,000 pounds. About the like sum he laid out in the construction of a new ship, called THE GREAT HARRY [y], and which, properly speaking, was the first ship of the royal navy: for though he, as well as other princes, hired many ships, exclusive of those furnished by the ports, when he had occasion to transport forces abroad, yet he seems to have been the only king who thought of avoiding this inconveniency, by raising such a naval force as might be, at all

[x] Fabian, p. 530, 536. Hall, fol. 57. a. fol. 59. b. Grafton, p. 942, 946. Stowe, p. 485. Speed, p. 750. Lord Bacon in his history, p. 352.

[y] Stowe's annals, p. 484. This famous vessel was burned by accident at Woolwich in the evening of the twenty-eighth of August 1553. Holingshed's chronicle, vol. ii. p. 1090. Strype's memorials, vol. iii. p. 22.

times,

times, ſufficient for the ſervice of the ſtate [z]; a deſign worthy of his wiſdom to project, and of being in ſome degree perfected under the more fortunate reign of his ſon.

As to the concern which this prudent monarch ſhewed for trade, ſome hints of it have been already given; and to theſe, upon the review of our work, a few farther inſtances may be added. In the year 1487 the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was alſo lord high chancellor of England, opened the parliament with a ſpeech, in which, amongſt other things, he told them, that the king recommended, to their ſerious conſideration, trade and manufactures [a]. Accordingly ſeveral wiſe laws were made in that reſpect; and, in the treaties that were concluded with foreign princes, he was remarkably careful to make ſuch proviſions as turned highly to the benefit of the nation [b]. There is the leſs wonder to be made at this, becauſe the king himſelf was not only very well acquainted with the advantages ariſing from foreign traffic ſpeculatively as a ſtateſman, but knew them experimentally likewiſe, being a very extenſive trader himſelf, and that in more ways than one [c].

As he found it requiſite for him to have a certain number of ſhips of his own, ſo, when theſe were not employed, or likely to be employed, he was content to let them out to merchants for hire. He was very ready, on the ſame principle, to aſſiſt with conſiderable ſums of money ſuch as undertook any new trade, or ſet up any new manufacture, provided he had a ſhare in the profit proportionable to the riſque he run. He alſo ſold licenſes for dealing in prohibited commodities either by importing or exporting; for the managing of which extraordinary and new-deviſed branches of his revenue [d], his principal inſtrument

[z] The king foreſaw an increaſe of commerce would make larger veſſels neceſſary, and therefore began to build, and let out ſuch to hire for the advantage of, and by way of example to, his ſubjects. An inſtance of royal attention that merits reflection!

[a] This was the famous Cardinal Morton. Godwini de Præſul. Angliæ commentar. Cantab. 1743, fol. p. 131. Bacon's hiſtory of Henry VII. p. 189. Parliamentary hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 417—419.

[b] Rymer's fœdera, tom. xii. p. 374, 378, 389, 571, 701.

[c] In this, as in building large ſhips, he was willing to ſhew his ſubjects the way.

[d] Sir Richard Empſon's book of accounts had been ſeen by Lord Bacon; that between the king and Dudley, both of them moſt exactly kept, came into the hands of Sir R. Cotton.

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was Edmund Dudley, Eſq; a man of quick parts, and whoſe genius was wonderfully extenſive. He was nobly deſcended; a lawyer, no doubt, and a ſerjeant at law: but no judge, as ſome of our hiſtorians make him. He was of the king's privy council, and ſpeaker of the Houſe of Commons in this king's laſt parliament; which ſhews his general intereſt was great, as well as his power. He ſuffered, in the next reign, as the king's adviſer and inſtrument; which was hard, for the king governed by his own lights, and ſaw not with others eyes. Miniſters he had, and very able miniſters too, who ſerved him well; and he never diſgraced them; but ſtill they were his miniſters, and not his maſters.

Whatever diſtaſte might be taken to ſome of theſe practices, it is very certain that the king ingratiated himſelf by others, and that till within the four laſt years of his reign, he was very popular in London; to which, perhaps, it might not a little contribute, that he not only accepted the freedom of the merchant-taylors company, but dined alſo publicly in their hall; wearing the dreſs, taking the ſeat, and doing the honours of the table, as if he had been their maſter[e]. This condeſcenſion was acceptable to numbers: and the laws he paſſed from time to time, for promoting manufactures, encouraging manufacturers, giving eaſe to mechanics, prohibiting the importation of foreign goods for luxury, exciting merchants of all nations to frequent England, and purchaſe its commodities, with his complaiſance and fair language, abated the ſenſe of his ſtrictneſs in other reſpects. Beſides, it was his manner to intermix ſmiles with his ſeverities, and to reward oftener, and with more alacrity, than he puniſhed. Thus he knighted many of the citizens in the field, received them kindly at court, and communicated all good news to them with much familiarity and confidence.

In reſpect to the taxes impoſed in his reign, they were not very large or burdenſome. It is true, that having repealed the laws of his predeceſſor, he thought himſelf at liberty to demand an aid of his ſubjects, by way of BENEVOLENCE; for which he aſſigned this reaſon, that it would be a means of ex-

[e] Speed, p. 736. from the records in the company's hall.

empting

empting the poorer ſort of people from feeling the weight of a burden they were leaſt able to bear. It is not at all improbable, that he was induced to take this ſtep from that experience he learned in the beginning of his reign, that nothing ſo ſoon diſpoſed the populace to inſurrections, as the levying new taxes, how moderate ſoever [f]. But this new method, likewiſe, had its inconveniencies, though he was far enough from puſhing it to a degree of oppreſſion; ſince the money which was raiſed under this title in the whole city of London, did not amount to quite ten thouſand pounds.

In one thing he ſhewed his mercantile principle extremely. He demanded a loan of the city of London for a certain time, and with ſome difficulty obtained ſix thouſand pounds; but paying it very exactly, when he had occaſion for a greater ſum, it was raiſed with eaſe; and this too being punctually paid, he there reſted his credit, reſerving the confidence he had eſtabliſhed for any real neceſſity that might require it, the former loans being rather out of policy than for relief [g]. The wealth of the nation certainly increaſed extremely during his pacific reign: it was the large eſtates of the merchants that expoſed them to be pillaged by his inſtruments of iniquity; and as for the nobility, he was not without ſome reaſon jealous of their great power, and their great fortunes. When he ſeized upon Sir William Stanley's effects, who was younger brother only to the earl of Derby, he found they amounted to forty thouſand marks in ready money and jewels, beſides an eſtate in land of three thouſand pounds a-year.

At the marriage of Arthur, prince of Wales, with the infanta Catharine, all who aſſiſted at it were moſt magnificently dreſſed; Sir Thomas Brandon, an officer of the king's houſehold, wearing a gold chain of the value of fifteen hundred pounds: yet the fortune he gave the princeſs Margaret, his daughter, when ſhe married the king of Scots, was no more than thirty thouſand nobles, or ten thouſand pounds: and the

[f] His colour was, that by this means the tax was ſet by affection upon ſubſtance; while thoſe in mean condition, of which themſelves were left to judge, were exempted from the burden.

[g] Some authors ſay, that, on his firſt application, he could borrow but three thouſand pounds.

allowance

allowance ſtipulated for the Lady Anne, his wife's ſiſter, when ſhe married Lord Thomas Howard, did not much exceed one hundred and twenty pounds a-year [h].

He was the firſt of our monarchs who coined ſhillings; and they were very large and fair, there being but forty in a pound weight of ſilver. His coin in general, both gold and ſilver, was of due weight and fineneſs; but when he made his expedition to Bologne, he either coined, or tolerated a baſe kind of money, called dandiprats [i], which perhaps was a right piece of policy; but it proved a bad precedent, and afforded his ſon a colour for ſinking the value of his money, beyond all example.

The treaſure left by this prince in his coffers, at the time of his deceaſe, not only exceeded what had ever been amaſſed by his predeceſſors, but ſurpaſſed beyond compariſon what any of his ſucceſſors have ever ſeen in their exchequers: for the Lord Chief Juſtice Coke tells us, it amounted to five millions three hundred thouſand pounds, moſt in foreign coin, and too much of it acquired by methods unworthy of a king, and more eſpecially ſo wiſe a king as he was [k]. The judicious and curious Lord Bacon, who wrote this monarch's life with much care, and had great opportunities of being informed, reduces this ſum to much leſs: for he ſays, there was a tradition of his leaving eighteen hundred thouſand pounds hid in ſecret places, under his own lock and key, in his palace at Richmond, where he deceaſed; and this he accounts, and very juſtly, to be (for thoſe times eſpecially) a vaſt wealth [l]. But we can ſettle this point with more certainty, and on ſtill better authority. The great and accurate antiquary, Sir Robert Cotton, aſſerts, he left behind him four millions and a half in bullion, excluſive of wrought plate, jewels, and rich furniture. Theſe ſums are not ſet down in figures, from which miſtakes often ariſe, but in words at length: and as Sir Robert affirms nothing without a voucher; ſo, in reſpect to this, he has given the beſt that could

h Stowe's annals, p. 483, where many particulars may be found of a like nature. i Sir Robert Cotton's diſcourſe of foreign wars, p. 53. Numm Britannici hiſtoria, p. 47. Fleetwood's Chron. Precioſum, p. 47. k Found inſtitute, chap. xxxv. where he cites the cloſe roll, anno 3 H. VIII. l Life of Henry VII. in the ſecond volume of his works, p. 353.

be desired, *viz.* the book of accounts kept between the king and Mr. Dudley[m]. It is possible this wide difference may be, with probability, reconciled, by supposing 800,000 pounds to stand on Sir Richard Empson's account, as Sir Robert Cotton speaks only of Mr. Dudley; and then the sum will agree with the record cited by Sir Edward Coke. The fixing this fact is very material, as it shews how much more wealthy the nation then was, than it has been ever esteemed to be.

Our historians tell us, that King Henry intended to have made a thorough change in his measures, and to have relieved his people from all the grievances of which they complained, when he was taken off by death on the 22d of April, 1509, in the twenty-third year of his reign[n]. He was allowed by his contemporaries to have been one of the wisest princes of the age in which he lived[o]; and his memory hath been commended to the reverence of posterity by the inimitable pen of the great Lord Chancellor Bacon, who, in doing justice to this king's abilities, has shewn his own, as, by freely censuring his errors, he has set a noble example to English historians, to be more solicitous about truth than the reputation of themselves as writers, or the glory of those whose actions they record: an example which succeeding ages have rendered the more difficult to follow, since, as corruption increases, it not only enervates the will, but also both weakens and misleads the judgment; whence, as good histories become rare, they become consequently more valuable.

[m] Answer to the reasons for foreign wars, p. 53. See also Dr. Davenant's grants and resumptions, p. 250. [n] Hall, fol. 60. b. Grafton, p. 947, 948. Stowe, Holingshed, Speed, Lord Bacon in his history of this prince, p. 353. [o] Thuan. hist. lib. i. G. F. Biondi, hist. delle guerre civili d'Inghilterra. Johan. Major de gestis Scotorum, lib. vi. P. d'Orleans, hist. de revol. de Angleterre, tome ii. p. 341. Marsollier, histoire de Henri VII. dit le sage ou le Salomon d'Angleterre; Par. 12°, 2 vol. P. Daniel, hist. de France, tome vii. p. 183, 184.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF SIR JOHN CABOT.

THE Venetians, throughout this whole century, and indeed for ſome ages before, were by far the moſt general traders in Europe, and had their factories, in moſt of the northern kingdoms and ſtates, for the better managing their affairs [p]. In England, eſpecially, many of them ſettled, at London and Briſtol particularly; and in this laſt place dwelt John Gabota, Gabot, or, as our writers uſually call him, John Cabot, of whom we are to ſpeak. He had been long in England, ſince his ſon Sebaſtian, who was born at Briſtol, was old enough to accompany him in his firſt voyage [q]: he was, it ſeems, a man perfectly ſkilled in all the ſciences requiſite to form an accompliſhed ſeaman, or a general trader; and, having heard much of Columbus's expedition, he addreſſed himſelf to the king, with propoſals for making like diſcoveries, in caſe he met with due encouragement.

His offer was readily accepted; and the king, by letters-patent dated March the fifth, in the eleventh year of his reign, granted to him, by the name of John Cabot citizen of Venice, and to his three ſons, Lewis, Sebaſtian, and Sanctius, leave to diſcover unknown lands, and to conquer and ſettle them, with many privileges, reſerving only to himſelf one fifth part of the

[p] Libel of Engliſh polity in keeping the narrow ſea, chap. vii——ix. Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 442, 443. P. Charlevoix, hiſtoire de la Nouvelle France, tome i. p. 4. [q] Petri Martyris ab Angleria ne novo orbe, dec. iii. lib. vi. Lopez de Gomara hiſtoria general de las Indias, lib. ii. c. iv. Navigationi et Viaggi raccolti da M. Gio. Batt. Ramuſio, tome iii. in proemio.

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neat profits, and with this ſingle reſtraint, that the ſhips they fitted out ſhould be obliged to return to the port of Briſtol[r]. Though theſe letters-patent were granted in 1495, yet it was the next year before they proceeded to ſet out any ſhips; and then John Cabot had a permiſſion from the king to take ſix Engliſh ſhips in any haven of the realm, of the burden of 200 tons and under, with as many mariners as ſhould be willing to go with him[s].

In conſequence of this licenſe, the king at his own expence cauſed a ſhip to be equipped at Briſtol: to this the merchants of that city and of London added three or four ſmall-veſſels, freighted with proper commodities; which fleet ſailed in the ſpring of the year 1497[t]. Our old chronicle-writers, particularly Fabian[u], tell us of a very rich iſland which John Cabot promiſed to diſcover; but in this they ſeem to miſtake the matter for want of thoroughly underſtanding the ſubject of which they were writing. John Cabot was too wiſe a man to pretend to know, before he ſaw it, what country he ſhould diſcover, whether iſland or continent; but what he propoſed was, to find a north-weſt paſſage to the Indies: ſo that he appears to have reaſoned in the ſame manner that Columbus did, who imagined that, as the Portugueſe by ſailing eaſt came to the weſt coaſt of the Indies, ſo he by ſailing weſt might reach their oppoſite ſhore. This, with his diſcovering the iſland of Baccaloes, or Newfoundland, was certainly the ſource of this ſtory.

John Cabot, having his ſon Sebaſtian with him, ſailed happily on their north-weſt courſe till the 24th of June, 1497, about five in the morning, when they firſt diſcovered land, which John Cabot for that reaſon called *Prima Viſta*, that is, firſt ſeen. Another iſland, leſs than the firſt, he ſtyled the iſland of St. John, becauſe it was found on the feaſt of St. John Baptiſt. He afterwards ſailed down to Cape Florida, and then returned with a good cargo, and three ſavages on board, into England, where it ſeems he was knighted for this exploit, ſince on the map of his diſcoveries, drawn by his ſon Sebaſtian,

[r] Rymer's fœdera, tome xii. p. 595. Hakluyt's collection of voyages, tome iii. p. 4. [s] Ibid. p. 5. [t] Fabian's chronicle, as hereafter cited. [u] Ibid. Stowe.

and cut by Clement Adams, which hung in the privy gallery at Whitehall, there was this inſcription under the author's picture; *Effigies Sch. Caboti Angli, filii Jo. Caboti Venetiani, militis aurati, &c.* [w]

This was a very important diſcovery, ſince, in truth, it was the firſt time the continent of America had been ſeen, Columbus being unacquainted therewith till his laſt voyage, which was the year following, when he coaſted along a part of the iſthmus of Darien. It is ſomewhat ſtrange, that our Engliſh writers have delivered theſe matters ſo confuſedly, eſpecially ſuch as lived under the reigns of Queen Eliſabeth and King James I. and conſequently in and near the time of his ſon; yet ſo inaccurate are their relations, that ſome have been induced from thence to doubt, whether John Cabot made any diſcoveries at all [x]. The reverend Mr. Samuel Purchas, to whoſe labours the world is ſo much indebted, diſcovers a good deal of diſtaſte that America ſhould be ſo called from Americus Veſputius, and aſſerts, that it ought rather to be called Cabotiana or Sebaſtiana, becauſe, ſays he, Sebaſtian Cabot diſcovered more of it than Americus, or Columbus himſelf [y]. In Stowe [z] and ſpeed [a] we find this very diſcovery aſcribed wholly to Sebaſtian, without any mention of his father; and yet in Fabian's chronicle, who lived in thoſe days, we have theſe two remarkable paſſages:

"In the thirteenth year of King Henry VII. (by means of "one John Cabot a Venetian, which made himſelf very ex- "pert and cunning in the knowledge of the circuit of the "world, and iſlands of the ſame, as by a ſea-card, and other "demonſtrations reaſonable, he ſhewed), the king cauſed to "man and victual a ſhip at Briſtol, to ſearch for an iſland, "which he ſaid he knew well was rich, and repleniſhed with "great commodities; which ſhip, thus manned and victualled "at the king's coſt, diverſe merchants of London ventured in "her ſmall ſtocks, being in her as chief patron the ſaid Vene- "tian. And, in the company of the ſaid ſhip, ſailed alſo out

[w] Hakluyt's voyages, vol. iii. p. 6. Purchas's pilgrims, vol. iii. p. 461, 807.
[x] Lediard's naval hiſtory, vol. i. p. 86. [y] Pilgrimage, p. 602.
[z] Annals, p. 480. [a] Chronicle, p. 744.

" of Briſtol three or four ſmall ſhips, freighted with ſlight " and groſs merchandizes, as coarſe cloth, caps, laces, points, " and other trifles; and ſo departed from Briſtol in the be- " ginning of May, of whom in this mayor's time returned no " tidings."

Under the fourteenth year of the ſame king's reign he tells us, " There were brought unto him," *i. e.* Henry VII. " three " men taken in the new-found iſland; theſe, ſays he, were " clothed in beaſts ſkins, and did eat raw fleſh, and ſpake " ſuch ſpeech that no man could underſtand them, and in their " demeanor like brute-beaſts, whom the king kept a time after; " of the which, about two years after, I ſaw two apparelled " after the manner of Engliſhmen in Weſtminſter-palace, which " at that time I could not diſcern from Engliſhmen, till I was " learned what they were; but, as for ſpeech, I heard none of " them utter one word."

Thus it appears from the beſt authority that can be deſired, that of a contemporary writer, this diſcovery was made by Sir John Cabot, the father of Sebaſtian: and indeed ſo much we might have gathered, if we had wanted this authority; for Sebaſtian Cabot being, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, alive in 1557, it is plain, that, at the time this voyage was made, he could not be above twenty years old, when, though he might accompany his father, yet certainly he was too young to undertake ſuch an expedition himſelf[b]. It is probable that John Cabot died in England, but when or where is uncertain, at leaſt for any thing I have read.

There is indeed another account of this affair, which ſuppoſes, that Sir John Cabot, with his ſon Sebaſtian, ſailed for the diſcovery of a north-weſt paſſage, before this expedition, by the royal authority, and that in this voyage they had ſight of the iſland which was afterwards called Newfoundland. To this opinion I ſhould alſo incline, if it could be clearly reconciled to the authorities which have been produced, and conſidered with

[b] This detail has been collected from Mr. Thorne of Briſtol's letter to Dr. Leigh; which Mr. Thorne was the ſon of the merchant of Briſtol, who, in conjunction with Mr. Elliot, fitted out the Cabots; as alſo from Sebaſtian Cabot's own accounts, and from the remarks of Hakluyt, Eden, and Purchas.

this

the greateſt attention. At all events, which ever be the true account, this man, Sir John Cabot, was the original diſcoverer; of which honour he ought not to be deſpoiled even by his ſon, of whom we ſhall alſo give ſome memoirs in their proper place. At preſent we will conclude with remarking, that the offer of Chriſtopher Columbus, the favour ſhewn to his brother Bartholomew, and the encouragement given to Sir John Cabot and his family, do the higheſt honour to the memory of Henry VII. and fix the revival of our commercial ſpirit to his reign.

LIVES

LIVES
OF THE
ADMIRALS:
INCLUDING A NEW AND ACCURATE
NAVAL HISTORY.

CHAP. IX.

The Naval Hiſtory of the reign of Henry VIII. including the memoirs of ſuch eminent ſea-officers as flouriſhed therein.

THERE never was, in any period, a prince who aſcended the Engliſh throne, of whom his ſubjects formed greater hopes than thoſe that were entertained of Henry VIII. at his acceſſion. He was then about eighteen years old, of ſtrong natural parts, heightened by an excellent education: and though he afterwards diſcovered a good deal of obſtinacy in his temper, yet in the dawn of his reign he ſhewed himſelf very inclinable to liſten to good advice; and his father left him as able counſellors as perhaps any monarch ever had about him. His firſt acts were conformable to his ſubjects hopes: he delivered ſuch as his father unjuſtly kept in confinement; and in their ſtead Empſon, Dudley, and their creatures, were impriſoned[a]. Yet

[a] Fabian, p. 538. Hall, fol. 1. Grafton, p. 951. Stowe, p. 487. Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 799. Cooper. Godwin's annals, p. 1—5. Life of this prince by Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury in the complete hiſtory of England, vol. ii. Bp. Burnet in his hiſtory of the reformation, vol. i. and the reſt of our celebrated hiſtorians.

even

even theſe were not deſtroyed, as ſome have ſuggeſted, by a haſty and rigorous proſecution, but were left to the ordinary courſe, and after that, as they deſerved, to the due ſeverity of the law, their great knowledge in which they had ſo flagrantly abuſed to the ruin of others[b]. Dudley, during his confinement in the Tower, compoſed a very extraordinary book, entitled, The Tree of the Commonwealth, wherein he ſhewed a prodigious capacity as a ſtateſman, and from which (though for ought I know it was never publiſhed) many peſtiferous ſchemes have taken their riſe, his family having held the reins of government here for near half a century. In other reſpects the king ſhewed himſelf a very gracious prince, having a like ſenſe of his own dignity, and of his duty towards his people.

In the year 1511 the king of Arragon and Caſtile demanded aſſiſtance againſt the Moors; whereupon King Henry, who was deſirous of maintaining to the utmoſt the glory of the Engliſh nation, ſent him 1500 archers under the command of Sir Thomas Darcy, with whom went abundance of gentlemen, of the beſt families of the kingdom, volunteers. They ſailed from Plymouth, eſcorted by a ſquadron of four royal ſhips, and landed happily on the firſt of June in the ſouth of Spain: but the politic king, who wanted nothing more than their appearance to bring his enemies to terms, inſtead of employing, diſmiſſed them with a few preſents, and ſo they returned into England, without encountering any other hazards than thoſe of the ſea[c]. The ſame year the king ſent a like aid to the dutcheſs of Burgundy under the command of Sir Edward Poynings, which met with better ſucceſs; for, after having anſwered effectually the ends for which they were ſent, they returned with ſmall loſs, and much honour, to their native country[d].

Notwithſtanding what had ſo lately happened in Spain, the artful Ferdinand, by the aſſiſtance of the pope, who cajoled

b See a very ſenſible and pathetic ſpeech of Sir Richard Empſon to the lords of the council, on his being called before them on April 23, 1509, in Lord Herbert of Cherbury's life of Henry VIII. p. 3. not wrote for him by that nobleman, as ſome imagine, the ſubſtance of it having long before appeared in our old chronicles, ſuch as Grafton, p. 932. Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 803. See this caſe at large in Anderſon's reports, p. i. p. 152—158. c Hall, fol. 11. Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 808. Ferrera's hiſt. de Eſpan. p. xii. § 18. d Grafton's chronicle, p. 958. Stowe, p. 488. Cooper, fol. 274.

King

King Henry with fair words and fine promiſes, drew him to make war on France, in hopes of recovering the dominions of his anceſtors. With this view King Henry was perſuaded to ſend a numerous army, under the command of the marquis of Dorſet, by ſea into Biſcay, in order to penetrate that way into the dutchy of Guyenne: this expedition had worſe conſequences than the former, Ferdinand never intending that theſe troops ſhould act againſt the French, but, by their remaining for ſome time in his country, ſought an opportunity of over-running Navarre, to which he had no title, while the French, awed by the Engliſh army, durſt not move to its aſſiſtance. But, during the time he made this conqueſt, ſickneſs deſtroyed numbers of the Engliſh; ſo that, ſhortly after, they were conſtrained to return [e]. In Auguſt, the ſame year, there happened a bloody engagement between the Engliſh and French fleets, of which we ſhall give the reader, hereafter, a diſtinct account; and the Sovereign, the largeſt ſhip in the Engliſh navy, being burnt therein, the king built another of ſtill greater burden, called Henry Grace de Dieu [f]. In the month of March 1513 another royal fleet put to ſea, which engaging the French on the 25th of April, the admiral was killed; which loſs was ſoon repaired, and the French driven to take ſhelter in their ports [g]. In Auguſt the king went in perſon with a great army into France, where he made ſome conqueſts, while his admiral ſpoiled the French coaſts, as he alſo did the next year; ſo that the French king was glad to obtain peace; upon the concluſion of which he married Mary, who was ſiſter to our King Henry, but did not long outlive his marriage [h].

Francis I. ſucceeded him, between whom and the Emperor Maximilian King Henry kept as even as he could, ſometimes aſſiſting the emperor, and ſometimes ſeeming to favour the French king, who prevailed on him in 1520 to paſs over to Calais, in order to have an interview with him; and it followed according-

[e] Gabriel Chappuy, hiſtoire du royaume de Navarre, p. 620. Marianæ hiſtoria de rebus Hiſpaniæ, lib. xxx. p. 583. Hall, fol. 17. [f] Grafton, p. 970. Stowe, p. 490. Herbert. [g] Hall, fol. 23. Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 816. Godwin's annals, p. 12. [h] H. Velleii in Gaguini appendix, p. 321—323. Dupleix, tome iii. p. 262——265. Rymer's fœdera, tome xiii. p. 413——423. Grafton. Stowe, p. 495, 496.

ly, between the towns of Ardres and Guines. Our hiſtorians give us long deſcriptions of the pomp and ſplendour which accompanied this meeting; but a ſhort paſſage in a French writer ſeems to me better worth tranſcribing than any thing they have ſaid. He tells us, that at this interview King Henry cauſed an Engliſh archer to be embroidered on his tent, with this ſentence under him; *Cui adhæreo præeſt; i. e.* "He ſhall prevail, with "whom I ſide;" which, ſays the judicious hiſtorian, was not only his motto, but his practice as long as he lived [i]. In 1522 there aroſe new differences between this monarch and the French king, which were not a little heightened by the coming of the Emperor Charles V. who paid great court to Henry, and perſuaded him to ſend over a numerous army into France, which he did ſhortly after under the command of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, who wrought the French infinite miſchief, without doing his country much good. During this war, the emperor's fleet acted in conjunction with the Engliſh, whereby the French were driven to great diſtreſs, and the Scots, being engaged in their intereſt, ſuffered alſo very ſeverely: but when the king evidently ſaw, that by his aſſiſtance the Emperor Charles was become too powerful, and affected to manage all the affairs of Europe at his will, he wiſely withdrew his auxiliaries, and purſued ſuch a conduct as ſeemed moſt likely to reſtore the balance of power [k].

In 1526 a peace was concluded with the French king upon very advantageous terms, and ſoon after Cardinal Wolſey went over into France, and had a conference with that prince. Thenceforward the king's thoughts were much taken up with his domeſtic affairs, and with alterations in religion; ſo that, except ſome diſputes with Scotland, wherein their king received ſuch a check as broke his heart [l], there happened nothing material till the year 1544, when King Henry joined once more with the emperor againſt the French; whereupon Sir John Wallop was ſent into France, and a conſiderable force marched into Scotland under the earl of Hertford, Sir John Dudley, Viſcount Liſle, waſting the coaſts in the mean time with a great

[i] Abregé de l'hiſtoire de France par Mezeray, tom. iv. p. 494. [k] Hall, Herbert, Godwin, Dupleix. [l] Grafton, p. 1143. Corps diplomatique, tom. iv. p. i. 458. Buchanan, lib. xiv. p. 475, 476.

fleet.

fleet [m]. In the midſt of the ſummer, the duke of Suffolk entered the French dominions with a great army, and laid ſiege to Bologne, which was alſo blocked up at ſea by the admiral Viſcount Liſle, who, after the place was taken, was conſtituted governor thereof, the king and his forces paſſing from thence into England [n]. The next year the French fleet made ſeveral attempts on the Engliſh coaſt with indifferent ſucceſs; to revenge which, the Viſcount Liſle landed in Normandy, and burnt all the adjacent country [o].

In 1546 the French made an unſucceſsful attempt upon Bologne, the earl of Hertford, and Viſcount Liſle, having obliged them either to come to a battle or to raiſe the ſiege: they choſe the latter; and after ſome other attempts at ſea, which were unſucceſsful, a peace enſued, which laſted as long as the king lived [p], he deceaſing in the night of the twenty-eight of January following [q], 1546-47, in the fifty-ſixth year of his age, and the thirty-eighth of his reign [r], exceedingly regretted by the bulk of his ſubjects, many of whom celebrated his praiſes afterwards in their learned writings; ſuch as our famous antiquary John Leland, Sir Richard Moriſon, Sir Thomas Chaloner, Becon in his preface to his Policy of war, Udal in his preface to Eraſmus's Paraphraſe on the New Teſtament, and many others. Neither are foreigners wanting in paying a proper tribute of reſpect to the memory of this prince, a few of whom we ſhall remark at the bottom of the page [s].

The principal events only of this monarch's adminiſtration, and thoſe too but very ſuccinctly, have been touched here, to avoid repeating again the ſame things, in the memoirs of thoſe eminent ſea-officers who flouriſhed in his reign; but before we come to theſe, it may not be amiſs to ſpeak ſomewhat as to the merit of this prince, in having a ſpecial and very commendable regard to the grandeur, ſecurity, and proſperity of his domi-

[m] Stowe, p. 585. Speed, p. 782. Leſlei de rebus geſtis Scotorum, lib. x. p. 472. [n] Hall, fol. 258. b. Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 964. Godwin's annals, p. 190. [o] Dupleix. tom. iii. Mezeray, tom. iv. p. 633. Grafton, p. 1276. [p] Commentaires de Montluc, tom. i. p. 237. Memoires du Bellay, liv. x. Hall, fol. 260. Corps diplomatique, tom. iv. p. ii. p. 305. [q] Hall, fol. 263. Grafton, p. 1282. Stowe, p. 593. Speed, p. 784. Godwin, p. 207. Burnet in his hiſtory of the reformation, vol. ii. p. 350. [r] Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 973. [s] Thuan. hiſt. lib. iii. § 2. Du Cheſne, hiſt. Angl. liv. xix. P. Jovius in elog. l. vi.

nions; his attention to merchants, diſcoverers, and others, who aimed at public utility, in different manners; as alſo, to make ſome ſhort remarks upon thoſe acts of his government, for which he has been both generally and ſeverely cenſured. What I ſhall offer on theſe heads, I have collected, by a diligent peruſal of the ſtatutes paſſed in, and the public acts of his time, which are ſtill remaining; charters of cities, towns, and corporations; the ſolemn aſſertions of intelligent contemporary writers, and other authentic evidences on which the reader may depend, in regard to the facts.

It was to this great monarch we owed the deliverance of this realm from the temporal as well as ſpiritual dominion of the papal ſee, which, at this time, drew half a million *per annum* from hence. He added the titles of Defender of the Faith, and King of Ireland, to the crown, which he made ſupreme in all cauſes, eccleſiaſtical as well as civil. Scotland he humbled to the duſt, and built the ſtrong citadel of Carliſle, to keep the Scots in awe. Other kings had poſſeſſed Wales; he reduced it into order, civilized the people, and with the appellation gave them all the privileges of Engliſh ſubjects. He improved on the act which his father obtained, for giving a ſanction to the Star-chamber, by cauſing its decrees to be inſerted into ſtatutes. He, by authority of parliament, framed a court of wards, and a court of augmentations. He reduced into a conſiſtent regularity almoſt every branch of our domeſtic policy. By an act of parliament the pay and puniſhment of ſoldiers was ſettled, which in effect was the firſt act againſt mutiny and deſertion. By his prerogative, and at his own expence, he laid the foundation, and ſettled the conſtitution of the preſent royal navy. But, notwithſtanding theſe additional forces, he kept up a martial ſpirit amongſt, by putting arms into the hands of all his ſubjects, exacting alſo the legal ſervices of the ſea-towns and cinque-ports. He was at great pains to repreſs the humour of preferring grazing to tillage, which ſpread as well as continued that depopulation, by which it was introduced. He took care that proviſions ſhould be both plentiful and cheap. He made laws for the planting and preſervation of timber. He cauſed ſo much of Hounſlow heath as belonged to him to be leaſed and improved. Several good laws were made in his time for procu-

ring

ring and maintaining a breed of ſound, well-ſized, and ſerviceable horſes. The poor had a legal maintenance aſſigned them. Power was given to magiſtrates to ſet idle people to work, and vagabonds, eſpecially gypſies, were ſeverely puniſhed. Moſt of the defects, which were many, in reſpect to laws againſt murder, were removed. The manner of proceeding againſt pirates was ſettled. For the common benefit of the ſubject, the making and the maintaining high-ways and bridges was adjuſted by ſtatute. Watermen were regulated; deeds of bargain and ſale were directed to be enrolled; the ſecurity of property was enlarged by the acts reſpecting wills and teſtaments; uſury was reſtrained, and legal intereſt fixed at ten *per cent.*, which, though a high rate to us, was far below what the Jews in former, and the Italians in theſe times exacted.

The laws made in his time, for the faciliating and ſupport of inland navigation, clearly demonſtrate, that the importance of large rivers began to be underſtood, and eſteemed more than during the civil wars, when public welfare gave way to private intereſt. The Thames, the Ouſe, the Exe, the rivers of Southampton, the Severn, *&c.* were freed from wears, and other obſtructions: on the ſame principal an act paſſed for rendering the river of Canterbury deeper, in order to its becoming navigable. The illegal tolls, and other oppreſſive duties on the Severn, were ſuppreſſed, that the great communication, by that noble river, might be as free as poſſible. The making of cables, and other hempen manufactures, which had been the principal ſtay of Bridport in Dorſetſhire, was ſecured to that place by ſtatute. More than one law was paſſed to prevent the harbours in Devonſhire and Cornwall from being injured and choaked up by the ſtream-works of the tin-mines. An act was alſo paſſed in favour of the port of Scarborough; and with regard to Dover, the haven being in a manner ſpoiled, the king expended between ſixty and ſeventy thouſand pounds, out of his own coffers, in building a new pier, and other neceſſary works. Some favours he likewiſe granted, out of conſideration to their harbour, unto the inhabitants of Pool. But not to dwell upon a ſubject that might employ a volume, let us barely mention his founding the two royal yards of Woolwich and Deptford, the cradles of Britain's naval power; and his founding at the latter

his

his noble marine guild, or fraternity of the Trinity, denominated from thence of Deptford ſtrond. Theſe were manifeſt proofs of his acquaintance with, and attention to, the real and eſſential intereſts of his ſubjects. It may indeed be ſaid, that many of theſe, being acts of the legiſlature, ought not therefore to be aſcribed ſingly to this prince; which, in regard to any other reign, would be a good objection. But though, in ſuch matters, parliaments in other times did what they pleaſed, almoſt without the king, yet Henry did what he pleaſed with, and parliament ſtudied to pleaſe him. Other hiſtories will ſhew, and very truly too, what evils flowed from this ſource. It is my felicity to have no concern, but to prove, that ſome good things came likewiſe through this channel, which is certainly a point of juſtice to do, if I had abilities to perform it.

He was likewiſe very ſolicitous in providing for the ſecurity of his dominions, that whatever ſhare he thought fit to take in the affairs of the continent, his crown might be at all times ſafe, and the public tranquillity in no danger. His militia and his navy were always ready for ſervice; but to give them leiſure to arrive, he covered all his havens with fortreſſes. Guines, for the protection of Calais, he rendered impregnable, and made Bologne ſtrong enough to reſiſt all the force of France. He conſtructed a ſtrong caſtle on the iſle of Portland, and built another at Hurſt, to guard Southampton and the adjacent coaſts; the two forts called Cowes for the guard of the iſle of Wight; Camber caſtle to defend Winchelſea and Rye; as South-ſea caſtle was erected to ſecure Portſmouth; Sandgate, Walmer, Deal, and Sandown caſtles, were all raiſed by him to preſerve the cinque-ports; as was that of Queenborough to cover the other ſide of Kent. Nor did he overlook or neglect the more diſtant parts of this iſland, as the ſtrong and coſtly caſtles of Pendennis and St. Maws in Cornwall clearly witneſs. We may think the leſs of theſe fortifications, by ſeeing moſt of them ſinking into ruins, being ſuffered, through neglect, to moulder and decay; but they were once works of wonder for all that, coſt Henry immenſe ſums, and in his own days were both uſeful and honourable, whatever, through a change of circumſtances, they may be now. He was magnificent in his palaces, ſuch as Bridewell and Whitehall, here in his capital; Beaulieu in Eſſex,

Noneſuch

Noneſuch in Surrey, Chelſea and Hampton-court in Middleſex, Dartford and Greenwich in Kent, and Windſor caſtle in Berks, which he much improved. Theſe buildings were expenſive, encouraged artiſts, gave employment to multitudes, and, by the king's example, ſpread a ſpirit of this ſort over all England, as Leland, and other contemporary writers remark, and praiſe him for it exceedingly; and of what paſſed in their own times, we cannot be ſo good judges as they, in reſpect to the ſafety thoſe fortreſſes procured, or the good effects which the king's taſte in building and other polite arts produced.

Though dreaded by his clergy, and little beloved by the old nobility, Henry was revered by the gentry, whom he employed and advanced, and had the affections of the commons, to whom he was kind. He made laws for regulating meaſures, for improving the woollen and worſted manufactures, and for preventing frauds in pewter, by which exportation was prevented. He was an enemy to monopolies, and to the oppreſſion of incorporated companies, whom he reſtrained from making bye-laws, but with the aſſent of the chief juſtices. He cauſed the fees of apprentices, at being bound and made free, to be fixed by a ſtatute; and alſo declared bonds taken by maſters from their apprentices, that when they had ſerved their times they would not ſet up their reſpective crafts, to be void. In reſpect to foreigners exerciſing trades, of which, in thoſe days, there were in London many thouſands, which occaſioned much heart-burning, many tumults, and one great inſurrection; he directed a ſtrict inquiry in the Star-chamber, and then converted the decree made there into a law, by authority of parliament. As this has been liable to miſinterpretation, as a meaſure deſtructive to induſtry, it may be proper to ſet it in a true light. Theſe ſtrangers took no Engliſh apprentices or ſervants, they underſold by debaſing wares, they did not bear a ſhare in taxes or public ſervices, they affected to live in communities, and to hold meetings for ſupporting their intereſts againſt the natives; and when they were grown rich by theſe and ſuch like arts, they went home with their wealth, and left their nephews or ſervants here, in poſſeſſion of their trades. All the hardſhips put upon them by the king's law was, to ſet them on a level, in all theſe reſpects, with his own ſubjects. He was alſo a lover of

learned

learned men, and an encourager of learned profeſſions. He founded the royal college of phyſicians, granted them extenſive privileges by charter, which was ſupported by a ſtatute; and he, in like manner, exempted ſurgeons from being on juries, or ſerving offices, as being, in its conſequences, detrimental to ſociety. He invited over Hans Holbein, and other ingenious foreigners, rewarded them liberally, and encouraged all new inventions, of which, if we had room, we could give a conſiderable catalogue, that were introduced under his auſpice, or at leaſt during his reign; which, having laſted almoſt thirty-eight years, muſt have brought in manners, as we ſhall ſee it actually did, that had a very ſtrong effect upon the fortune and condition of the nation.

Mr. Robert Thorne, a merchant of Briſtol, in the year 1527, addreſſed himſelf to the king by a letter, wherein he repreſented what great advantages the emperor and the king of Portugal drew from their colonies, and, in a very pathetic ſtrain, exhorted him to undertake diſcoveries towards the north, concerning which he gave many hints, ſupported by very plauſible reaſons[t]. The king underſtanding that this gentleman had great experience, as well as a very penetrating judgment, yielded to his requeſt, and ordered two ſhips to be well manned and victualled for this expedition, of which Mr. Thorne himſelf had the direction. The iſſue, however, of this voyage, is very uncertainly recorded; all we know of it is, that one of the ſhips employed therein was loſt, and that the other returned home without diſcovering any north-weſt paſſage, though certainly no care or pains were wanting in ſuch as were concerned. Mr. Thorne, the principal undertaker, lived to be afterwards mayor of Briſtol, and dying in a good old age, with a very fair reputation, lies buried in the Temple church[u].

In 1530 Mr. William Hawkins of Plymouth, father of the famous Sir John Hawkins, Knt. and himſelf eſteemed one of

[t] Hakluyt's voyages, vol. i. p. 212.

[u] Hall, fol. 158. b. Herbert's hiſt. of Hen. VIII. in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 85. Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 129. 212. Purchas's pilgrims, vol. iii. p. 806—809. Weever's funeral monuments, p. 443. Though Fuller in his worthies, under Briſtol, p. 36, ſpeaking of the great beneficence of this truly eminent and worthy perſon, intimates, that he lies buried in St. Chriſtopher's, near the Exchange, London.

the ableſt ſeamen of his time, fitted out a ſtout tall ſhip, ſays my author, at his own expence, called the Paul of Plymouth, of the burden of two hundred and fifty tons, in which he made three voyages to the coaſt of Braſil, touching alſo on the coaſt of Guinea, where he traded in ſlaves, gold, and elephants teeth, opening thereby the channel of that rich and extenſive commerce, which has been ſince carried on in thoſe parts [w].

Leſs ſucceſsful, though undertaken with greater hopes, was the famous voyage of Mr. Hore of London, a worthy merchant, and one of the moſt remarkable men of his time. His perſon was tall and graceful, his knowledge ſolid and extenſive, his behaviour inſinuating and polite; all which is neceſſary to be obſerved; ſince, by his diſcourſes on the honour and profit of diſcoveries in North America, he inſpired no leſs than thirty gentlemen, of family and fortune, with a deſire of ſharing in the fatigues of his intended voyage [x]. They equipped two ſhips, one called the Trinity, of one hundred and forty tons, commanded by Mr. Hore, the other the Minion, of leſs burden; and on board theſe there embarked, in all, one hundred and twenty perſons.

They ſailed from Graveſend on the thirtieth of April, 1536, and, without any remarkable accident, arrived on the coaſts of Newfoundland, where, while they were intent on diſcoveries, they were reduced to ſuch diſtreſs for want of food, that ſome of them when on ſhore killed and ate their companions. At laſt, when they were on the point of being all ſtarved, a French ſhip arrived, well furniſhed with proviſions, of which they made themſelves maſters, and returned therein to England, but in ſuch a miſerable condition, though they were not out above ſeven months, that Sir William Butts and his lady did not know their own ſon, who was one of the company, but by an extraordinary wart on his knee. Some months after arrived the Frenchmen whom they had ſpoiled, and made a great clamour at court about the wrongs they had received; into which King Henry having made a ſtrict inquiry, he was ſo much moved at the miſeries theſe brave men had ſuffered, that he generouſly repaid the French to their ſatisfaction out of the treaſury, and promoted ſeveral of thoſe who returned from this diſaſtrous voyage;

[w] Hakluyt's voyages, vol. iii. p. 700.

[x] Ibid. p. 704.

amongſt the reſt Mr. Armigal Wade, who was many years after clerk of the council to himſelf and his ſon Edward VI.[y]. One thing more I muſt remark before I quit this ſubject, and that is, that the reverend Mr. Hakluyt, from whom we have theſe particulars, rode two hundred miles, in order to take them from the mouth of Mr. Butts, the only ſurviving perſon of thoſe who had made this voyage[z].

The Engliſh commerce, during the reign of this prince, extended itſelf very much, eſpecially towards the new-diſcovered lands in the north, to which by degrees a regular trade was fixed, and in the Levant encouraged by the great intercourſe between the king and the two maritime ſtates of Italy, Venice and Genoa. In proof of this I will give the title of a patent granted by this monarch to a Genoeſe, to execute the office of a conſul of the Engliſh nation in the iſle of Chio, the original of which is ſtill preſerved in the library of the ſociety for propagating Chriſtian knowledge. It runs thus: "Exemplar: literarum pat. "Henrici regis octavi, in quibus conceſſit Benedicto Juſtiniani "mercatori genuenſi, officium ſive locum magiſtri protectoris, "ſive conſulis; infra inſulam ſive civitatem de Scio. Teſte "rege apud Chelſehith, quinto die Octobris reg. XXIII."

It ſeems, indeed, to have been the king's maxim, as may be gathered from the ſtate-papers of his reign which have reached our times, to have made uſe of all his foreign negotiations for the furtherance of trade, to which his agents Ley and Pace, the former employed in Spain, and the latter to Venice and the Swiſs cantons, had a ſtrong inclination. As to Pace, he had formed a plan for enlarging our foreign trade into the Turkiſh dominions, which was hindered from coming to the king's notice by the arts of Cardinal Wolſey, who firſt decried him as a madman, and then by his ill uſage made him really ſuch[a].

After doing, as indeed it was our duty to do, juſtice to this monarch's intentions, which, with reſpect to foreign affairs, were always what they ought to be; that is, he meant to preſerve the independency of the ſovereigns of Europe, and make himſelf the umpire of their differences; we muſt next, in juſtice to our ſub-

[y] Hakluyt's voyages, vol. iii. p. 130. [z] Ibid. p. 131.

[a] Strype's memorials, vol. i. in the appendix, Herbert, Burnet, Wood's Athen. Oxonienſis, vol. i. col. 29.

ject,

ject, ſay ſomewhat of the conſequences that attended his interfering ſo much as he did with the affairs of the continent, and of the high price he paid for that reputation which he attained. But, previous to this, let it be obſerved, that ſuch as have cenſured him for changing ſides, as the hiſtory of his reign plainly ſhews he did, are in the wrong to aſcribe it to the inconſtancy of his temper, ſince, as that learned antiquary Sir Robert Cotton truly obſerves [b], it ought rather to be placed to the account of his allies.

When the Emperor Maximilian entered into a league with this monarch, he promiſed to aſſiſt in perſon, to recover for him the crown of France, and to repel the tyrannical king who then wore that crown; he promiſed likewiſe the dutchy of Milan to him and his heirs-male, to be held as a fief of the empire; and, as if this had not been enough, he likewiſe aſſured him the reverſion of the imperial crown, and the Roman empire. But, when he had ſerved his turn, he left King Henry to ſerve himſelf how he could. Yet this uſage did not hinder him from entering into a confederacy with Charles V. who fed him with the hopes, that, when by their joint ſupport the conſtable of Bourbon ſhould be put into poſſeſſion of the kingdom of France, he ſhould do homage for it to King Henry; yet afterwards, through his aſſiſtance, their affairs being in a proſperous condition, and the French king in the greateſt diſtreſs, when Mr. Pace, the king of England's ambaſſador, deſired farther aſſurances, they were plainly refuſed: ſo that, to break with ſuch allies as theſe, ought not to draw any imputation upon his character.

The times in which he lived, and the temper of thoſe princes with whom he had to deal, may furniſh ſome excuſe for his conduct; and perhaps the ſecret engagements of his miniſters, by the means of penſions or promiſes from foreign powers, might, if they could be thoroughly expoſed, juſtify the king ſtill farther, by proving, that he was miſled in thoſe meaſures which induced him to take ſuch ſteps for maintaining his intereſt and grandeur abroad, as deeply diſtreſſed and impoveriſhed his ſubjects here at home.

[b] In his diſcourſe of foreign war, London, 1690, 8vo, p. 90.

That immenſe treaſure his father left behind him was quickly conſumed in the great expeditions he undertook, in the tranſporting vaſt armies to the continent, the maintaining them in the field and in garriſons, and the high ſubſidies granted to his allies, while he was fighting all the time in other men's quarrels, and got little or nothing, at leaſt that was worth keeping, for himſelf. When all that maſs of money was gone, he demanded and received ſuch aſſiſtance from his parliament as none of his predeceſſors had obtained. To all this they added that prodigious grant of the eſtates of all the religious houſes in this realm, which at that time amounted to 150,000 pounds *per annum*, and which were veſted in the crown for ever. Beſides theſe legal impoſitions, this king acquired no ſmall ſum by methods which had no better ſupport than the ſtretch of his prerogative; to mention only a few;

In the fourteenth year of his reign he had a loan of ten *per cent.* out of the perſonal eſtate of ſuch of his ſubjects as were worth from twenty to 300 pounds, and twenty marks from ſuch as were worth more. This indeed was only borrowed, and they had privy ſeals for their money; but the parliament kindly interpoſed four years after, and releaſed his Majeſty from the obligation of paying ſo much as a farthing of thoſe debts. Neither muſt it be forgot, that in collecting this loan, the value of every man's eſtate was put upon his oath; ſo that every ſubject was in jeopardy either of poverty or perjury.

In the ſeventeenth year of his reign he had another great loan, in which an oath of ſecrecy was adminiſtered to the commiſſioners, and they were impowered to tender the like oath to ſuch as came before them: though this was ſtyled an amicable grant, yet the commiſſioners, to quicken men in their offers, threatened them with impriſonment of their perſons, and confiſcation of their eſtates. In the thirty-ſixth year of his reign he demanded and received a loan of eightpence in the pound of ſuch perſons as were worth from forty ſhillings to twenty pounds, and one ſhilling in the pound from ſuch as were worth more. By which it appears, that as he fell early into neceſſity, notwithſtanding the rich exchequer that he came to, ſo he was not long out of neceſſity, after that prodigious acceſſion to the royal revenue made by the confiſcation, before mentioned, of the abbey-lands.

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The worſt of all was, that, when he found himſelf preſſed for money, he took the moſt detrimental way of raiſing it, which was that of practiſing upon his coin. It may, however, ſeem doubtful, whether the alteration he made in the firſt year of his reign was with this view. He did indeed coin forty-five ſhillings out of a pound of ſilver, by which he raiſed that metal to three ſhillings and ninepence an ounce: but, as the ſtandard was not altered, it is not at all improbable that the motives upon which he made this alteration might be honourable enough. But, in the latter end of his reign, his conduct in this reſpect became inexcuſeable, becauſe highly detrimental to his people.

The firſt ſtroke of this bad policy was in the thirty-fourth year of his reign, when he not only divided the pound into forty-eight ſhillings, by which, if the coin had remained in its former purity, ſilver would have been raiſed to four ſhillings an ounce, but added alſo two ounces of baſe metal in the pound, inſtead of eighteen pennyweight, which raiſed it ninepence halfpenny an ounce more. Not contented with this, in the thirty-ſixth year of his reign, he coined money that was but half ſilver; and though ſome of the chronicles of thoſe times ſay, that by this he raiſed it to four ſhillings an ounce, yet in fact he brought it up to eight ſhillings. In the next year he gave the finiſhing ſtroke, by coining money that had but four ounces of ſilver in the pound weight; ſo that ſilver was then at twelve ſhillings an ounce, the conſequence of which was, that, after his death, his ſhilling fell to ninepence, and afterwards to ſixpence; that is, people would take them for no more.

It is to be obſerved, that the greateſt part of this money was coined into teſtons, which, though they were never called ſhillings, yet paſſed in his time for twelvepence: they are ſaid to have been of braſs, covered with ſilver; and theſe were the pieces that fell firſt to ninepence, and then to ſixpence; and, a piece of that value being found very convenient in change, they were coined of good ſilver at that rate in ſucceeding times, and from hence came the word teſter. He made likewiſe ſome alterations in his gold coins; all which was occaſioned by his foreign wars, and other expenſive meaſures, which forced him upon theſe methods, unknown to any of his royal predeceſſors even in the times of their greateſt neceſſities.

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It is inconceivable what ſtrange as well as what bad effects this debaſement of the coin produced, and which, as the common people for want of diſcernment were unable to aſcribe to its proper cauſe, they were led from thence into a variety of errors, which naturally rendered them deſirous of very improper meaſures, which they vainly hoped would prove remedies. All things of a ſudden grew extravagantly dear, as indeed how ſhould it be otherwiſe? for, let a prince be ever ſo powerful, he cannot change the nature or even the value of things, nor will his debaſing his coin ſink the worth of the commodities or manufactures that are to be purchaſed with it.

At firſt ſuch alterations will create great confuſion, which cannot but be detrimental to private property, yet by degrees men will be taught to ſet up their natural againſt the regal prerogative, and, when they find money of leſs value than it ſhould be, they will inſiſt upon having more money. But, notwithſtanding experience points them to this remedy in their private dealings, yet, as all men are buyers as well as ſellers, it is eaſy to perceive, that, in ſuch a ſituation of things, a general clamour will ariſe about the dearneſs of neceſſary commodities, which may be, as it then was, attributed to falſe cauſes, which occaſioned not only ineffectual remedies to be applied, but ſuch as were alſo injurious, heightening old, and being alſo productive of freſh inconveniencies.

To this may be aſcribed many of the complaints that are to be met with in the hiſtorians of thoſe times, and many of the laws too that were founded on popular conceit, and which, though they were enacted to give public ſatisfaction, were repealed again in ſucceeding reigns, when they were felt to be public grievances. If, as the Roman poet obſerves, there is a pleaſure in beholding ſtorms and tempeſts when we are ſafe, and out of their reach, there is certainly much greater ſatisfaction in contemplating the political foul weather of former times, which we are not only exempt from feeling, but which our preſent happy conſtitution ſecures us from any apprehenſion that we or our poſterity ſhall ever feel. But this ſatisfaction may be ſtill heightened by a rational reflection upon what paſſed in thoſe times, on the connection between miſtakes in policy, the miſchiefs

created

created by them, and the misconstructions that were sometimes put on these by those who suffered them.

It is the power of making these remarks, and of setting things even of the nicest nature in their true light, that is one of the greatest advantages attending freedom. In times past, no doubt, there might be many who had heads clear enough to make these or perhaps better reflections, but they were obliged to conceal them, because reasons of state would have made that a crime, which was commendable in itself, but which, notwithstanding that, will never be commended but amongst a free people. The measures that we have censured and exposed were certainly marks of the power, the excessive power of the prince by whom they were taken, and who, it is very probable, did not foresee the consequences that would attend them: they served some immediate purpose; and he who is urged by an ambitious will, when he is possessed of absolute power, will seldom look farther. But those who live under milder princes, and in better times, will discern from such histories the dangers to which a people must be always exposed, who want the safeguard of a legal constitution, which may defend them from having those privileges, bestowed upon them by GOD, torn from them at the will of one of their fellow-creatures.

But it is time to pass from these matters to the glorious seamen, to whose memories we have undertaken to do right, and of whom several flourished in this martial reign, that are but very slightly mentioned in those histories where we might reasonably have expected the best accounts of them. As far as the narrowness of our limits will permit, we will endeavour to supply that defect here, beginning with

SIR EDWARD HOWARD, Lord High Admiral of England, and Knight of the most noble Order of the GARTER.

IF the advantage of an illustrious descent adds, as we commonly suppose it does, to the reputation of great atchievements, then the memory of this very gallant and worthy man will have a double right to our respect. He was a second son

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of the moſt noble houſe of Norfolk, and derived, from the example of his father, thoſe qualities which moſt adorn the higheſt titles, untainted loyalty, and invincible courage. He began early to teſtify his inclination to the ſea-ſervice, ſince we find him employed in the Flanders expedition in 1492, when King Henry VII. thought fit to aſſiſt the duke of Burgundy againſt his rebellious ſubjects. As we purpoſely omitted an account of that expedition in his reign, let us, as was our intention then, inſert it here.

The Flemings, naturally a brave people, and fond of freedom, grew uneaſy under the yoke of the houſe of Auſtria, and, under the command of the baron de Ravenſtein, began to throw it off. In order to this, they ſeized the town and harbour of Sluys, from whence they fitted out abundance of veſſels of pretty conſiderable force, and, under colour of purſuing their enemies, took and plundered veſſels of all nations without diſtinction; and, as the Engliſh trade to Flanders was then very extenſive, their ſhips ſuffered at leaſt as much as any other; which was the true reaſon why King Henry, upon the firſt application of the duke of Burgundy, ſent a ſquadron of twelve ſail under the command of Sir Edward Poynings, with whom went out Sir Edward Howard, then a very young man, to learn the art of war. The duke of Saxony, in conſequence of his alliance with the duke of Burgundy, marched with an army into Flanders, and beſieged Sluys by land; and Sir Edward Poynings thereupon blocked it up with his fleet by ſea.

The port was defended by two ſtrong caſtles, which the Flemings, who had nothing to truſt to but force, defended with unparalleled obſtinacy; inſomuch that though Poynings attacked them conſtantly every day for twenty days ſucceſſively, yet he made no great impreſſion, till at laſt, through accident, the bridge of boats, by which the communication between the caſtles was preſerved, took fire: whereupon the beſieged were glad to ſurrender their city to the duke of Saxony, and their port and caſtles to the Engliſh[c]. In this expedition Sir Edward was made a knight for his extraordinary bravery, of which he

[c] Hall, fol. 17, 22. b. Polyd. Virg. p. 584. Lord Bacon's hiſtory of Henry VII. vol. ii. p. 304, 305.

gave frequent inſtances during that long reign, and ſo thoroughly eſtabliſhed his reputation, that King Henry VIII. on his acceſſion made choice of him for his ſtandard-bearer [d], which in thoſe days was conſidered not only as a mark of particular favour, but as a teſtimony alſo of the higheſt confidence and greateſt reſpect.

In the fourth year of the ſame reign he was created lord high admiral of England [e], and in that ſtation convoyed the marquis of Dorſet into Spain, of whoſe expedition we have already ſpoken, as alſo of the manner in which it ended. The lord admiral, after the landing of the forces, put to ſea again, and, arriving on the coaſts of Bretagne, landed ſome of his men about Conquet and Breſt, who ravaged the country, and burnt ſeveral of the little towns. This rouzed the French, who began immediately to fit out a great fleet, in order to drive, if poſſible, the Engliſh from their coaſts: and, as this armament was very extraordinary, King Henry ſent a ſquadron of five and twenty tall ſhips, which he cauſed to be fitted out under his own eye at Portſmouth, to the aſſiſtance of the admiral [f]. Among theſe were two capital ſhips; one called the Regent, commanded by Sir Thomas Knevet, maſter of the horſe to the king; and the other, which was the Sovereign, by Sir Charles Brandon, afterwards duke of Suffolk. When theſe veſſels had joined the admiral, his fleet conſiſted of no leſs than forty-five ſail, with which he immediately reſolved to attack the enemy, who were by this time ready to come out of the harbour of Breſt [g]. Authors differ much as to their number, though they agree pretty well as to the name of the admiral, whom they call Primauget; yet it ſeems they agree in a miſtake; for the hiſtorians of Bretagne aſſure us, they have no ſuch name in that province, and that undoubtedly it ought to be Porſmoguer [h].

[d] Pat. i. H. VIII. p. 1. m. 24. [e] Pat. iv. H. VIII. p. 2. [f] Hall, fol. 21. Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 815. Herbert, p. 11. [g] Hiſtoire de France par P. Daniel, tome vii. p. 313.

[h] We have this from the laſt cited author, who certainly judges right; for from the Sieur Porſmoguer our old chronicles took Sir Pierce Morgan, which is the name they have thought fit to beſtow on the French admiral, as the reader may ſee in Hall, fol. 22. a. and Grafton, p. 970.

Whatever his name was, or whatever the force of his fleet might be, which our writers ſay conſiſted of thirty-nine, and the French only of twenty ſail, he was certainly a very brave man. The ſhip he commanded was called the Cordelier, which was ſo large as to be able to carry twelve hundred fighting men, excluſive of mariners. At this time there were nine hundred on board; and, encouraged by their gallant officer, they did their duty bravely. Sir Thomas Knevet in the Regent, which was a much leſs ſhip, attacked and boarded them. The action laſted for ſome time with equal vigour on both ſides: at laſt both admirals took fire, and burnt together, wherein were loſt the two commanders, and upwards of ſixteen hundred valiant men[i]. It ſeems this accident ſtruck both fleets with amazement; ſo that they ſeparated without fighting, each claiming the victory, to which probably neither had a very good title.

In the beginning of the next April the admiral put to ſea again with a fleet of forty-two men of war[k], beſides ſmall veſſels, and forced the French into the harbour of Breſt[l], where they fortified themſelves, in order to wait the arrival of a ſquadron of galleys from the Mediterranean. Sir Edward Howard, having conſidered their poſture, reſolved, ſince it was impoſſible to attack them, to burn the country round about; which he accordingly performed in ſpite of all the care they could take to prevent it: and yet the French lay ſtill under the cover of their fortifications, and of a line of twenty-four large hulks laſhed together, which they propoſed to have ſet on fire, in caſe the Engliſh attempted to force them to a battle[m]. While the admiral was thus employed, he had intelligence that Mr. Pregent, with the ſix galleys from the Mediterranean, were arrived on the coaſt, and had taken ſhelter in the bay of Conquet. This accident induced him to change his meaſures; ſo that he now reſolved firſt to deſtroy the galleys, if poſſible, and then to return to the fleet. Upon his advancing to reconnoitre Pregent's ſquadron, he found them at anchor between two rocks;

i Godwin's annals, p. 10. H. Velleii in Gaguini appendix, p. 318, 319. Dupleix, tome iii. p. 263. k Grafton, p. 971. Stowe, p. 491. Cooper, fol. 273. l A. D. 1512. m Hall, fol. 22. b. Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 816. Rapin, vol. i. p. 721.

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on each of which ſtood a ſtrong fort; and, which was like to give him ſtill more trouble, they lay ſo far up in the bay, that he could bring none of his ſhips of force to engage them. The only method, therefore, of which he could think, was to put the braveſt of his ſailors on board two galleys, which were in his fleet, and with theſe to venture in, and try what might be done againſt all fix [n].

This being reſolved on, he went himſelf, attended by Sir Thomas Cheyne, and Sir John Wallop on board one of them; and ſent Lord Ferrers, Sir Henry Sherburn, and Sir William Sidney on board the other: and having a briſk gale of wind, ſailed directly into the bay; where, with his own galley, he attacked the French admiral. As ſoon as they were grappled, Sir Edward Howard, followed by ſeventeen of the braveſt of his ſailors, boarded the enemy, and were very gallantly received; but it ſo happened, that in the midſt of the engagement the galleys ſheered aſunder; and the French, taking that advantage, forced all the Engliſh upon their decks overboard, except one ſeaman, from whom they quickly learned, that the admiral was of that number [o]. Lord Ferrers, in the other galley, did all that was poſſible for a very brave man to do; but having ſpent all his ſhot, and perceiving, as he thought, the admiral retire, he likewiſe made the beſt of his way out of the harbour [p].

We have, in a certain noble writer's accurate hiſtory, ſome very ſingular circumſtances relating to this unlucky adventure. He ſays, that Sir Edward Howard having conſidered the poſture of the French fleet in the haven of Breſt, and the conſequences which would attend either defeating or burning it, gave notice thereof to the king, inviting him to be preſent at ſo glorious an action; deſiring rather that the king ſhould have

[n] Herbert, p. 13. Memoires du Bellay, liv. i. Dupleix, tome iii. Loſing his life thus unhappily as obſerved by Mr. Anſtis, before he could have notice that his maſter had honoured him with his order. Regiſter of the garter, vol. ii. p. 275.

[o] Godwin, Stowe, Speed. Father Daniel ſays, he died of a wound he received in the former engagement, which is a plain miſtake.

[p] This Lord was Sir Walter Devereux, knight of the garter, anceſtor of the old earls of Eſſex, and of the preſent viſcounts of Hereford.

the honour of deſtroying the French naval force, than himſelf[1]; a loyal, generous propoſition: ſuppoſing the honour, not the danger, too great for a ſubject; and meaſuring (no doubt very juſtly) his maſter's courage by his own; the only ſtandard men of his rank and temper of mind ever uſe.

But his letter being laid before the council, they were altogether of another opinion; conceiving it was much too great a hazard for his Majeſty to expoſe his perſon in ſuch an enterpriſe: and therefore they wrote ſharply to the admiral, commanding him not to ſend excuſes, but do his duty. This, as it well might, piqued him to the utmoſt, and as it was his avowed maxim, That a ſeaman never did good, who was not reſolute to a degree of madneſs, ſo he took a ſudden reſolution of acting in the manner he did. When he found his galley ſlide away, and ſaw the danger to which he was expoſed, he took his chain of gold nobles which hung about his neck, and his great gold whiſtle the enſign of his office, and threw them into the ſea, to prevent the enemy from poſſeſſing the ſpoils of an Engliſh admiral. Thus fell the great Sir Edward Howard, on the twenty-fifth of April 1513, a ſacrifice to his too quick ſenſe of honour in the ſervice, and yet to the manifeſt and acknowledged detriment of his country: for his death ſo dejected the ſpirits of his ſailors, that the fleet was obliged to return home; which, had he lived, would not have happened.

There never certainly was a braver man of his, or conſequently of any family, than this Sir Edward Howard; and yet we are aſſured, that he was very far from being either a mere ſoldier, or a mere ſeaman, though ſo eminent in both characters: but he was what it became an Engliſh gentleman of ſo high quality to be; an able ſtateſman, a faithful counſellor, and a free ſpeaker. He was ready at all times to hazard his life and fortune in his country's quarrels; and yet he was againſt her quarrelling on every ſlight occaſion, or againſt her intereſts. He particularly diſſuaded a breach with the Flemings, for theſe wiſe and ſtrong reaſons; that ſuch a war was prejudicial to commerce abroad; that it diminiſhed the cuſtoms, while it increaſed the public expences; that it ſerved the French, by con-

[1] Lord Herbert's life and reign of Henry VIII. A. D. 1513.

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ſtraining the inhabitants of Flanders to deal with them againſt their will; and that it tended to the prejudice of our manufactures, by interrupting our intercourſe with thoſe by whom they were principally improved[r].

Thus qualified, we need not wonder he attained ſuch high honours, though he died in the flower of his age. Henry gratified his ardour with titles, and ſuch-like rewards; making him Admiral of England, Wales, Ireland, Normandy, Gaſcoigne, and Aquitain, for life, and cauſing him to be choſen knight of the garter[s]; believing that he ſhould thereby command, as indeed he did, not only the utmoſt ſervice Sir Edward could do, but alſo all the force and intereſt of his potent family: which, however, that prince ill requited, as we ſhall ſee in the next life. This Sir Edward Howard married Alice, widow to Sir William Parker, Knt. and daughter of William Lovel, Lord Morley; by whom he had no iſſue[t]. He was, as ſoon as the news of his unfortunate death reached the ears of his royal maſter, ſucceeded in his high office by his elder brother,

SIR THOMAS HOWARD, afterwards earl of Surrey, and duke of Norfolk, &c.

IF we ſpoke firſt of the younger brother, it was in reſpect to his dignity, and to its date; for though the junior ſon, he was the elder admiral: in point of merit they were equal. Thomas earl of Surrey, reſtored afterwards to the title of duke of Norfolk, treaſurer to Henry VIII. and the father of both theſe brave men, ſpared not either himſelf, or his ſons, when the ſervice of the crown and his country required it. In the third year of this king's reign, a Scots ſeaman, Sir Andrew Breton, or Barton, with two ſtout veſſels, one named the Lion,

[r] Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 141.

[s] Aſhmole's Order of the Garter, p. 713. The king of Scots, in a letter to King Henry VIII. May 24, 1513, ſpeaks thus: "And ſurely, deareſt brother, "we think more loſs is to you of the late admiral, who deceaſed to his great ho-"nour, than the advantage might have been in winning all the French gallies."

[t] Baronagium Angliæ. fol. 2. 17. MS. in my poſſeſſion.

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the other Jenny Perwin, ranged on the Engliſh coaſts, and interrupted all navigation. His pretence was, letters of repriſals granted him againſt the Portugueſe, by James III. late king of Scots, (whom his rebellious ſubjects murdered); and, under colour of this, he took ſhips of all nations, alledging they had Portugueſe goods on board [u]. On complaint of theſe grievances to the privy-council of England, the father of our admiral, then earl of Surrey, ſaid, "The narrow ſeas ſhould not be ſo "infeſted, while he had eſtate enough to furniſh a ſhip, or a "ſon capable of commanding it [w]."

Upon this, two ſhips were immediately fitted out by the two brothers, as I conceive at their own, or at their father's expence [x]: and my reaſon for it is, becauſe had they gone with the king's commiſſion, they would probably have had a ſquadron. Beſides, they needed no commiſſion; for pirates being *hoſtes humani generis*, enemies to mankind, every man is at liberty to act againſt them; and on this very principle King Henry juſtified this action [y]. Indeed moſt of our hiſtorians overturn theſe arguments, by ſtyling Sir Edward Howard Lord Admiral, and ſaying his brother ſerved under him on this occaſion. The latter may be true, on account of Sir Edward's experience; but as to the former it is plainly erroneous; as appears by the date of his patent in the ſucceeding year [z]. On the whole, I think it moſt likely, this was a private expedition, with the knowledge and conſent of the king, but not by his ſpecial commiſſion, or immediate authority; as will quickly appear by ſtill ſtronger teſtimony.

The Lords having been ſome days at ſea, were ſeparated by a ſtorm, which gave Sir Thomas Howard an opportunity of coming up with Sir Andrew Barton in the Lion, whom he immediately engaged [a]. The fight was long and doubtful; for Barton, who was an experienced ſeaman, and who had under him a determined crew, made a moſt deſperate defence; himſelf cheering them with a boatſwain's whiſtle to his laſt breath.

[u] Hall, fol. 15. Leſlei de rebus geſtis Scotorum, lib. viii. p. 355. Buchanan, lib. xiii. p. 424, 425. [w] Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 143. [x] Grafton, p. 960. Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 811. [y] See his anſwer to the Scotch king's remonſtrances. [z] 4 Henry VIII. p. 2.

[a] Godwin's annals, p. 8. Cooper's chronicle, fol. 276. b.

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The loſs of their captain was the only thing that could induce them to ſubmit, which at laſt they did; and were received to quarter and fair uſage [b]. In the mean time Sir Edward fought, and took the conſort of the Lion, which was likewiſe a ſtrong veſſel, and exceedingly well manned. Both theſe ſhips, with as many men as were left alive, being in number one hundred and fifty, they brought, the ſecond of Auguſt 1511, into the river Thames as trophies of their victory. The men were ſent to the archbiſhop of York's palace, now called Whitehall; where for ſome time they remained priſoners, but afterwards were diſmiſſed, and ſent into Scotland [c].

King James IV. who then governed the Scots, exceedingly reſented this action, and inſtantly ſent ambaſſadors to Henry, to demand ſatisfaction; on which the king gave this memorable anſwer: "That puniſhing pirates was never held a breach of "peace among princes [d]." King James, however, remained ſtill diſſatisfied; and from that time to his unfortunate death, was never thoroughly reconciled to the king or Engliſh nation. I reſerved this remarkable event for the life of Sir Thomas, becauſe the ſhip of Sir Andrew Barton became his prize, and I thought it by no means proper to repeat the ſtory in both lives: as to Sir Edward's being made admiral, in preference to his elder brother, it muſt have ariſen from his greater acquaintance with naval affairs, or from the family's deſiring to have the eldeſt ſon always at hand, to aſſiſt his father, who, beſides his many high employments of lord-treaſurer, earl-marſhal, and lieutenant of the north, had the jealouſy of the potent Cardinal Wolſey to contend with [e].

Sir Thomas Howard accompanied the marquis of Dorſet in his expedition againſt Guyenne, which ended in King Ferdinand's conquering Navarre; and the commander in chief falling ſick, Sir Thomas ſucceeded him, and managed with great prudence, in bringing home the remains of the Engliſh army [f]. He was ſcarce returned before the ill news arrived of his brother the lord admiral's death; whereupon the king inſtantly appointed

[b] Stowe's annals, p. 489. [c] Herbert's life of Henry VIII. p. 7.
[d] Hall, fol. 15. b. Sir William Drummond's hiſtory of the five Jameſes, p. 139.
[e] Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 131. Burnet's hiſtory of the reformation, vol. i. b. i. [f] Graſton, p. 962.

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him his ſucceſſor. Sir Thomas returned his maſter ſincere thanks, as well for this mark of his confidence, as for affording him an opportunity of revenging his brother's death. The French ſhips were at that time hovering over the Engliſh coaſts, but Sir Thomas quickly ſcoured the ſeas, ſo that not a bark of that nation durſt appear; and on the firſt of July, 1513, landing in Whitſand bay, he pillaged the country adjacent, and burnt a conſiderable town [g]. The king was then engaged in Picardy, having the emperor in his ſervice; and this induced James IV. to invade England with a mighty army, ſuppoſing he ſhould find it in a manner defenceleſs; but Thomas earl of Surrey quickly convinced him of his miſtake, marching towards him with a powerful army, which ſtrengthened as it moved. Sir Thomas Howard returning, on the news of this invaſion, landed five thouſand veterans, and made haſte to join his father. The earl of Surrey deſpatching a herald to bid the Scots king battle, the lord admiral ſent him word, at the ſame time, that he was come in perſon to anſwer for the death of Sir Andrew Barton; which evidently ſhews how far that was a perſonal affair. This defiance produced the famous battle of Flodden-field, which was fought the eighth of September 1513, wherein Sir Thomas Howard commanded the van-guard, and by his courage and conduct contributed not a little to that glorious victory in which King James fell, with the flower of his army, though not without the ſlaughter of abundance of Engliſh [h].

King Henry thought himſelf ſo much obliged at that time to the Howards, for this and other ſervices, that, at a parliament held the next year, he reſtored Thomas earl of Surrey to the title of Norfolk [i], and created the lord admiral earl of Surrey, who took his ſeat in the houſe of peers, not as a duke's ſon, but according to his creation [k]. Theſe favours were from the king; for as to the cardinal miniſter, he made the duke of Norfolk ſo uneaſy, as high treaſurer, that in the courſe of a

g Hall, fol. 24. b. Stowe, p. 491. Godwin's annals, p. 12, 13. h Graft. p. 984. Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 829. Speed, p. 755. See an original letter of Queen Catharine to her lord (Henry VIII.) dated Voborne, the ſixteenth of September, 1513, acquainting him with the news of this great victory, in Syllogè epiſt. à variis Angl. princip. ſcript. p. 106. i A. D. 1514.

k Pat. 5. Hen. VIII. p. 2. m. 11. Journal of parliament eod. anno.

very few years he was glad to reſign that high charge to his ſon.

The war being ended with France, the admiral's martial talent lay ſome time unemployed; but certain diſturbances in Ireland calling for redreſs, the active earl of Surrey was ſent thither, with a commiſſion as lord-deputy [l], where he ſuppreſſed Deſmond's rebellion, humbled the O'Neals and O'Carrols, and without affecting ſeverity or popularity, brought all things into good order, leaving, when he quitted the iſland, peace and a parliament behind him [m], and carrying with him the affections of the people, though he performed not all he intended, the cardinal grudging the honour he had already acquired, and reſoling to hinder, at all events, his gaining more [n].

The pretence for recalling him was, the breaking out again of a French war. Before it was declared the French ſhips of war interrupted (according to cuſtom) the Engliſh trade, ſo that we ſuffered as their enemies, while their ambaſſadors here treated us as friends. The lord admiral, on his arrival, remedied this inconvenience; he immediately fitted out a ſmall ſquadron of clean ſhips, under a vigilant commander, who ſoon drove the French privateers from their beloved occupation, thieving, to their old trade of ſtarving [o]. In the ſpring, Sir William Fitz-Williams, as vice-admiral, put to ſea, with a fleet of twenty-eight men of war, to guard the narrow ſeas [p]; and it being apprehended, that the Scots might add to the number of the king's enemies by ſea as well as land, a ſmall ſquadron of ſeven frigates ſailed up the frith of Forth, and burned all ſuch veſſels as lay there, and were in a condition of going to ſea [q]. In the mean time the admiral prepared a royal navy, with which that of the Emperor Charles V. was to join; and as it was evident that many inconveniencies might ariſe from the fleets having ſeveral commanders in chief, the earl of Surrey, by ſpecial commiſſion from Henry VIII. received the emperor's commiſſion to be admiral alſo of the navy, which conſiſted of one hundred and eighty tall ſhips. This commiſſion is dated at

[l] A. D. 1519. [m] A. D. 1521. [n] Hall, fol. 70, 90. b. Herbert, p. 40, 41. Cox's hiſtory of Ireland, p. 208. Speed, p. 762. [o] Grafton, p. 1052, 1053. Stowe, p. 514. Speed. [p] A. D. 1522.
[q] Hall, fol. 92, b. 94. a. Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 873. Stowe, p. 515.

London, June 8, 1522, in the third year of his reign over the Romans, and ſeventh over the reſt of his dominions, and is very ample[r].

With the united fleets the admiral ſailed over to the coaſt of Normandy, and, landing ſome forces near Cherburg[s], waſted and deſtroyed the country; after which they returned. This ſeems to have been a feint; for in a few days the admiral landed again on the coaſt of Bretagne a very large body of troops, with which he took and plundered the town of Morlaix[t], and having gained an immenſe booty, and opened a paſſage for the Engliſh forces into Champaign and Picardy[u], he firſt detached Sir William Fitz-Williams with a ſtrong ſquadron to ſcour the ſeas, and to protect the merchants, and then returned to Southampton, where the emperor embarked on board his ſhip, and was ſafely convoyed to the port of St. Andero in Biſcay[w]. In the fourteenth of King Henry's reign the good old duke his father, being quite tired out with cares, reſigned his high office of lord-treaſurer, and the king thereupon conferred it on his ſon the earl of Surrey[x]. He was alſo entruſted by the king with the army raiſed to invade Scotland, and in the ſtation of general did good ſervice againſt the duke of Albany, whereby all the deep deſigns of the French were fruſtrated. On the death of his father he was once more appointed to command an army againſt the Scots; in which affair he acquitted himſelf with as much honour, juſtice, and bravery, as any man ever did[y].

He afterwards attended the king into France, and was ſent principal ambaſſador to the French king at ſuch time as that monarch was proceeding to an interview with the pope[z]. In the twenty-eighth of King Henry he aſſiſted the earl of Shrewſbury in ſuppreſſing a formidable rebellion, covered with the ſpecious title of the Pilgrimage of Grace, and throughout his whole life approved himſelf an honeſt and active ſervant to the crown in all capacities; yet in the cloſe of his reign the king

[r] Lord Herbert has inſerted it at large in his hiſtory, p. 49. [s] June 13, 1522. [t] July 1. [u] Grafton, p. 1063. Cooper's chronicle, fol. 270. Godwin's annals, p. 56. [w] Herbert, p. 50. Rapin. [x] Pat. 14. Hen. VIII. p. 1. [y] Hall. Buchanan, lib. xiv. Leſlæi de rebus geſtis Scotorum, lib. ix. [z] Hall, fol. 206. b. 211. b. Memoires du Bellay, liv. iii. iv. Dupleix, tome iii. p. 391, 393.

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was wrought into a perſuaſion, that this duke of Norfolk, and his ſon Henry earl of Surrey, were in a plot to ſeize upon his perſon, and to engroſs the government into their own hands, with many other things deviſed by their enemies, but altogether deſtitute of proof. For theſe ſuppoſed crimes he and his ſon were impriſoned, and, as was but too frequent in that reign, attainted almoſt on ſuſpicion[a]. Henry earl of Surrey, the moſt accompliſhed nobleman of his time, loſt his head in his father's preſence; nor would the duke have ſurvived him long, (a warrant being once granted for his execution), if the king had not died at that critical juncture, and thereby opened a door of hope and liberty.

After all theſe ſufferings he ſurvived King Edward VI. and died in the firſt year of Queen Mary, at the age of ſixty-ſix, when his attainder was repealed, and the act thereof taken from amongſt the records[bc]. He was unqueſtionably as able an admiral, as great a ſtateſman, as fortunate a general, and as true a patriot as any in that age. But it is now time to come to his ſucceſſor in the command of the navy,

Sir WILLIAM FITZ-WILLIAMS, afterwards earl of Southampton, and knight of the garter.

HE was deſcended not only of an ancient and honourable but alſo of a famous and noble family, his anceſtors having been ſummoned to parliament, as barons, to the time of Edward III. Sir Thomas Fitz-Williams, the father of our admiral, married Lucia, daughter and co-heir to John Nevil, Marquis Montacute, by whom he had two ſons, Thomas, who was ſlain at the battle of Flodden-field, and this William[d]. Being the younger ſon, he from his nonage addicted himſelf to arms, and particularly to the ſea-ſervice, which in thoſe days became a diſtinct and regular profeſſion, King Henry having a

[a] Herbert's life of Henry VIII. p. 565. His misfortunes were owing chiefly to the reſentment of his dutcheſs, the daughter of Edward duke of Buckingham, and the falſehood of his female favourite, the former accuſing, and the latter betraying him. [b] See the act of repeal 1mo Mariæ, and the character of both the duke and his ſon, in Sir Walter Raleigh's preface to the hiſtory of the world. [c] A. D. 1554. [d] From the collections of R. Glover, Somerſet,

navy-office, commiſſioners, &c. which his predeceſſors had not. He alſo fixed ſettled ſalaries for his admirals, vice-admirals, captains, and ſeamen; ſo that under him naval affairs underwent a very great change, and we have had a conſtant ſeries of officers in the royal navy ever ſince. How ſoon Mr. Fitz-Williams went to ſea, does not appear from any memoirs now extant, but moſt certainly it was in the reign of Henry VII. for in the ſecond of Henry VIII. he was appointed one of the eſquires of the king's body.

In 1513 he had a command in the fleet which fought the French off Breſt, and, behaving very bravely there, received a dangerous wound in the breaſt by a broad arrow. This did not hinder his being preſent at the ſiege of Tournay the ſame year, where, diſtinguiſhing himſelf in an extraordinary manner in the ſight of his prince, he was honoured with knighthood[e], and thenceforward conſtantly employed at ſea, where he made himſelf equally uſeful to his prince, and grateful to the ſeamen. Of theſe we are aſſured he knew and called every one by name, never taking a prize but what he ſhared amongſt them, or ſuffering more than two months to elapſe, before they were fully paid their wages. The merchants were remarkably friends to him on account of his conſtant attention to their concerns, and the king highly eſteemed him for the punctuality with which he executed his orders, and his wonderful expedition in whatever he undertook.

He executed the office of vice-admiral during the abſence of the earl of Surrey, then lord-lieutenant of Ireland, in 1520, and convoyed the king, when he paſſed over to France, in order to an interview with Francis I. and two years after, on the breaking out of a war with that prince, Sir William, with a good fleet, was ſent to protect our trade, and to moleſt the enemy, which he did effectually; but was not quite ſo ſucceſsful in 1523, when he had orders to prevent the duke of Albany from paſſing with French ſuccours into Scotland; for though he once diſperſed the duke's fleet, and actually took ſome of his ſhips, with ſeveral perſons of diſtinction on board, yet that cunning prince eſcaped him with the reſt by this artifice: he pretended to aban-

[e] Hall, fol. 23. a. 45. a. Herbert's life of Henry VIII. p. 334. Stowe, p. 490, 491.

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don his enterprize, relanded his forces, and ordered the ſhips to be laid up; but, as ſoon as he underſtood the Engliſh admiral was returned to his own coaſts, he inſtantly reimbarked his troops, and continuing his voyage, notwithſtanding it was the winter ſeaſon, arrived ſafely in his own country[f]. In the ſixteenth of Henry VIII, we find Sir William preferred to be captain of Guines caſtle in Picardy; in the next year he was ſent ambaſſador into France, and executed his commiſſion with ſuch ſucceſs, that he was from that time more and more in the king's favour[g].

After the fall of Cardinal Wolſey, to whom our admiral was no great friend, we find him an active man in parliament, and made uſe of by the king to excuſe Biſhop Fiſher to the Houſe of Commons[h]. In the twenty-ſeventh of the ſame reign he was again employed in an embaſſy to France, and in the ſucceeding year, being already treaſurer of the houſehold, chancellor of the dutchy of Lancaſter, and knight of the garter, the king by letters-patent raiſed him to the dignity of admiral of England, Ireland, Wales, Normandy, Gaſcoine, and Aquitain[i], and by other letters-patent ſoon after created him earl of Southampton; all which he is ſaid to have merited by his ſteady loyalty, and by his great ſkill and indefatigable application in maritime affairs, to which he from his youth had been addicted[k].

Shortly after the king raiſed him ſtill higher, to the poſt of lord privy ſeal, in which quality we find that, with John Lord Ruſſel who ſucceeded him as high admiral, he paſſed over into France, where the war was again broke out, with two troops of horſe; which ſhews his martial ſpirit, and how loth he was to quit the ſervice of his country in a military way[l].

It ſeems his conſtitution was by this time much broken through continual fatigues, and therefore he made a will, whereby, among other legacies, he bequeathed the king his maſter his beſt collar of the garter, and his rich George ſet with diamonds[m].

Yet, on the breaking out of a war with Scotland, to which his friend and old companion in arms, Thomas duke of Norfolk,

[f] Buchanan, lib. xiv. p. 448. Leſlæi de rebus geſtis Scotorum, lib. ix. p. 406, 407. Drummond, p. 180. [g] Grafton, p. 1109. Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 892. [h] Hall, fol. 189. a. [i] Pat. 28 H. VIII. p. 2. [k] MS. collections of Sir Thomas Wriotheſley. [l] Hall, fol. 243. b. [m] Spert, qu. 16.

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was immediately ordered, with a numerous army, our brave captain would not remain behind, but, with a brisk body of horse and foot, joined him, and led the van; yet this proved but the last flashings of his heroic flame, since at Newcastle, overcome by his disease and with fatigue, he breathed his last, to the great regret of his royal master as well as of his general, who commanded his banner to be borne, as it had hitherto been, in the front of the army, all the rest of the expedition, as a mark of the respect due to his memory [n]. By his countess Mabel, daughter to Henry Lord Clifford, he had no issue to inherit his virtues or his honours; but he left behind him a natural son, Thomas Fitz-Williams, *alias* Fisher [o]. As to his age at the time of his decease, we find no note thereof either in books or in records; but it is probable, that he did not exceed sixty, according to the course of his preferments. He seems to have been one of the first seamen raised to the honour of peerage in this kingdom.

As to the remaining admirals in King Henry's reign, they were John Lord Russel and the Viscount Lisle, so well known to posterity by the title of duke of Northumberland, as the supreme director of all things in the reign of Edward VI. and as a fatal example of the issue of boundless ambition in the beginning of the succeeding reign. But the reader will find such ample accounts of them elsewhere [p], and their naval atchievements contain so little worthy of notice, that I rather proceed to the transactions under the next king, than detain my readers with a jejune detail of things of little consequence, especially considering the narrow bounds into which we are to bring such an infinite variety of important matter.

[n] Grafton, p. 1268. [o] Dugdale's baronage, vol. ii. p. 105.

[p] In Dugdale, Collins, and other peerages of England, as well as in the general histories, and particular memoirs of these reigns, and in Strype's and other collections of original papers relating to those times.

LIVES OF THE ADMIRALS:

INCLUDING A NEW AND ACCURATE NAVAL HISTORY.

CHAP. X.

The Naval Hiſtory of England, under the reign of Edward VI. with an account of ſuch eminent ſeamen as flouriſhed in his time.

THIS young prince, at the deceaſe of his father, was but in the tenth year of his age: however, on the twentieth of February following [a], he was crowned, to the great joy and ſatisfaction of the nation, who were in hopes a milder government would ſucceed under the auſpice of an infant prince, aſſiſted by miniſters whoſe chief, indeed, whoſe only ſupport muſt be the affections of the people [b]. The ſcheme of adminiſtration, laid down by the will of King Henry VIII. was held to be impracticable [c], becauſe it made ſuch a diviſion of power, as rendered the conduct of public affairs extremely difficult, if

[a] A. D. 1546. [b] Fabian, p. 535. Grafton, p. 1283. Stowe, p. 593. Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 979. Speed. Godwin's annals, p. 211. Journal of this monarch's reign, written by himſelf, p. 3. printed by Biſhop Burnet at the end of the ſecond volume of his hiſtory of the reformation. Strype's memorials, vol. ii. p. 12. [c] The reader may ſee his teſtament at large in Rymer's fœdera, tome xv. p. 110. the authenticity of which has been however queſtioned.

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not impoſſible: and therefore, to remedy theſe inconveniencies, the earl of Hertford, uncle to the young king, created ſoon after duke of Somerſet, was declared PROTECTOR or chief governor, that the nation might have ſome viſible head; after which, as a manifeſtation of his authority, followed various promotions: amongſt the reſt, Sir Thomas Seymour, the protector's brother, was created baron of Sudley, and raiſed to the great truſt of lord high admiral [d]. One would have thought, that, in the dawn of ſuch a government, peace had been more adviſeable than war; but we find the great counſellors in thoſe days thought otherwiſe; for one of the firſt things they reſolved was to commence war againſt Scotland, to which probably they might be provoked by the paſſage of a ſtrong ſquadron of French gallies through the narrow ſeas, which were going to block up the caſtle of St. Andrew's [e], and to which they were certainly encouraged by the diſtracted ſtate of the Scots affairs, the government being weakened by a minority, and the nation divided and diſtracted by factions [f].

The preparations made by the protector for his expedition into Scotland looked as if he intended rather an abſolute conqueſt of that country, than to compel the marriage of Mary queen of Scots to the young King Edward [g]. Both the brothers took a ſhare in this expedition: the protector commanded in perſon the land-army, which conſiſted of 10,000 foot, 6000 horſe, and a fine train of artillery, it being allowed to be in all reſpects the beſt equipped force that for many years had been ſet on foot in this kingdom [h]. With this alſo the fleet, fitted out by his brother's care, correſponded, conſiſting in all of ſixty-five ſail, of which thirty-five were ſhips of force, the reſt were ſtore-ſhips and tenders, the whole commanded by the Lord Clinton as admiral of the north ſea, and Sir William Woodhouſe as vice-admiral; which arrived before Leith about the time the Engliſh army penetrated Scotland by land [i].

[d] Grafton, p. 1183. Life of King Edw. VI. by Sir John Hayward, in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 275, & ſeq. Strype, vol. ii. book i. [e] Stowe, p. 594. Thuan. hiſt. lib. iii. § 5. Buchanan, lib. xv. [f] Leſlæi de rebus geſtis Scotorum, lib. x. Keith's hiſtory of the church and ſtate of Scotland, p. 52. [g] Grafton, p. 1184. Godwin's annals, p. 214. [h] Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 980. Speed, p. 804. [i] Hayward. Buchanan, lib. xv. Keith, p. 53.

The protector, who was by no means a cruel man, endeavoured to have prevented bloodshed by sending very amicable letters to the Scotch governors, wherein he shewed how much it would be for the interest of both nations, that this match should take place, and how little it was for the benefit of Scotland to remain in that dependency on France, in which she had continued for a long tract of time. The governor or protector of Scotland, James Hamilton earl of Arran, who was entirely in the French interest, shewed this letter to none but his own creatures, who advised him, since he had a very numerous army, with the flower of the nobility in the field, not to listen to any conditions of peace, but to force the English to a battle; which very bad advice he complied with, and told the rest of the lords about him, that the protector's letter contained only threatenings and reproaches [k].

This strange conduct brought on a decisive engagement on the tenth of September, 1547, which in the English histories is styled the battle of Musselburgh [l], but the Scots writers call it the battle of Pinky [m]. It was fatal to the Scots, notwithstanding their superiority in numbers, their army consisting of upwards of 30,000 men; but they were so eager to fight, that they despised all the precautions usually taken as to ground and other circumstances. Nay, they were so fool-hardy as to expose themselves to the fire of the English fleet, which galled them extremely; and therefore we need not wonder that they were totally defeated, leaving 14,000 dead on the place, and 800 noblemen and gentlemen prisoners; after which victory the protector burnt Leith, and so returned in triumph [n].

The Lord Clinton, with his fleet, continued longer in those parts, with a design, as it appeared, to extirpate entirely the naval force of the Scots. He had before, in the reign of Henry VIII. been employed for the same purpose, and had executed his commission with great diligence, carrying off the Salamander and the Unicorn, two very fine ships, and all other

[k] Holinshed, vol. ii. p. 890. Speed, p. 804. Keith, p. 55. [l] Grafton, p. 1186. Stowe, p. 594. Cooper, fol. 338. b. See King Edward's journal of his reign, p. 5. [m] Buchanan, lib. xv. Lesley, Keith, p. 54. and the rest of the Scots historians. [n] Holingshed, vol. ii. p. 990. Speed, p. 805. Mayward.

veſſels that were worth taking[o]. He now perfected this ſcheme of deſtroying, by burning all the ſea-ports, with the ſmall craft that lay in their harbours, and ſearching every creek, and all the mouths of rivers, with ſuch diligence, that it is ſaid he did not leave one ſhip of force or burden in all that kingdom[p]. In 1548 the lord high admiral, with a very ſtout fleet, ſailed hence upon the Scotch coaſts, to prevent their repairing their harbours, and to do what farther miſchief he was able. But he was leſs ſucceſsful; for, though he made two deſcents with conſiderable forces, yet he was repulſed in both[q]. The great hardſhips the people ſuffered had made them deſperate; ſo that, notwithſtanding the vaſt expence England had been at, and the complete victory the protector had gained, the Scottiſh queen being eſcaped into France, and great ſuccours coming from thence into Scotland, the Engliſh were obliged after two years to make peace, both nations having ſuffered exceedingly by the war; which proved, however, advantageous enough to France, who, as uſual, made her uſes of each, and performed her agreements with neither[r].

The unnatural quarrel between the protector and his brother the lord high admiral was the chief cauſe of the nation's misfortunes; for, while they endeavoured with all their force to deſtroy each other, public affairs were neglected, thoſe who might have prevented theſe diſorders, from the ſame principle of ſelfiſh ambition, ſtudying rather to increaſe them, with a view to ruin both[s].

[o] Stowe's annals, p. 586, 587. [p] Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 995. Leſlæus, lib. x. Buchanan, lib. xv. [q] Hayward, Godwin, Keith. [r] Grafton, p. 1310, 1314. Godwin, p. 220, 240. Thuan. lib. v. § 15.

[s] Hayward, p. 301. Godwin, p. 226. Innumerable inſtances of this ſort occur in the collection of ſtate-papers publiſhed by Dr. Haynes. No perſon, how great ſoever their quality, ſeems to have been exempt from the perplexities attending this unhappy buſineſs; even the king ſubmitted to be examined: and his confeſſion, as it is ſtyled, with that of the Lady Eliſabeth, the marquiſſes of Dorſet and Northampton, Sir Robert Tyrwhyt and his lady, the earl of Rutland, and other perſons of diſtinction, are there to be met with, printed from the originals. The marriage of the lord admiral with the dowager queen, and the diſguſt it gave the protector, or rather the dutcheſs his conſort, appears to have been the original cauſe of theſe diſputes: and perhaps the reader will incline to my opinion, when he has peruſed two letters from that princeſs to her lord, both without date, and the confeſſion of Wyghtman ſervant to that nobleman, which he will find in p. 61, 62, 68, 69. of that work. See the king's journal in Burnet, p. 4.

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What the crimes of the admiral really were, moſt of our hiſtorians ſeem to think very uncertain: we only know, that he was charged, among other things, with a deſign of ſeizing the king's perſon, of marrying the Princeſs Eliſabeth, and forming thereby ſome title to the crown. On this accuſation, whether well or ill founded, he was attainted, without a trial, by act of parliament[t]: a proceeding altogether inexcuſeable, becauſe thereby poſterity ſtand deprived of ſeeing the evidence on which public juſtice is ſaid to be founded. The protector ſet an edge on the ſentence paſſed by this law, by ſigning the warrant, in conjunction with the reſt of the lords of the council, for the admiral's execution, though his majeſty's uncle, and his own brother[u]: and this, we are told, he did to gratify his wife[w].

The truth ſeems to be, that the lord protector Somerſet was an honeſt but weak man, meant well, yet ſeldom knew his own meaning, and, as ſuch men generally are, was therefore governed in moſt caſes by other people's counſels; whereas the admiral is allowed to have had quick parts, great courage, and a much better capacity for governing: but his turbulent ſpirit gave the common enemies of his family, and the nation's quiet, an opportunity of detaching him from his brother's intereſt, and thereby creating thoſe misfortunes which were not only fatal to him and the protector, but to the kingdom alſo[x]. I cannot forbear remarking, that the events of this ſhort reign afford the moſt uſeful leſſons to Engliſh miniſters: private views governed all the great men in theſe times; and to this they ſacrificed the welfare of the king and kingdom. For this, one, not out of regard to juſtice but for the ſame dirty purpoſes, brought the other to deſerved puniſhment; and by degrees they all became victims to national vengeance, though their ſucceſſors were not at all warned by their examples, but trod ſtill in the ſame ſlip-

[t] Grafton, p. 1191. Stowe, p. 596. The charge, containing thirty-three articles, with the anſwer of the lord admiral to the three firſt, (for he would anſwer to no more, neither would he ſign thoſe), are printed in the collection of records in the 2d volume of Burnet's hiſtory of the reformation, p. 158—196.

[u] March 20, 1549. [w] Hayward, p. 301, 302. Cooper's chronicle, fol. 344. a. See the warrant for the admiral's execution in Burnet, p. 164.

[x] Stowe, Holingſhed, Speed, Godwin's annals, p. 225—229. Burnet in his hiſtory of the reformation, vol. ii. p. 99, 100. and in general all our hiſtorians who write without bias.

pery paths, till a ſimilarity of conduct brought them alſo to ſimilar ends!

The French, who were now governed by Henry II. a young enterpriſing prince, laid hold of this opportunity, while the Engliſh were engaged in a Scotch war, and divided by civil diſſenſions, to deprive them of the few but important places they ſtill held in France. To colour their proceedings, they ſet up the following pretence; that Boulogne was not abſolutely yielded to King Henry VIII. but conditionally only, by way of mortgage for a certain ſum of money, which they ſaid had been tendered him more than once by their late King Francis I. and conſequently they had an equity of redemption, which they thought might juſtify them in any meaſures that ſhould appear neceſſary for the making themſelves maſters of the place. In ſaying this, I am not governed by Engliſh authorities, much leſs by Engliſh prejudices, but follow the accounts given by their beſt hiſtorians, and who relate the ſequel of the matter thus: 'The French king, under pretence of adding to the magnificence of his public entry into Paris, and the queen's coronation, drew a conſiderable body of forces into the neighbourhood of that city, and into Picardy; then, departing ſuddenly from his capital, he came to Abbeville where his forces rendezvouſed, and marched from thence with all expedition to Boulogne, where he attacked and carried ſome of the forts, and diſtreſſed the place ſo much, that it was found impracticable to keep it[y]. Our writers ſay, that theſe forts were taken by treachery; and it appears by the repreſentations made in King Edward's name to the emperor, that the whole of this tranſaction was contrary to the law of nations, there being, at the time it happened, no war declared[z].

Another attempt the French likewiſe made upon the iſlands of Jerſey and Guernſey, which they invaded with a ſtrong ſquadron of men of war, and 2000 land-forces. The Engliſh court, having notice of this attempt, and knowing thoſe iſlands to be but indifferently provided, ſent thither a ſmall ſquadron

[y] J. de Serres, p. 701. Mezeray, tome iv. p. 657. Hiſtoire de France par P. Daniel, tome viii. p. 40. [z] See the king's journal, p. 6. Grafton, p. 1310. Stowe, p. 597. See the inſtructions ſent to Sir Philip Hoby by the duke of Somerſet; Strype's memorials, vol. ii. p. 164.

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under the command of Commodore Winter, with 800 men, as a reinforcement, on board a few tranſports. At his arrival he found the ports blocked up, and himſelf under the neceſſity either of deſiſting from his enterpriſe, or attacking the French notwithſtanding their ſuperiority. He, like a brave man, choſe the latter, and executed this deſign with ſuch courage and conduct, that, having killed them near a thouſand men, he obliged the enemy to embark the reſt on board ſome light veſſels, in which they fled, abandoning their ſhips of force; and all theſe he cauſed to be ſet on fire. This defeat ſo nettled that vain nation, that our authors ſay, they forbade the ſpeaking of it, with all its particulars, under pain of death; for which report one would imagine there muſt have been ſome foundation, ſince we find no traces of this ſtory in any of their own writers [a].

The misfortunes attending the Engliſh, by taking the forts about Boulogne, having ſerved the purpoſe of the duke of Somerſet's enemies, in fixing a grievous charge upon him, for which he was ſent to the Tower, and diveſted of his protectorſhip, they then thought proper to make a treaty with France, whereby the town of Boulogne and its dependencies were ſold for 400,000 crowns, and the French took poſſeſſion of them in the ſpring of the year 1550 [b]. In this treaty the Scots were included; and, for the managing thereof, Edward Lord Clinton, who had been governor of the territory now yielded to France, was made lord high admiral for life, and had large grants made him of lands from the king [c].

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[a] Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 1055. Godwin's annals, p. 133. Speed, p. 811. Fox's acts and monuments, vol. ii. p. 671. [b] F. Leonard, tome ii. p. 472. Rymer, tome xv. p. 211. Thuan. hiſt. lib. vi. § 6.

[c] Grafton, p. 1314. Strype's memorials, vol. ii. p. 230. Leſlæus, lib. x. p. 506, Hayward. King Edward's journal, p. 13. Among others, as the King's journal, p. 11. and Strype, vol. ii. p. 194. informs us, who were rewarded for accompliſhing this buſineſs, was Anthony Guidoti, an Italian merchant, who lived at Southampton. He had a preſent of 1000 crowns, a yearly penſion of 1000 crowns, and a penſion of 250 crowns was beſtowed on John Guidotti his ſon. He had the honour of knighthood conferred on him, and about a year after was appointed the king's merchant, had a licence to export woollen cloths, kerſies, lead, tin, &c. under

It is not to be wondered, that a treaty ſo far from being honourable to the nation, was very ill received at home; and yet it muſt be acknowledged, that it was not near ſo inexcuſeable as ſome would repreſent it. We have already ſhewn, with what injuſtice the French made war upon King Edward: and it is but reaſonable to add, that when his ambaſſador applied to the emperor for aſſiſtance, and repreſented the great things that his father had done for the houſe of Auſtria, the pains he had taken to ſolicit the electors to ſet the imperial crown on the head of Charles V. and how much the Engliſh nation had been impoveriſhed by the wars againſt France, purely on his behalf; a very uncourteous and rude anſwer was given. The emperor took notice of the great change that had been made in religion, which, he pretended, put it out of his power to yield the aid that was deſired; and therefore inſiſted, that, as the price of his friendſhip, all things ſhould be reſtored again to their former ſtate. After this, when matters were come to extremity, it was propoſed, on the part of King Edward, that the emperor ſhould take the town of Boulogne into his hands, to remain as a depoſite till the king was of age; but that was likewiſe rejected, unleſs the old religion was reſtored [d]. We may from hence perceive the integrity of thoſe miniſters who choſe rather to ſacrifice their intereſts with the nation, than injure the proteſtant religion; and at the ſame time we may diſcern, how little the friendſhip of foreign and of popiſh powers is to be depended upon, when the intereſts of England alone are at ſtake.

After this peace, there grew a cloſer and more conſiderable intercourſe between the French and Engliſh courts, which gave ſuch offence to the emperor, that he ſuffered his ſubjects in Flanders to cruize in the Engliſh ſeas, which afforded the French a pretence for acting in the ſame manner; but, upon complaint that the navigation of the narrow ſeas was exceed-

under certain reſtrictions; and to import velvet, cloth of gold, wine and oil; paying only the ſame duties as the merchants of England. See likewiſe Rymer's fœdera, tome xv. p. 227, 228.

[d] Hayward's life of Edward VI. in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 310, 311. Biſhop Burnet's hiſtory of the reformation, vol. ii. p. 131, 139, 140. Strype's memorials, vol. ii. b. i. chap. xxiii.

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ingly disturbed, the king ordered Lord Henry Dudley, with four men of war and two light ships, to put to sea, in order to protect our merchants; which, however, he performed but indifferently [e]. On the twenty-second of May, in the preceding year, the Lord Marquis of Northampton, accompanied by the earls of Rutland, Worcester, and Ormond; the Lords Lisle, Fitzwater, Bray, Abergavenny, and many gentlemen of rank; carrying with him the collar, and other habiliments of the most noble order of the garter, with which he afterwards invested Henry II. went over to France as the king's ambassador, and there concluded a treaty for the marriage of his master to the princess Elisabeth, daughter of that monarch; who, in the month of July following, despatched Monsieur le Mareschal de St. Andre with a very great retinue into England, to present the ensigns of the order of St. Michael to the king, as also to treat of various affairs; though it is highly probable the French were not very sincere in these negotiations.

Some time after they began to raise jealousies in England of the emperor's proceedings, because he had fitted out a great fleet, without assigning any particular cause for it [f]; but the next year things took a new turn, for the French continuing their piratical practices, under one pretence or other, seized many English ships, so that loud complaints were made to the king: and upon examination it appeared, that the merchants had suffered by their depredations, in the space of twenty months, to the full amount of fifty thousand pounds. Upon this, his ministers at the court of France had orders to make very sharp representations, which they did, but with little effect [g]; so that things remained pretty much in this situation, that is, tending to a rupture, to the time of the king's death, which happened on the sixth of July 1553; but whether

[e] King Edward's diary, March 26, 1552. Hayward's life of that prince in Kennet. Strype's memorials, vol. ii. b. ii. chap. x. [f] King Edward's diary, p. 26, 27, 30. Hayward, p. 318. Strype's memorials, vol. ii. p. 266, 267, 289, 290. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 177. Rymer, tome xv. p. 293. [g] The reader will find various instances in the king's journal, p. 62—66. Strype, vol. ii. p. 332. Hayward, and other writers.

by

by poiſon [h], as ſome have pretended, or by a conſumption [i], as is generally thought, I pretend not to determine. He had then reigned near ſix years and a half, and was not quite ſixteen. He was certainly, for his years, a very accompliſhed prince; of which he has left us many, and thoſe unqueſtionable proofs, in his writings.

This reign plainly ſhews, that the perſonal character of a prince, however amiable, as much governed by his miniſters as his ſubjects, is to them of no great importance. The forms of government were kept up, parliaments were called and ſat, nothing was heard but the higheſt pretenſions to purity in religion, and zeal for the public good; while thoſe who made them, ſhewed very little regard to either, in what is the ſureſt teſt of men's principles, their actions. Under colour of reformation, ſeveral uſeful charities were given to the crown, as if they had been ſuperſtitious foundations, that the crown might give them away again to ſuch as, for that very purpoſe, had branded them with ſo offenſive an appellation. Againſt this archbiſhop Cranmer ſtruggled, but in vain; thoſe who had their intereſts in view prevailed; the crown had the ſcandal and they the benefit. All biſhops had not the ſanctity, nor the ſincerity of Cranmer. There were amongſt them ſome who accepted rich fees, in order to grant away their revenues. All this time the commons were grievouſly taxed, the exchequer was like a ſieve, which received all, and retained nothing. Errors in adminiſtration at home produced misfortunes abroad; theſe created expences, and, which is worſe, unavailing expences; ſo that, by an authentic account preſerved amongſt the Cecil papers, it appeared, that from the thirtieth of the laſt, to the cloſe of this reign, which is not quite fifteen years, there had been ſpent in foreign wars, and about foreign concerns, upwards of three millions ſterling. Boulogne was the great prize we got; and this, watching their opportunity, the true

[h] See an extract of a journal kept by one in thoſe times, in Strype, vol. ii. p. 429. Hayward, p. 326, 327. Burnet, p. 221. Heylin's hiſtory of the reformation, p. 138, 139. [i] Grafton, p. 1324. Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 1083. Godwin, p. 253. Cooper, fol. 358. though he ſays, and he lived in thoſe times, that many were puniſhed for reporting this prince was poiſoned; and that the rumour thereof was ſpread throughout the kingdom.

characteriſtic of French policy, we were forced to reſtore for four hundred thouſand crowns; and the poor young king, who was not ſo much as indulged with the trifles neceſſary for his childiſh occaſions, died in debt.

The great power and immenſe fortunes which theſe aſpiring courtiers ſacrificed the public welfare to ſecure, were, as ſuch acquiſitions commonly are, of ſhort duration. The Seymours deſtroyed each other; thoſe who aſſiſted the protector to remove the admiral, took advantage of the weakneſs this occaſioned, to depreſs firſt, and then utterly to ruin him, under the ſpecious pretence of concern for the commonwealth, for which in truth they had far leſs regard than he. The two great dukes of Suffolk and Northumberland, who roſe upon his fall, as they built upon the ſame ſandy foundation of mere human policy, had the ſame unfortunate ends upon a ſcaffold; and the practices they employed for aggrandizing, became the cauſe of the overthrow of their reſpective families, in their own times; and conſequently they had the unpleaſant ſpectacle of the ſubverſion of their ambitious ſchemes, to embitter their laſt moments, before their own eyes. So dangerous and ſo deſtructive a thing it is for the grandees, in any nation, to abuſe their elevated rank, and employ that power with which they are entruſted for the common good, to ſerve their private views, at the expence of a great people, who with ſome juſtice, though perhaps with too indecent a violence, teſtify a pleaſure in their misfortunes, and behold with ſatisfaction the deſolation of thoſe houſes (how noble or ancient ſoever) that were cemented with blood, and founded on oppreſſion. If thoſe whom their own abilities, the favour of their prince, or the confidence of the people, lift into high places, would read the hiſtory of their own countries, and reflect ſeriouſly on the melancholy cataſtrophes of ſuch, who, by an abuſe of their talents, preſumption on their power, or abandoning their patriotiſm when it had raiſed them to places, have fallen headlong from the pinnacle of preferment, without ſo much as pity attending their miſerable dejections; it would infallibly keep them in the ſafe path, and exempt them from ſharing the like fate.

But even in this reign, though they were but ſhort, there were however ſome gleams of ſun-ſhine. In ſuch affairs as in-

tereſted no faction, and more eſpecially in ſuch as came before the king in council, and were of a nature fit for him to examine, or to be explained to him, things took another and a better turn: it may be, thoſe refined politicians who were about him, as towards the cloſe of his reign he had ſome who might have read lectures to Machiavel, there might have been ſomewhat of art in this. For if, in things diſcuſſed in his hearing, all is thoroughly canvaſſed, and the right judgment given; how ſhould a very young king ſuſpect, that in other caſes, even before the ſame men, different, and it may be oppoſite notions, were adopted? The beſt minds are eaſieſt deceived. But let us return to the hiſtory, and cloſe it with ſome of thoſe pleaſing proſpects which may relieve us, after our late ſad, but at the ſame time uſeful and neceſſary meditations.

As to his care of trade, we have as many inſtances of it, in every kind, as can be deſired. In 1548, he paſſed an act for laying the Newfoundland trade entirely open, and for removing various obſtacles by which it had been hitherto cramped[k]. The very ſame year, the merchants at Antwerp complaining of certain hardſhips under which they ſuffered, the king's ambaſſadors interpoſed; and when the regency of that city ſuggeſted to them, that it was ſtrange the king of England ſhould more regard a company of merchants, than the friendſhip of a great emperor, King Edward's agent, whoſe name was Smith, anſwered roundly, that his maſter would ſupport the commerce of his ſubjects, at the hazard of any monarch's friendſhip upon earth[l].

We have a very diſtinct and particular account of the advantages derived to the city of Antwerp from the reſidence of the Engliſh merchants there, which, for the reader's inſtruction, as well as ſatisfaction, we will inſert, from a very ſcarce and curious piece, addreſſed to Sir Robert Cecil, then ſecretary of ſtate to Queen Eliſabeth, and afterwards earl of Saliſbury and lord high treaſurer of England.

"Philip, ſurnamed the Good, duke of Burgundy and of "Brabant, *&c.* gave privileges to the Engliſh nation in the "Low Countries, which happened in the year 1466, which

k See Hakluyt, p. iii. p. 131.

l Strype's memorials, vol. ii. p. 108, 109.

"privileges

" privileges the town of Antwerp confirmed the ſixth of Au-
" guſt in the ſame year; giving to them beſides a large houſe,
" which is now called the Old Burſe; and afterwards, by ex-
" change, another more goodly, ſpacious and ſumptuous houſe,
" called the Court of Lier, which the company enjoyed till
" the ſaid town was yielded up to the duke of Parma, in the
" year 1585.

" At the aboveſaid firſt concordate and concluſion of privi-
" leges with the town of Antwerp, or not long before, there
" were not, in all the town, above four merchants, and thoſe
" alſo no adventurers to the ſea: the reſt of the inhabitants or
" townſmen were but mean people, and neither able nor ſkil-
" ful to uſe the feat or trade of merchandiſe; but did let out
" the beſt of their houſes to Engliſhmen and other ſtrangers,
" for chambers and pack-houſes, contenting themſelves with
" ſome corner for their profits ſake: but, within theſe late
" years, the concourſe and reſort of foreign merchants to that
" town was ſo great, that houſe-room waxed ſcant, rents were
" raiſed, tolls, exciſes, and all other duties to the prince and
" town wonderfully increaſed; and the Antwerp men them-
" ſelves, who a few years before were but mean artificers, or
" lived by huſbandry and keeping of cattle, whereof one gate
" of that city to this day beareth the name, and had but ſix
" ſhips belonging to their town, and thoſe for the river only,
" that never went to ſea, began to grow exceeding rich; ſo
" that ſome fell to the trade of merchandize, and others em-
" ployed their ſubſtance in building.

" Then their old rotten houſes covered with thatch were
" pulled down; their waſte ground, whereof there was ſtore
" within the town, was turned into goodly buildings, and fair
" ſtreets; and their ſhipping increaſed accordingly. Thus
" proſpered not only thoſe at Antwerp, but all other towns
" and places thereabouts; ſo that in our memory that now live,
" the ſaid town was grown to ſuch wealth, ſtrength, and beauty,
" as never was known the like in ſo ſhort a time: and no mar-
" vel, for, within the compaſs of fifty years, an houſe that
" was worth but forty dollars a-year, grew to be worth three
" hundred dollars a-year; and an houſe that was let out for
" ſixty dollars, came afterwards to be let for four hundred

" dollars; yea, ſome houſes in Antwerp were let for ſix hun-
" dred, ſome for eight hundred dollars a-year rent, beſides
" their havens for ſhips to come and lade and diſcharge within
" the town. Their public ſtately buildings and edifices, erected
" partly for ornament, and partly for the eaſe and accommo-
" dating of the merchant, were ſo coſtly and ſumptuous, as he
" that hath not ſeen and marked them well would not believe."

This ſhews abundantly how great a right King Edward had to inſiſt upon all his ſubjects privileges in that city, where their reſidence was a thing of ſuch prodigious conſequence. We muſt not imagine, however, that ſo wiſe a prince as the Emperor Charles V. was not very well acquainted with this, of which we have an inſtance within the compaſs of King Edward's reign, *anno Dom.* 1550. For when, after all the ſupplications of the citizens of Antwerp, and the interceſſion of ſeveral great princes on their behalf, he remained fixed in his purpoſe of introducing the inquiſition into that city; yet, upon the bare mention that this would infallibly drive the Engliſh not only out of Antwerp, but out of the Low Countries, he very prudently deſiſted [m].

With like care the king proſecuted the wrongs done to his trading ſubjects by the French, and very graciouſly received a memorial, wherein certain methods were laid down for encouraging and increaſing the number of ſeamen in his dominions, and for preventing the carrying on a trade here in foreign bottoms [n]. Some notice there are of other projects of a like nature in his own diary, which ſhew, that if he had lived to have had a ſufficient experience, he would have been extremely careful of maritime affairs, and very ready to have contributed to the eaſe and advantage of his ſubjects [o]. But the diſorders which happened in his ſhort reign, as well as his immature death, prevented his doing the good which he intended.

We muſt aſcribe to theſe diſorders, and to the boundleſs ambition of that great duke, who, taking advantage of the king's minority, directed all things with almoſt abſolute ſway, that ſuch heavy taxes were laid upon the people, who were far

[m] Burnet's hiſtory of the reformation, vol. ii. p. 161. Grimſton's hiſtory of the Netherlands, p. 286, 287. [n] Barnaby's information to ſecretary Cecil, MS. [o] See the king's diary, publiſhed by Burnet.

from

from being in a condition to bear them, that lands, to so great a value, were taken from the church to the use, as was pretended, of the crown, and then granted away to favourites; and, above all, that the very worst part of his father's politics should be pursued, and the coin still more and more debased; for in the third year of his reign, under pretence of redressing this evil, there was a new standard introduced, somewhat better in appearance than the last coinage in his father's reign, for now, instead of four ounces, there were six ounces of fine silver in each pound of metal; but then the number of pieces was increased from forty-eight to seventy-two, and consequently the nominal value of silver was raised from four shillings to six shillings an ounce, but, in reality, continued at the same rate as before, that is, at twelve shillings an ounce, which was incredibly grievous to the people; yet two years afterwards this method was changed, and the finishing stroke given to all practices of this nature, by coining the same number of shillings, that is, seventy-two out of a pound of metal, in which there was but three ounces of silver; so that, while the nominal value remained the same, and those who knew no better believed that silver was still at six shillings an ounce; it was, in fact, so long as the money of this coinage remained current, at twenty-four shillings an ounce. Yet one advantage followed from thence, which was, that the grossness of the imposition made it quickly discernable; and therefore the next year's money was coined pretty near the old standard, before it had been practised upon by his father; but then there were sixty shillings in the pound weight, which brought the price of silver to five shillings an ounce. And this began that emendation of our coin, which was completed under Queen Elisabeth, by the advice of the same minister who procured this last alteration in the time of King Edward.

In this monarch's reign the Levant trade grew more extensive [p]; and that to the coast of Guinea, and other parts of Africa, was first discovered, and prosecuted with success, by Mr. Thomas Wyndham [q]. We may add to these proofs of the flourishing of naval power under this young prince, the attempt

[p] Churchill's voyages, introduction. [q] Ibid. vol. v. p. 146.

made

made for diſcovering a north-eaſt paſſage[r], which will lead us to ſpeak of the moſt accompliſhed ſeaman who lived in his time, and whoſe memory deſerves, for his induſtry, penetration, and integrity, to be tranſmitted to poſterity: I mean the celebrated and juſtly famous

SEBASTIAN CABOT.

THIS gentleman was the ſon of that eminent Venetian pilot Sir John Cabot, of whom we have given ſome account heretofore. He was born at Briſtol about the year 1477; and therefore Mr. Strype is miſtaken when he tells us he was an Italian; into which he was led by the name he met with in the MS. from whence he copied his remarks, *viz. Sebaſtiana Cabato*[s]; an inaccuracy common enough with our old writers, who affect to vary foreign names ſtrangely, a folly with which the French are ſtill infected, inſomuch that it is a difficult thing to underſtand Engliſh proper names, even in their lateſt and beſt hiſtorians. Sebaſtian was educated by his father in the ſtudy of thoſe parts of the mathematics, which were then beſt underſtood, eſpecially arithmetic, geometry, and coſmography, and by that time he was ſeventeen years old, he had made ſeveral trips to ſea, in order to add to his theoretical notions a competent ſkill in the practical part of navigation; and in like manner were bred the reſt of his father's ſons, who became alſo eminent men, and ſettled abroad, one in Genoa, the other at Venice[t].

The firſt voyage of conſequence in which Sebaſtian Cabot was engaged, ſeems to have been that made by his father, for the diſcovery of the north-weſt paſſage, of which we have given ſome account before[u]. This was in 1497, and certainly firſt taught our ſeamen a paſſage to North America: but whether Sebaſtian Cabot did not, after the deceaſe of his father, proſecute his deſign, and make a more perfect diſcovery of the coaſts of the new found land, is a great doubt with me, becauſe

[r] Eden's hiſtory of travel, p. 224.

[s] Graſton, p. 1323, ſays, he was born at Briſtol, and that he was the ſon of a Genoeſe. Strype's memorials vol. ii. p. 402.

[t] Remarks on Hakluyt's MS.

[u] In the life of John Cabot, p. 259.

I find

I find ſuch incongruous relations of this voyage in different authors [w]. For inſtance, the celebrated Peter Martyr, who was intimately acquainted with Sebaſtian, and wrote in a manner from his own mouth, ſays, that the voyage wherein he made his great diſcovery towards the north, was performed in two ſhips fitted out at his own expence [x]; which by no means agrees with his father's expedition, wherein were employed one ſtout ſhip of the king's, and four belonging to the merchants of Briſtol [y]. Beſides this, a very intelligent Spaniſh writer, who is very exact in his chronology, tells us, that when Cabot ſailed at the expence of King Henry VII. in order to make diſcoveries towards the north, he paſſed beyond Cape Labrador, ſomewhat more than fifty-eight degrees of north latitude, then, turning towards the weſt, he ſailed along the coaſt to thirty-eight degrees; which agrees very well with our accounts of John Cabot's voyage [z]: but Ramuſio, the Italian collector, who had the letter of Sebaſtian Cabot before him when he wrote, ſpeaks of a voyage wherein he ſailed north and by weſt to ſixty-ſeven degrees and an half, and would have proceeded farther, if he had not been hindered by a mutiny among his ſailors [a].

The writers in thoſe days had no preciſion; they ſet down facts very confuſedly, without much attending to circumſtances, and were ſtill leſs ſolicitous about dates, which gives thoſe who come after them much trouble, and yet ſeldom attaining any certainty; which, I muſt acknowledge, is the caſe here. It is, however, probable, that Sebaſtian made more than one, perhaps more than two voyages into theſe parts, by virtue of King Henry VII.'s commiſſion; and if ſo, he well deſerved the character Sir William Monſon has given of him [b], and of his important diſcoveries, which the reader will be pleaſed to ſee in his own words, the authority of the writer, from his perfect knowledge of the ſubject, being of as much weight as the facts he mentions.

[w] As appears, by comparing the accounts in Hakluyt with thoſe in Purchas, and in the hiſtory of travel, by Eden. [x] Decad. iii. cap. 6. [y] Fabian's MS. chronicle, A. D. 1497. [z] Lopez, de Gomora hiſt. des Ind. occident. lib. ii. cap. iv. [a] In his preface to the third volume of his excellent collection. [b] In the large collection called Churchill's voyages, vol. iii. p. 396, and his character, p. 401.

"To

" To come to the particulars, (ſays he), of augmentation of " our trade, of our plantations, and our diſcoveries, becauſe " every man ſhall have his due therein, I will begin with New- " foundland, lying upon the main continent of America, which " the king of Spain challenges as firſt diſcoverer; but as we " acknowledge the king of Spain the firſt light of the weſt and " ſouth-weſt parts of America, ſo we, and all the world muſt " confeſs, that we were the firſt that took poſſeſſion, for the " crown of England, of the north part thereof, and not above " two years difference betwixt the one and the other. And as " the Spaniards have, from that day and year, held their poſ- " ſeſſion in the weſt, ſo have we done the like in the north: " and though there is no reſpect, in compariſon of the wealth " betwixt the countries, yet England may boaſt, that the diſ- " covery, from the year aforeſaid to this very day, hath afford- " ed the ſubject annually, one hundred and twenty thouſand " pounds, and increaſed the number of many a good ſhip, and " mariners, as our weſtern parts can witneſs, by their fiſhing " in Newfoundland. Neither can Spain challenge a more natu- " ral right than we to its diſcovery; for in that caſe we are " both alike.

" If we deal truly with others, and not deprive them of their " right, it is Italy that muſt aſſume the diſcovery to itſelf as well " in the one part of America as in the other. Genoa, and " Chriſtopher Columbus by name, muſt carry away the praiſe of " it from Spain; for Spain had not that voyage in agitation, or " thought of it, till Columbus not only propoſed, but accom- " pliſhed it. The like may be ſaid of Sebaſtian Cabot[c] a Ve- " netian, who by his earneſt interceſſion to Henry VII. drew " him to the diſcovery of Newfoundland, and called it by the " name of *Bacallao*, an Indian name for fiſh, from the abun- " dance of fiſh he found upon that coaſt."

This ſhews plainly the great ſagacity and unbiaſſed impartiality of this ingenious author, who points very juſtly to thoſe advantages (and theſe not inconſiderable) which had, even in his time,

[c] This affords a farther and more direct proof of my conjecture, that Sebaſtian Cabot made more than one voyage in the ſervice of Henry VII. ſince, from what our author ſays, it looks as if he had not only found the country, but eſtabliſhed the fiſhery of Newfoundland.

accrued to this nation from theſe diſcoveries, and fairly aſcribes to Italy the honour of producing thoſe incomparable perſons by whom they were made: for, though he is a little miſtaken in the name, aſcribing to Sebaſtian what was due to Sir John Cabot, yet he is right as to the fact, for Sir John was a citizen and native of Venice; which fully juſtifies his compliment to ITALY, the MOTHER of SCIENCE, and the NURSE of the FINE ARTS.

If this worthy man had performed nothing more, his name ought ſurely to have been tranſmitted to future times with honour, ſince it clearly appears, that Newfoundland hath been a ſource of riches and naval power to this nation, from the time it was diſcovered, as well as the firſt of our plantations; ſo that, with ſtrict juſtice, it may be ſaid of Sebaſtian Cabot, that he was the author of our maritime ſtrength, and opened the way to thoſe improvements which have rendered us ſo great, ſo eminent, ſo flouriſhing a people. Yet have we no diſtinct accounts of what he adviſed, or what he performed, for upwards of twenty years together, wherein certainly ſo able a man could never have been idle. The next news we hear of him is in the eighth of King Henry VIII. and our accounts then are none of the cleareſt[d].

It ſeems that Cabot had entered into a ſtrict correſpondence with Sir Thomas Pert, at this time vice-admiral of England, who had a houſe at Poplar, and procured him a good ſhip of the king's, in order to make diſcoveries[e]: but it looks as if he had now changed his route, and intended to have paſſed by the ſouth to the Eaſt Indies; for he ſailed firſt to Brazil, and, miſſing there of his purpoſe, ſhaped his courſe for the iſlands of Hiſpaniola and Porto-Rico, where he carried on ſome traffic, and then returned, failing abſolutely in the deſign upon which he went, not through any want either of courage or conduct in himſelf, but from the fear and faint-heartedneſs of Sir Thomas Pert his coadjutor, of which we have abundant teſtimony from the writings of a perſon who lived in thoſe times[f].

[d] See Wheeler's diſcourſe of trade, and Captain Luke Fox's account of the north-weſt paſſage. [e] Hakluyt's voyages, p. iii. p. 498. [f] See the dedication of a piece, called, A treatiſe of New India, publiſhed in 1555 by Mr. Richard Eden, and addreſſed to the great duke of Northumberland. Gonſalvo de Oviedo hiſt. Ind. Occid. lib. xix. cap. 13.

This diſappointment, in all probability, might diſpoſe Sebaſtian Cabot to leave England, and to go over to Spain, where he was treated with very great reſpect, and raiſed as high as his profeſſion would admit, being declared pilot-major or chief pilot of Spain, and by his office intruſted with the reviewing all projects for diſcovery, which in thoſe days were many and important. His great capacity and approved integrity induced many rich merchants to treat with him,, in the year 1524, in relation to a voyage to be undertaken at their expence, by the new-found paſſage of Magellan, to the Moluccos; which at length he accepted, and of which we have a clear account in the writings of the Spaniſh hiſtorian Herrera[g].

He ſailed, ſays he, about the beginning of April 1525 firſt to the Canaries, then to the iſlands of Cape Verde, thence to Cape St. Auguſtine, and the iſland of Patos or Geeſe; and near *bahia de Todos los Santos*, or the bay of All Saints, he met a French ſhip. He was ſaid to have managed but indiſcreetly, as wanting proviſions when he came to the ſaid iſland; but there the Indians were very kind, and ſupplied him with proviſions for all his ſhips; but he requited them very indifferently, carrying away with him by force four ſons of the principal men. Thence he proceeded to the river of Plate, having left aſhore on a deſert iſland Martin Mendez, his vice-admiral, Captain Francis de Rojas, and Michael de Rodas, becauſe they cenſured his management; and, in concluſion, he went not to the Spice iſlands, as well becauſe he had not proviſions, as by reaſon the men would not ſail under him, fearing his conduct of the veſſel in the Straits. He ſailed up the river of Plate, and, about thirty leagues above the mouth, found an iſland, which he called St. Gabriel, about a league in compaſs, and half a league from the continent towards Braſil. There he anchored, and, rowing with the boats three leagues higher, diſcovered a river he called *San Salvador*, or St. Saviour, very deep, and a ſafe harbour for the ſhips on the ſame ſide, whither he brought up his veſſels, and unloaded them, becauſe at the mouth of the river there was not much water. Having built a fort, and left ſome men in it, he reſolved to proceed up that river with boats and a flat-bottom caravel, in

[g] Decad. iii. lib. iii. cap. 2.

order

order to make diſcoveries, thinking that, although he did not paſs through the Straits to the Spice iſlands, his voyage would not be altogether fruitleſs. Having advanced thirty leagues, he came to a river called Zarcarana; and, finding the natives thereabouts a good-natured rational people, he erected another fort, calling it *Santi Spiritus*, *i. e.* of the Holy Ghoſt, and his followers by another name, *viz.* Cabot's Fort.

He thence diſcovered the ſhores of the river Parana, which is that of Plate, where he found many iſlands and rivers, and, keeping along the greateſt ſtream, at the end of two hundred leagues came to another river, to which the Indians gave the name of Paraguay, and left the great river on the right, thinking it bent towards the coaſt of Braſil, and, running up thirty-four leagues, found people tilling the ground; a thing which, in thoſe parts, he had not ſeen before. There he met with ſo much oppoſition, that he advanced no farther, but killed many Indians, and they ſlew twenty-five of his Spaniards, and took three that were gone out to gather palmetos to eat. At the ſame time Cabot was thus employed, James Garcia, with the ſame view of making diſcoveries, had entered the river of Plate, without knowing that the other was there before him. He entered the ſaid river about the beginning of the year 1527, having ſent away his own, which was a large ſhip, alledging, that it was of much too great burden for that diſcovery, and with the reſt came to an anchor in the ſame place where Cabot's ſhip lay, directing his courſe, with two brigantines and ſixty men, towards the river Parana, which lies north and north-weſt, arrived at the fort built by Cabot.

About one hundred and ten leagues above this fort, he found Sebaſtian Cabot himſelf in the port of St. Anne, ſo named by the latter; and, after a ſhort ſtay there, they returned together to the fort of the Holy Ghoſt, and thence ſent meſſengers into Spain. Thoſe who were deſpatched by Sebaſtian Cabot were Francis Calderon and George Barlow, who gave a very fair account of the fine countries bordering on the river La Plata, ſhewing how large a tract of land he had not only diſcovered, but ſubdued, and producing gold, ſilver, and other rich commodities, as evidences in favour of their general's conduct. The demands they made were, that a ſupply ſhould be ſent of proviſion,

ſion, ammunition, goods proper to carry on a trade, and a competent recruit of ſeamen and ſoldiers: to this the merchants, by whom Cabot's ſquadron was fitted out, would not agree, but choſe to let their rights eſcheat to the crown of Caſtile: the king then took the whole upon himſelf, but was ſo dilatory in his preparations, that Sebaſtian Cabot, quite tired out, as having been five years in America, reſolved to return home; which he did, embarking the remainder of his men, and all his effects, on board the biggeſt of his ſhips, and leaving the reſt behind him[h].

It was the ſpring of the year 1531 when Cabot arrived at the Spaniſh court, and gave an account of his expedition. It is evident enough, from the manner in which the Spaniſh writers ſpeak of him, that he was not well received, and one may eaſily account for it. He had raiſed himſelf enemies by treating his Spaniſh mutineers with ſo much ſeverity; and, on the other hand, his owners were diſappointed by his not purſuing his voyage to the Moluccos; he kept his place, however, and remained in the ſervice of Spain many years after, and at length he was invited back again to England[i]. We have no account how this was brought about in any author now extant, and therefore I ſhall offer to the reader's conſideration a conjecture of my own, which he may accept or reject, according as it ſeems to him probable or improbable.

Mr. Robert Thorne, an Engliſh merchant at Seville, whom we have mentioned before with commendation, was intimately acquainted with Cabot, and was actually one of his owners in his laſt expedition[k]: it ſeems, therefore, not at all unlikely, that he, after his return from Newfoundland, might importune Cabot to think of coming home; and what ſeems to add a greater appearance of truth to this conjecture, is Cabot's ſettling at Briſtol, when he did return to England, of which city Mr. Thorne was an eminent merchant, and once mayor[l]. Theſe tranſactions fell out towards the twenty-fourth year of the reign of Henry VIII. about which time, as I ſuppoſe, Sebaſtian Cabot actually returned, and ſettled with his family here.

[h] Herrera, decad. iii. lib. v. cap. 3. See alſo an account of this expedition in Churchill's voyages, vol. i. in the introduction. [i] Hakluyt's voyages, p. iii. p. 7. See alſo the preface to the third volume of Ramuſio. [k] Hakluyt's voyages, p. iii. p. 726. [l] See p. 274.

In

In the very beginning of King Edward's reign, this eminent ſeaman was introduced to the duke of Somerſet, then lord-protector, with whom he was in great favour, and by whom he was made known to the king, who took a great deal of pleaſure in his converſation, being much better verſed in the ſtudies to which Cabot had applied himſelf than, his tender years conſidered, could have been expected; for he knew not only all the ports and havens in this iſland and in Ireland, but alſo thoſe in France, their ſhape, method of entering, commodities and incommodities, and in ſhort could anſwer almoſt any queſtion about them that a ſailor could aſk[m]. We need not wonder, therefore, that with ſuch a prince Cabot was in high eſteem, or that in his favour a new office ſhould be erected, equivalent to that which he had enjoyed in Spain, together with a penſion of one hundred ſixty-ſix pounds, thirteen ſhillings, and fourpence, which we find granted to him by letters-patent, dated January 6, 1549, in the ſecond year of that king's reign, by a ſpecial clauſe in which patent this annuity is made to commence from the Michaelmas preceding[n]. It was in this year that the emperor's miniſter d'Arras, in the name of his maſter, ſignified to Sir Thomas Cheyne and Sir Philip Hoby, the Engliſh ambaſſadors then at the court of Bruſſels, his imperial majeſty's requeſt, that the king would ſend over thither our famous ſeaman, as he could be of no great ſervice to the Engliſh nation, who had little to do with the Indian ſeas, and more eſpecially as he was a very neceſſary perſon to the emperor, was his ſervant in the capacity of grand pilot of the Indies, and to whom he had granted a penſion, and that in ſuch a way as the emperor ſhould at ſome convenient opportunity declare unto the king's council. But we have no accounts that this application was in any ſhape complied with[o].

He continued thenceforward highly in the king's favour, and was conſulted upon all matters relating to trade, particularly in the great caſe of the merchants of the Steel-yard in 1551; of which it will be fit to inſert a ſhort ſuccinct account here, ſince it has eſcaped the notice of moſt of our hiſtorians, though it gave in ſome meaſure a new turn to the whole ſtate of our commerce.

[m] Burnet's hiſt. of the reformation, vol. ii. p. 225.
[n] Hakluyt's voyages, p. iii. p. 10. Rymer's fœdera, tom. xv. p. 181.
[o] Strype's memorials, vol. ii. p. 199.

Theſe

Theſe merchants are ſometimes called of the Hanſe, becauſe they came from the Hanſe-towns, or free cities in Germany; ſometimes Almains, from their country: they ſettled here in or before the reign of Henry III. and imported grain, cordage, flax, hemp, linen cloth, wax, and ſteel, whence the place in Dowgate-ward, where they dwelt, was called the Steel-yard; which name it ſtill retains. The kings of England encouraged them at firſt, and granted them large privileges; amongſt others, that of exporting our woollen cloths: they had likewiſe an alderman, who was their chief magiſtrate; and in conſideration of various grants from the city, they ſtood bound to repair Biſhopſgate, and were likewiſe under other obligations. By degrees, however, the Engliſh coming to trade themſelves, and importing many of the commodities in which theſe Germans dealt, great controverſies grew between them; the foreigners, on all occaſions, pleading their charter, which the Engliſh merchants treated as a monoply not well warranted by law.

At laſt the company of merchant-adventurers, at the head of which was our Sebaſtian Cabot, on the twenty-ninth of December 1551, exhibited to the council an information againſt theſe merchants of the Steel-yard, to which they were directed to put in their anſwer. They did ſo; and after ſeveral hearings, and a reference to the king's ſolicitor-general, his counſel learned in the law, and the recorder of London, a decree paſſed on the twenty-fourth of February, whereby theſe merchants of the Steel-yard were declared to be no legal corporation; yet licences were afterwards granted them, from time to time, for the exportation and importation of goods, notwithſtanding this decree, which remained ſtill in full force and virtue [p]. The great offence objected to them was, that whereas, by their charter, they were allowed to export goods at one and a quarter *per cent.* cuſtom, which gave them a great advantage; they, not content with this, in direct violation of that charter, covered other foreign merchants, ſo that in one year they exported forty-four thouſand cloths, and all other ſtrangers

[p] Minutes of theſe proceedings are to be found in King Edward's diary; and the decree at large in Mr. Wheeler's treatiſe of commerce, p. 94.

but

but one thouſand one hundred. Theſe merchants of the Steelyard, being immenſely rich, ventured now and then upon ſuch tricks as theſe, and then, by paying a round ſum, procured a renewal of their charter.

In the month of May 1552 the king granted a licence, together with letters of ſafe conduct, to ſuch perſons as ſhould embark on board three ſhips, to be employed for the diſcovery of a paſſage by the north to the Eaſt Indies. Sebaſtian Cabot was at that time governor of the company of merchant-adventurers, on whoſe advice this enterprize was undertaken, and by whoſe intereſt this countenance from the court was procured [q]. The accounts we have of this matter differ widely; but as I obſerve there is a variation in the dates of a whole year, ſo I am apt to believe, that there muſt have been two diſtinct undertakings; one under the immediate protection of the court, which did not take effect, and the other by a joint ſtock of the merchants, which did. Of the firſt, becauſe it is little taken notice of, I will ſpeak particularly here; for the other will come in properly in my account of Sir Hugh Willoughby. When therefore this matter was firſt propoſed, the king lent two ſhips, the Primroſe and the Moon, to Barnes lord-mayor of London, Mr. Garret, one of the ſheriffs, and Mr. York and Mr. Wyndham, two of the adventurers, giving bond to the king to deliver two ſhips of like burden, and in as good condition, at midſummer 1554. In conſideration alſo of the expence and trouble of Sebaſtian Cabot, his Majeſty made him a preſent of 200 pounds [r].

A year afterwards, this grand undertaking was brought to bear; and thereupon Sebaſtian Cabot delivered to the commander in chief thoſe directions, by which he was to regulate his conduct; the title of which ran thus: "Ordinances, inſtructions, and advertiſements, of and for the direction of the intended voyage for Cathay, compiled, made, and delivered by the right worſhipful Sebaſtian Cabot, Eſq; governor of the myſtery and company of the merchant-adventurers

[q] Strype's memorials, vol. ii. p. 504. but Mr. Strype's remark, that theſe were the ſhips which went with Sir Hugh Willoughby, is wrong.

[r] Strype's memorials, vol. ii. p. 402.

"for

" for the diſcovery of regions, dominions, iſlands, and places " unknown; the ninth of May, in the year of our Lord God " 1553[s]." This ſhews how great a truſt was repoſed in this gentleman by the government, and by the merchants of England: and the inſtructions themſelves, which we ſtill have entire[t], are the cleareſt proofs of his ſagacity and penetration, and the fulleſt juſtification of ſuch as did repoſe their truſt in him.

Many have ſurmiſed that he was a knight; whence we often find him ſtyled Sir Sebaſtian; but the very title of thoſe inſtructions I have cited proves the contrary, as alſo the charter granted by King Philip and Queen Mary, in the firſt year of their reign, to the merchants of Ruſſia, ſince ſtyled the Ruſſia company; whereby Sebaſtian Cabota is made governor for life, on account of his being principally concerned in fitting out the firſt ſhips employed in that trade[u]; but ſo far from being ſtyled knight, that he is called only, one Sebaſtian Cabota, without any diſtinction at all[w]. Indeed he is ſtyled Sebaſtian Cabot, Eſq; in the letters-patent bearing date at St. James's, November 27, 1555, in the ſecond and third years of Philip and Mary, wherein their Majeſties are pleaſed to grant him an annuity of one hundred ſixty-ſix pounds, thirteen ſhillings, and fourpence, during his natural life; as he alſo is in the letters-patent dated at Weſtminſter, May 29, 1557, the third and fourth of the ſame reign, when theſe princes were pleaſed to permit him to ſurrender the former patent, and, as a reward of his great merit, to grant him the like annuity as before, not only during his life, but alſo to continue the ſame to William Worthington, Eſq; a friend no doubt of Cabot, for his natural life likewiſe[x]. After this we find him very active in the affairs of the company in the year 1556; and in the journal of Mr. Stephen Burroughs it is obſerved, that on the twenty-ſeventh of

[s] Theſe are yet in the hands of the Ruſſia company. [t] In Hakluyt's voyages, vol. i. p. 226. [u] Ibid. p. 267. where the charter is at large.

[w] The words in the charter are; " And in conſideration that one Sebaſtian " Cabota hath been the chief ſetter-forth of this voyage, therefore," *&c.*; which authentic declaration of his merit does him more honour than any titles could have done.

[x] Rymer's fœdera, tome xv. p. 427, 465.

April, that year, he went down to Graveſend, and there went on board the Search-thrift, a ſmall veſſel fitted out under the command of the ſaid Burroughs for Ruſſia, where he gave generouſly to the ſailors: and, on his return to Graveſend, he extended his alms very liberally to the poor, deſiring them to pray for the ſucceſs of this voyage. We find it alſo remarked, (which ſhews the cheerful temper of the man), that, upon his coming back to Graveſend, he cauſed a grand entertainment to be made at the ſign of the Chriſtopher, where, ſays Mr. Burroughs, for the very joy he had to ſee the towardneſs of our intended diſcovery, he entered into the dance himſelf[y]. This, except the renewing his patent, is the laſt circumſtance relating to Cabot that I can meet with any where: and as it is certain, that a perſon of his temper could not have been idle, or his actions remain in obſcurity, ſo I look upon it as certain, that he died ſome time in the next year, when, if not fourſcore, he was at leaſt much upwards of ſeventy.

He was unqueſtionably one of the moſt extraordinary men of the age in which he lived, and who, by his capacity and induſtry, contributed not a little to the ſervice of mankind in general, as well as of this kingdom; for he it was who firſt took notice of the variation of the compaſs, which is of ſuch mighty conſequence in navigation, and concerning which the learned have buſied themſelves in their inquiries ever ſince[z]. An Italian writer, famous for making the moſt judicious collection of voyages which has hitherto appeared, celebrates Sebaſtian Cabot as his countryman[a]: yet as he was, if we believe himſelf, ours both by nature and affection[b], and as we owe ſo much to his ſkill and labours, I thought it but juſt to give his memoirs a place here amongſt thoſe of the moſt eminent Britiſh ſeamen; the rather, becauſe he has been hitherto ſtrangely neglected by our biographers as well as by our general hiſtorians[c].

[y] Hakluyt's voyages, vol. i. p. 274, 275. [z] Stowe's annals, p. 811. Varenius's geography, p. 837. [a] Gio. Battiſta Ramuſio in the preface to his third volume. [b] Strype's memorials, vol. iii. p. 319.

[c] One might have wondered at his being omitted in the general dictionary, if there had been an article of DRAKE.

IT is likewiſe fit to ſay ſomewhat of Sir HUGH WILLOUGHBY, admiral of that expedition into the northern ſeas, which produced the important diſcovery of the trade to Archangel. I have before obſerved, that the original of this undertaking ſprung from Sebaſtian Cabot, whoſe ſettled opinion it had always been, that there were ſtreights near the north pole, anſwerable to thoſe of Magellan. It was by him propoſed to King Edward VI. ſo early as the year 1551: in the month of February, the next year, he obtained two ſhips from the king, the Primroſe and the Moon; and, the terms on which he was to have theſe leading him to confer with ſome principal merchants, the reſult of their conferences was, the changing his ſcheme; inſomuch that it was agreed to build three new ſhips, and to fit theſe out by a joint ſtock, to which ſuch as had a good opinion of the voyage might contribute, at twenty-five pounds a ſhare. This once ſettled, the ſhips were built with wonderful celerity, and that which was called the Admiral was ſheathed with lead, to preſerve her from the worms. The whole of this joint ſtock amounted but to 6000 pounds; and yet this money was ſo well employed, that, by the beginning of May 1553, they were ready to ſail[d].

The admiral was called the Bona Eſperanza, of the burden of 120 tons, commanded by Sir Hugh Willoughby, knight; the Edward Bonaventure of 160 tons, commanded by Captain Richard Chancellor; the third the Bona Confidentia, of 90 tons, Cornelius Durfurth maſter. May 10, 1553, they ſailed from Ratcliff, and on the 18th of the ſame month cleared from Graveſend. The Admiral Sir Hugh Willoughby had all the qualities that could be deſired in a commander: he was deſcended of an honourable family, was a man of great parts, much experience, and unconquerable courage, yet unfortunate in this undertaking. In the beginning of the month of Auguſt he loſt the company of Captain Chancellor, and about the ſame time firſt diſcovered Greenland, though the Dutch endeavour to deprive us of that honour. His utmoſt progreſs was to ſe-

[d] See the account of this voyage in Latin by Clement Adams. Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 243.

venty-

venty-two degrees of north latitude; and then finding the weather intolerably cold, the year far ſpent, and his ſhips unable to bear the ſea, he put into the haven of Arzina, in Lapland, on the eighteenth of September, and there provided the beſt he could to have paſſed the winter. It appears by a will, which was found in his ſhip, that Sir Hugh and moſt of his company were alive in January 1554, but ſoon after they were all frozen to death; their bodies being found the next ſummer by Ruſſian fiſhermen, who repaired to that coaſt; as alſo the original journal of Sir Hugh, from whence theſe particulars are taken [e]. As for Captain Chancellor, he was ſo fortunate as to enter the river of St. Nicholas, where he was well received, and had, ſoon after, acceſs to John Baſilowitz, then great duke of Muſcovy, which gave us an entrance into that country.

[e] Hakluyt, p. 232.

LIVES
OF THE
ADMIRALS:
INCLUDING A NEW AND ACCURATE
NAVAL HISTORY.

CHAP. XI.

The Naval Hiſtory of England during the reign of Queen Mary; together with ſuch tranſactions as relate to foreign commerce, or remarkable diſcoveries.

THOSE who were about, and in the confidence of, King Edward at the time of his deceaſe, prevailed upon him to ſet aſide his ſiſters Mary and Eliſabeth, and to call to the poſſeſſion of his throne his couſin, the Lady Jane Grey, who was married a little before to the Lord Guilford Dudley, ſon to the great duke of Northumberland: but notwithſtanding the time they had during the king's ſickneſs to concert their project, and to provide for the ſupport of their deſigns, they were ſo much at a loſs, that they did not immediately publiſh his death; but on the eighth of July, 1553, they ſent for the lord mayor of London, and directed him to bring with him ſix aldermen, ſix merchants of the ſtaple, and as many of the merchant-adventurers, whom they acquainted with the king's death, and the manner in which he had diſpoſed of the crown, requiring them to keep it ſecret; which they did for two days,

and

and then proclaimed Lady Jane[a] queen of England, &c. I mention this circumſtance, to ſhew in what eſtimation traders then were.

Among the reſt of the precautions taken by the duke of Northumberland and his party, one of the principal was, his ſending a ſquadron of ſix ſhips, with orders to lie before the port of Yarmouth, to prevent the Lady Mary, as he ſtyled her, from making her eſcape beyond the ſeas; which, however, proved the ruin of his deſign; for theſe ſhips were no ſooner ſeen before the town of Yarmouth, than Sir Harry Jernegan went off in an open boat, and exhorted the ſeamen to declare themſelves for Queen Mary, which they immediately did. This, with the lord warden of the cinque ports proclaiming the queen in Kent, contributed chiefly to put an end to the ſtruggle; ſo that on the nineteenth ſhe was proclaimed at London, and the unfortunate Lady Jean became a priſoner in the very ſame place where a little before ſhe had kept her court[b].

In the beginning of her reign Queen Mary acted with great temper and moderation, releaſing the duke of Norfolk, who had remained a priſoner all this time in the Tower, from his confinement, impriſoning indeed ſuch as had taken arms againſt her, but proceeding to no greater ſeverities till after Wyat's rebellion, when, falling into the hands of Hiſpaniolized counſellors, ſhe began to act with that cruelty which is ſo deſervedly eſteemed the blemiſh of her reign. That ſhe was naturally a woman of better temper appears by remitting part of a tax granted to her brother King Edward by his laſt parliament, and that ſhe had a juſt reſpect to the honour of the Engliſh na-

[a] Life of Queen Mary written by George Ferrars, Eſq; in Grafton's chronicle, p. 1324, 1325. Stowe, p. 609, 610. Speed. p. 812, 815. See the proclamation, as drawn by the curious pen of the learned Sir John Throckmorton, that ſervice having been declined by Sir William Cecil, afterwards the great lord treaſurer Burleigh, in the collection of records to Burnet's hiſtory of the reformation, vol. ii. p. 239.

[b] Stowe, p. 611, 612. Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 1087. Speed, p. 817. Godwin, p. 268, 271. See alſo the journal of the privy council of this queen's reign in Haynes's collection, p. 156. in which, among other things, that princeſs is ſaid to have publiſhed a proclamation of defiance againſt the duke of Northumberland, with the promiſe of 1000 pounds a year in land to any nobleman who ſhould apprehend him, and leſſer rewards in proportion to the quality of the perſon who performed that ſervice.

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tion is clear, from the great pains ſhe took to rectify all the diſorders which had crept into the government during the duke of Northumberland's deſpotic adminiſtration [c]. But all her good qualities were blaſted by her perſiſting obſtinately in her reſolution to marry Philip, prince of Spain, contrary to the general inclination of her people.

In purſuance of this unhappy meaſure, the conſequence alſo of her bigotry, Commodore Winter was ſent with a ſtrong ſquadron to fetch the ambaſſadors ſent by Charles V. to conclude the match [d]. On the arrival of Mr. Winter at Oſtend, the emperor ſent him a very fine gold chain, which, at his return to England, he ſhewed to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, who, after looking at it for ſome time, ſaid, For this gold chain you have ſold your country; which expreſſion had like to have coſt them their lives [e]. It was the coming of theſe ambaſſadors which induced Sir Thomas Wyat to take up arms, and begin that rebellion which firſt endangered the queen's ſafety, and at laſt brought him to the block [f]. Notwithſtanding this, ſhe cauſed a fleet of twenty-eight ſail to be equipped, the command of which ſhe gave to the Lord William Howard, created baron of Effingham, in the firſt year of her reign [g], and lord high admiral, who was now by ſpecial commiſſion [h] conſtituted lieutenant-general, and commander in chief of her royal army. He was ſent to ſea under pretence of guarding the coaſt, but in reality his ſquadron was deſigned to eſcort Prince Philip, which was, however, a needleſs care, ſince his own fleet conſiſted of 160 ſail: with this naval force he entered the narrow ſeas, his admiral carrying the Spaniſh flag in his main top, a thing which gave ſuch offence to the gallant admiral of England, that he ſaluted him with a ſhot, and obliged him to take in his colours before he would make his compliments to the prince; a circumſtance worthy of immortal REMEMBRANCE, and, one would think too, of IMITATION [i].

[c] Strype's memorials, vol. iii. p. 31, 32, 33. [d] Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 1106. Strype's memorials, vol. iii. p. 59. Burnet, vol. ii. [e] See his trial preſerved in Holingſhed. [f] Stowe, Burnet, Strype. [g] Pat. i. M. p. 7. [h] Rymer's fœdera, tome xv. p. 382. [i] Sir W. Monſon's naval tracts, p. 243. Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 1118. Speed, p. 824.

The

The queen was at this time about thirty-eight years old, entirely at her own diſpoſal [k], and, if we may judge from her conduct, ſomewhat in a hurry for a huſband, which will appear the more excuſeable, if we conſider that ſhe had been diſappointed nine or ten times, if not more [l]. She ſeems, beſides, to have had a natural inclination towards this marriage, as being herſelf a Spaniard by her mother's ſide, and always remarkably affected to that nation; and yet, by the care of her council, very reaſonable articles were drawn for preventing the evils apprehended there from this match [m]. Prince Philip landed at Southampton the 19th of July, and, paſſing on to Wincheſter, there eſpouſed the queen on the 25th of the ſame month, being the feaſt of the Spaniſh patron St. James [n]. As the nation was diſpleaſed at the celebration of their nuptials, ſo their diſcontents grew higher and higher, inſomuch that the queen never had a pleaſant hour, or her ſubjects a quiet minute, from her wedding-day, though many projects were ſet on foot to pacify them. To this end the Spaniſh artiſans were forbid to open ſhops here, ſevere juſtice was done on ſeveral, who, in reſentment of inſults, had killed ſome of the Engliſh; and a great many carts laden, as it was ſaid, with gold and ſilver, were driven through the ſtreets to the Tower [o].

All theſe arts, however, could not diſſipate the jealouſies which the Engliſh had conceived, nor were they or their queen at all ſatisfied when the Emperor Charles V. [p] reſigned the crown of Spain to King Philip. They eaſily foreſaw that this would occaſion his remaining almoſt conſtantly abroad, which would be attended with the moſt fatal conſequences to their affairs, ſince, without communicating and receiving direction from him, the council could, or at leaſt would, do little or nothing here at home [q]. After the emperor's reſignation, in his

[k] A. D. 1554. [l] Strype's memorials, vol. iii. p. 119. [m] Theſe are but imperfectly publiſhed in Holingſhed; but the original was copied by a careful hand, and is in the Cotton library, Julius, f. vi. and are likewiſe publiſhed in Rymer's fœdera, tome xv. p. 377. [n] Grafton, p. 1343. Holing. vol. ii. p. 1118. Cooper, fol. 366. Ferrera's hiſt. de Eſpan. p. 13. § 16. M. Turquet, liv. xxviii. p. 1340, 1341. [o] Stowe's annals, p. 625. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 286. [p] A. D. 1556. [q] See this grievance ſtrongly ſtated in the minute of an order made by Queen Eliſabeth in council, on her acceſſion, in the diary of Sir W. Cecil, (Lord Burleigh), Cotton library, Titus, c. 10.

paſſage

paſſage from Flanders to Spain, he put into an Engliſh port, where he was received with great reſpect by the lord high admiral, who could not, however, prevail upon him to viſit the queen his daughter; but, to excuſe it, he wrote her a very long letter, perplexed and ambiguous, very evidently ſpeaking that diſorder of mind under which he laboured. This letter is dated the 20th of September, 1556, and ſeems to have been chiefly intended to palliate the abſence of his ſon[r].

About this time the court had information of ſome treacherous deſigns in reſpect to the queen's dominions in France. Theſe places were equally objects of both nations attention. The government of Calais, and its dependencies, was the moſt profitable employment the crown had to give. It was of great utility as a ſtaple to which foreign merchants reſorted to purchaſe Engliſh commodities, which were there vended annually to a very large amount. It was held of ſtill greater conſequence, as one of the keys of the Channel, Dover being the other[s]. The French again conſidered this fortreſs and the forts belonging to it as a bridle in their mouths, an inlet into their kingdom, by which the Engliſh could enter their country at pleaſure, and as a ſtanding monument of their being once maſters of the realm. On all theſe accounts they were, in peace as well as war, plotting how Calais and its diſtrict might be recovered[t]. For this reaſon every overture on that ſubject was well received, come from whom it would.

The principal inſtrument in this buſineſs, and who wrought for them moſt effectually, has eſcaped the notice of all our writers. His name was John de Fontenay, ſieur de Briteville, a gentleman of Normandy, who having in 1545 murdered the king's advocate, took refuge in Calais: this man, as a proper return for the protection ſhewn to ſuch a criminal, began

[r] Strype's memorials, vol. iii. p. 307.

[s] Calais, while in our hands, was entirely inhabited by Engliſh; had a mayor and aldermen, with other franchiſes; a mayor of the ſtaple. Children born there were not reputed aliens. Its inhabitants grew ſo rich as to excite envy at home, though, being Engliſh, all the wealth they acquired there of courſe centered here. See Cotton's records, p. 140, 172, 309, &c.

[t] J. du Tillet, chroniques abregée des roys de France, p. 106, 107. A. du Cheſne, antiquitez du Villes de tout la France, p. 467. Scipio du Pleix, hiſtoire de France, tome iii. p. 577.

quickly to contrive a plan for ſurpriſing the place. He communicated this to, and received encouragement from, Francis I. and upon his memoir, and the ſubſequent informations he gave, the French took their meaſures till it fell into their hands; when Henry II. rewarded this John de Fontenay with letters of abolition, and gave him alſo three thouſand crowns, to pay the *intérêt civil*, which is, in the nature of our appeal, brought by the children of the perſon whom he aſſaſſinated. The truth of this fact ſtands therefore upon indiſputable teſtimony[u].

But the court of France did not ſolely rely on him, they, on the contrary, liſtened alſo, as has been before remarked, to the informations, and gladly received the propoſitions of Engliſh traitors, and amongſt theſe to one for betraying this place. King Philip made this known to his queen and her miniſters, offering at the ſame time any aſſiſtance that might be requiſite for their defence, it being too well known that the garriſons in Calais and the forts were but weak[w]. The council acted very unluckily upon this tender point. They refuſed the king's ſuccours from an apprehenſion they might ſeize theſe places for him, and conſidering theſe treacherous negotiations in a time of full peace, as ſo injurious and ſo inſulting to the nation, that they adviſed the queen to make war upon France. Accordingly an herald was ſent to Henry, as the cuſtom was then, to defy him in the queen's name, which was moſt ſolemnly performed at Rheims. The reaſons publicly aſſigned for this, that it might appear entirely an Engliſh quarrel, were theſe, that he had aſſiſted the late duke of Northumberland and his adherents; that Dudly and Aſhton, traitors, had been by him received, and were gratified with penſions; and that Stafford had been countenanced by him in attacking the caſtle of Scarborough[x]. But notwithſtanding all theſe points were notoriouſly true, it was believed that the queen would not have declared war, but from the ſolicitations of her conſort Philip, which made it exceedingly diſagreeable to the common people, and the parliament diſcovered a backwardneſs in ſupporting it.

[u] Antiquitez de Caen, p. 95. The project of recovering this place was concerted by the conſtable Montmorency, but he being taken at the battle of St. Quintin, it was executed (as will appear hereafter) by his rival the duke of Guiſe.

[w] Grafton's chronicle, p. 1352.

[x] Godwin's annals, p. 326. Stryp's memorials, vol. iii. chap. xliv. p. 358.

It was ſtipulated by the articles of marriage, that the queen's dominions ſhould not be engaged in any war, particularly with the crown of France, on account of any diſputes that might ariſe between the French and King Philip; and yet, when the Spaniards thought it adviſeable to break with the French king, Henry II. the queen and her council were prevailed upon to forget that article and the intereſts of England, and to enter into a war both with Scotland and France. To bring this to paſs, King Philip himſelf came over, and remained the beſt part of the ſpring in England, where he concerted ſuch meaſures as he thought would infallibly ruin the French. On his return into Flanders, and drawing his forces to the frontiers, the earl of Pembroke paſſed from hence with a gallant body of troops, conſiſting of between ten and eleven thouſand men, and had the honour to contribute greatly to the total defeat of the French forces before the town of St. Quintin, in the famous battle fought there on the ſeventh of July, 1557, and aſſiſted ſoon after in taking of the town by ſtorm [y].

But while theſe brave men gained honour abroad, their country ſuffered ſeverely at home; for the Scots not only haraſſed the borders, but alſo, by the advice and aſſiſtance of the French, fitted out abundance of privateers, which diſturbed the commerce, and particularly alarmed all ſuch as were concerned in the Iceland trade, then of very great conſequence. To quiet the apprehenſions of the merchants, Sir John Clere, vice-admiral of England, was ſent with a fleet of twelve ſail to annoy the Scots, and to preſerve the Iceland fleet: with this view he made a deſcent on the iſland of Pomona, one of the Orkneys, on the twelfth of Auguſt, 1557; but the next day the Scots, to the number of three thouſand men, fell upon him, defeated the forces he had landed, killed three of his captains, took all his artillery, and, to complete the misfortune, the boat in which he fled overſet, ſo that himſelf, with ſeveral others, were drowned. The reſt of the fleet, diſcouraged by this unlucky accident, abandoned their deſign, and returned home, which encouraged the Scots to raiſe a great army, and to threaten a

[y] Grafton, p. 1352, 1353. Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 1134. Speed, p. 815. Thuan. hiſt. lib. 19. § 4. Mezeray, tome iv. p. 705. P. Daniel, tome viii. p. 298.

dangerous

dangerous invaſion; but their own domeſtic diſſenſions, as was commonly the caſe with that people, rendered their projects abortive, and preſerved the nation from receiving any further damage on that ſide [z].

The ſucceeding winter proved fatal to the Engliſh poſſeſſions in France, thoſe ſmall remains of the great conqueſts which her Henrys and Edwards had made. The duke of Guiſe at this time governed all in France, who being well informed of the ſtrange policy of the Engliſh, truſting in the winter, the defence of Calais, rather to its ſituation than to its garriſon, reſolved to make uſe of that ſeaſon to ſurpriſe it. The war with Spain gave a colour for his drawing together a great army on the frontiers, and, under pretence of diſturbing the Engliſh navigation, he directed abundance of ſhips to be fitted out from all the ports of France, with ſecret directions to join before Calais in the beginning of the month of January. On the firſt of that month he threw himſelf, with a choice body of troops, before the place, or rather behind it, towards the ſea, where attacking the forts of Nieulay and the Ryſbank, he, after a vigorous defence, made himſelf maſter of them; after which he aſſaulted the town, and in a week's time forced it to capitulate; the Lord Wentworth, who commanded therein, having no ſtronger garriſon than five hundred men [a].

Thus, in eight days, the Engliſh loſt a place which they had held two hundred and ten years, and which had coſt Edward III. eleven months ſiege before he became maſter of it. Some of our hiſtorians, and eſpecially the memoir-writers of thoſe times, attribute this misfortune to treachery, and ſtab ſeveral noble characters with imputations of this ſort, according as their prejudices led them; but there does not appear the leaſt ground for theſe reports, any more than for ſuggeſting that the Lord Gray, who was governor of the caſtle of Guiſnes, betrayed it [b]; ſince the French writers very candidly acknowledge, that he made not only a good but a deſperate defence, ſo that if he had

[z] Strype's memorials, vol. iii. p. 429. Leſlæus, lib. x. Buchanan, lib. xvi.

[a] Grafton, p. 1354, 1355. Stowe, p. 631, 632. Godwin, p. 330, 331. Lord Burleigh's diary in Murdin's collection of ſtate papers, p. 747. Thuan. hiſt. lib. xx. § 3. Dupleix, tome iii. p. 576, 577. P. Daniel, tome viii. p. 210.

[b] Grafton, p. 1357—1359. Stowe, p. 632. Godwin, p. 331, 332.

either commanded a numerous garriſon, or had entertained any hopes of relief, he would have infallibly preſerved the place. As it was, he ſurrendered upon honourable terms[c], which is more than can be ſaid for the governor of the fortreſs of Hames, who, ſeized with a ſudden panic, yielded it up before the French had attacked it[d]. The news of theſe diſaſters ſtruck the queen with deſpair, which is not wonderful; but that they ſhould ſo diſpirit the nation, as to engage the council to write in ſuch a dejected ſtrain as they did to King Philip, on his moving them to attempt the retaking the place, is really ſtrange, and I think it can be accounted for no other way than by ſuppoſing, that, on the one hand, they were weary of the mighty expence which theſe poſſeſſions annually coſt England; and were, on the other, willing to lay hold of ſo favourable an opportunity, to demonſtrate to the king the miſchief this war had done them, and how utterly incapable they were of proſecuting his projects any longer[e].

In order to ſhew the probability of what I have ſuggeſted, and to give my readers the cleareſt idea of the real importance of this place, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that at ſuch time as the French king Francis I. was priſoner in Spain, there wanted not ſome, who adviſed King Henry VIII. to lay hold of this opportunity of parting with this fortreſs, and all he held in France, ſuppoſing that by ſuch a ſtep he might add to his profit, without diminiſhing his honour: but, upon a debate in his privy council, it was reſolved to keep it[f]. This is certain, that the expence of preſerving Calais was very great, not amounting to leſs, during the time we held it, than three millions. How to compute the advantages we derived from it, I confeſs, is not eaſy to ſay; but ſurely the indifference with which Queen Eliſabeth and her miniſters treated it, and the little inclination we have ſince ſhewn to get it into our own poſſeſſion, may render

[c] Thuan. hiſt. lib. xx. § iii. Dupleix, tome iii. p. 577, 578. P. Daniel, hiſtoire de France, tome viii. p. 216.

[d] Grafton, p. 1360. Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 1140.

[e] See the copy of the council's letter, dated February 1, 1557. Cotton library, Titus, b. 2.

[f] This fact is taken from a letter of the archbiſhop of Canterbury to Cardinal Wolſey.

what

what I have advanced credible [8]. Add to this, that in thoſe days the houſe of Auſtria was almoſt as formidable as the houſe of Bourbon is now; which made the greateſt part of Europe afraid of it, and of it only. How well this apprehenſion was conducted, and with what addreſs the Engliſh miniſtry managed this general inclination, ſo as to render the weakneſs of other ſtates the cauſe of weakening Spain to ſuch a degree as ſhe has never recovered, I ſhall hereafter have occaſion to ſhew. In the mean time, let us return to the laſt, indeed the only naval expedition in this reign.

The war ſtill continued between the French and Spaniards with the utmoſt animoſity, and the former, being earlier in the field, in 1558 began to gain great advantages in the Low Countries; but growing upon this too warm, as is common with the French, they attacked Count Egmont near Gravelin, whoſe army made a gallant reſiſtance till ſuch time as the Engliſh ſquadron, then cruiſing in the narrow ſeas, hearing the inceſſant noiſe of their artillery, and having the advantage of the wind, approached the field of battle, which was cloſe to the ſea-ſide, and bringing their guns to bear upon the left wing of the French, they did ſuch terrible execution as quickly decided the fate of the day, and forced two hundred of the enemy to fly to the Engliſh ſhips for quarter. This battle was fought on the 3d of July, and was of infinite conſequence to King Philip. In the mean time the queen cauſed a conſiderable navy to be drawn together, in order to make a deſcent upon France. The ſhips were not fewer than two hundred and forty ſail; but there were great uncertainties about the time, place, and manner of acting, occaſioned by the king's feeding Queen Mary with hopes of his coming over to England, which it is more than probable he never intended.

At length the Lord Clinton, then lord high admiral, put to ſea with a ſtout fleet in the month of July, and landed ſeven

[8] See Strype's annals, vol. i. p. 26. The French made an offer of Calais to Queen Eliſabeth, by their ambaſſadors at London, in 1560, prior to the treaty of Edinburgh, after having firſt tried how far threats would operate, in caſe ſhe would recal her forces out of Scotland, which ſhe had ſent to the aſſiſtance of thoſe of the reformed religion in that kingdom; but her Majeſty, as we are told, which ſhews in what eſtimation ſhe held it, ſhrewdly replied, that for the ſake of a paltry fiſhing-town ſhe would never deſert thoſe ſhe had taken under her protection. Camdeni annal. Eliſabethæ, edit. T. Hearne, vol. i. p. 64.

thouſand

thouſand men in Lower Bretagne, where they took the town of Conquet, and ſoon after reimbarked. Before they reached the Engliſh coaſt, they were joined by a ſquadron of thirty ſail of Spaniſh ſhips, which induced the admiral to think of taking Breſt; but, arriving on the coaſt of Bretagne a ſecond time, they found the whole country in arms, ſo that they were conſtrained to abandon their enterpriſe, and to lay aſide all thoughts of action for this year [h].

This diſappointment, joined to the coldneſs of her huſband, the calamities which the war had brought upon her native country, and the general diſcontent of her ſubjects, greatly affected the queen's tender conſtitution, now in a manner worn out by a dropſy: yet this diſtemper was not the immediate cauſe of her death, but rather a kind of infectious fever, which raged exceſſively in the autumn of this year, eſpecially among the better ſort. According to the accounts in ſome of our old chronicles it differed little from a plague [i]. While ſhe laboured under her laſt ſickneſs, King Philip entered into a treaty with the French king, wherein at firſt he pretended to inſiſt ſtrenuouſly on the reſtitution of Calais; but it afterwards appeared, that this was only for form's ſake, and in order to obtain better terms for himſelf; the poor queen was wont to ſay in her languiſhing condition, that as yet they knew not her diſtemper, but that, if after ſhe was dead they opened her, they would find Calais written in her heart [k]. Worn with her diſeaſe, and excruciated by her griefs, ſhe expired the 17th of November 1558, the parliament then ſitting.

We have ſaid ſomewhat as to her character before, but it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that in the latter part of her reign, and eſpecially after the death of Stephen Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter, lord-chancellor, and her prime miniſter, things went but indifferently in parliament, where, but a few weeks before her death, one of the members for the city of London made a long ſpeech in the Houſe of Commons, wherein he fully and

[h] Grafton, p. 1363, 1364. Stowe, p. 633. Godwin, p. 334. Thuan. hiſt. lib. xx. § 9, 10. Dupleix, tome iii. p. 583, 584. P. Daniel, tom. viii. p. 232.

[i] Cooper's chronicle, fol. 377. Stowe's annals, p. 684. Dr. Haddon's anſwer apologetical to Hierome Oſorius, (who alledged the queen was poiſoned), fol. 28.

[k] Grafton, p. 1365, 1366. Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 1162. Speed, p. 830. Godwin's annals, p. 340, 341. Lord Burleigh's diary in Murdin's collection, p. 747.

freely

freely laid open all their grievances, and entered into a particular detail of the ſtate of the nation, affirming amongſt other things, that the city of London was then worth leſs by three hundred thouſand pounds than at the death of King Edward [1]. We need not wonder, therefore, that this princeſs was very little regretted, eſpecially if we conſider, that, throughout her whole reign, ſhe put herſelf at the head of a party both in church and ſtate, and thereby exceedingly provoked the body of her people.

It may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that by the hardſhips the nation underwent, in conſequence of the queen's foreign marriage, they were for that reaſon cured of their unreaſonable attachment to the houſe of Burgundy, which, from the time that Maximilian married the heireſs of the laſt duke to the death of Queen Mary, coſt England, in the bare expence of wars and ſubſidies entered into, or granted on their behalf, ſix millions of our money, excluſive of the inexpreſſible advantages derived to them from our trade, of which enough has been ſaid in the former reign. To this we muſt juſtly aſcribe, in a great meaſure, the putting our commerce upon a right foot, by which I mean, taking it out of the hands of foreigners in the Steel-yard, and out of the hands of an excluſive company here at home, which had been impracticable, or, which comes to the ſame thing, never had been thought practicable, if, through the diſtreſſes brought upon us by Queen Mary's adminiſtration, our political ſyſtem had not been changed; and the bringing this to paſs ought in juſtice to be aſcribed to Sir William Cecil, who being little employed, though much regarded by that princeſs, ſpent moſt of his leiſure time in making himſelf entirely maſter of the practical as well as ſpeculative knowledge relative to coin and commerce, which, with ſo much credit to himſelf and glory to his ſovereign, he exerted in the next reign. For as it was the bane of Queen Mary's government, that ſhe was entirely guided by foreign councils, ſo it was the principal ſource of her ſiſter's fame and felicity, that her views were entirely Engliſh, as were thoſe of her miniſter before mentioned, whoſe maxim it was,

[1] Sir Thomas Smith reports this in his oration on the queſtion, whether it would be more expedient for the nation, that Queen Eliſabeth ſhould marry a native or a foreigner? which the reader may meet with at large in the appendix to his life by John Strype, N. iii. p. 7.

that

that his miſtreſs could not be great, and himſelf ſecure, from any other means than by conſulting for, and procuring the common benefit of the nation [m].

Some things, however, were done under the reign of King Philip and Queen Mary for the benefit of trade. King Edward's decree againſt the merchants of the Steel-yard was enforced by an act paſſed in the parliament of the twenty-fourth of October in the firſt year of the queen's reign, and the privileges this company pretended to were entirely taken away for this juſt and wiſe reaſon, becauſe that though they were ſaid to be for the benefit and advancement of commerce, yet they were found in effect to be prejudicial thereto, by maintaining in theſe merchants a monopoly, by ſecreting the myſtery of traffic from the natives of this realm, and by eſtabliſhing a kind of foreign republic in the metropolis of this kingdom. Notwithſtanding which, this princeſs was prevailed upon, ſome ſay in conſequence of her alliance with the emperor, to ſuſpend the execution of this act for three years, and to diſcharge the German merchants from paying any other duties than thoſe they were accuſtomed to pay in the time of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. [n].

The Ruſſia company, or, as it was then called, the Muſcovy company, was eſtabliſhed by the charter which has been mentioned before, with a particular view to the diſcovery of new trades, and in this reſpect the wiſeſt and moſt uſeful eſtabliſhment that was ever founded. It was therefore farther encouraged by an act in the eighth of the next reign, and ſo lately as in the time of William III. another act paſſed, whereby the company are obliged to admit as a member, and to a joint participation of all their privileges, any ſubject of this realm who requeſts the ſame, paying for ſuch admiſſion five pounds; ſo that this ſociety ſtands on a broad bottom, and cannot be charged with any of thoſe inconveniencies which may be juſtly imputed to other companies [o]. The firſt Ruſſian ambaſſador ſent hither was

[m] See his character drawn by the inimitable pen of the learned Camden, vol. iii. p. 773—775. Sir Robert Naunton's fragmenta regalia. Life of William, Lord Burleigh. Lloyd's ſtate-worthies, p. 473. [n] The letters patent for this purpoſe bear date at Weſtminſter, January the 15th, 1554. Rymer's fœdera, tom. xv. p. 364. A treatiſe of commerce, &c. by John Wheeler, London, 1601, quarto. [o] See their caſe on their late petition.

in this reign, and was received with great reſpect, having his firſt public audience of King Philip and Queen Mary on the twenty-fifth of March 1557 [p].

We find alſo, that ſeveral letters were written to princes and ſtates, in favour of our merchants, by the direction of their majeſties; and by the favour of King Philip there was a conſiderable intercourſe with Spain, and with all the provinces ſubject to his Catholic Majeſty throughout Europe; which, though it might poſſibly be the effects of his policy, in order to gain the affections of the Engliſh, yet it was certainly of great advantage to private perſons, quickened the ſpirit of trade, and added ſomewhat to the public ſtock. It muſt however be allowed, that theſe favours did by no means balance the inconveniencies which aroſe from the influence of foreign councils; much leſs would they have made us amends, if the intrigues of this enterpriſing prince had taken effect; for that he had thoughts of adding England and Ireland to his other hereditary dominions, and of awing them by Spaniſh garriſons, is very certain, though the war with France, and the queen's early death, prevented ſuch ſchemes from being carried into execution [q]. This, as it was very fortunate for us, ſo it was ſuch a heavy diſappointment to him, that, as we ſhall ſee in the ſucceeding part of this work, he exerted all his addreſs, and employed his utmoſt power, to atchieve by force what he had failed of obtaining by fraud, and thereby ruined his own maritime ſtrength, and increaſed ours much beyond what could otherwiſe have been by our utmoſt induſtry effected.

As to diſcoveries, there were not many attempted in this ſhort ſpace. Stephen Burroughs, as we before obſerved, was fitted out to proſecute Sir Hugh Willoughby's attempt to find a paſſage by the north to the Eaſt Indies; but he failed, though he paſſed as far as the ſtraits of Weygatz [r]. Captain Richard Chancellor,

[p] Stowe's annals, p. 630. Godwin, p. 324, 325. Strype's memorials, vol. iii. p. 373. The letters of theſe princes to the emperor of Ruſſia, with a copy of the firſt privileges granted by that monarch to the Engliſh merchants, their charter, and a diſcourſe at large of the extraordinary reception the Ruſſian miniſter met with in England, the reader will find in Hakluyt's noble collection, vol. i. p. 258, 265, 267, 285.

[q] See Lord-keeper Bacon's ſpeech in d'Ewes's journal, an. 1 Eliz.

[r] Hakluyt's voyages, vol. i. p. 282.

who had ſo happily begun an intercourſe between us and Ruſſia, and procured ſuch ample privileges for our merchants from the Czar, made two other voyages into his dominions, which were very ſucceſsful; but, in returning from the laſt, he was unfortunately loſt on the coaſt of Scotland in the latter end of the year 1556[s]. The next year the Ruſſia company ſent Captain Anthony Jenkinſon into Muſcovy, who the year following paſſed, with infinite labour and incredible danger, into Bucharia, having traverſed the countries bordering on the Caſpian ſea, and ſo was actually the firſt diſcoverer of the Perſian trade by the way of Muſcovy[t].

[s] Stowe, p. 629. Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 1132. Godwin, p. 324.
[t] Hakluyt's voyages, vol. i. p. 324, 336.

LIVES

LIVES
OF THE
ADMIRALS:
INCLUDING A NEW AND ACCURATE
NAVAL HISTORY.

CHAP. XII.

Containing the Naval Hiſtory of England under the auſpicious reign of Queen Eliſabeth, an account of the many diſcoveries made, and plantations ſettled, during that ſpace of time, with the meaſures purſued for the advancement of trade; including alſo memoirs of the famous admirals, and eminent ſeamen, who flouriſhed in that glorious period.

ON the demiſe of Queen Mary, one would have thought there needed no mighty conſideration in order to ſettle the ſucceſſion, ſince, according to the will of King Henry, which had been hitherto obeyed, as well as the laws of nature and of the land, the Lady Eliſabeth became immediately queen. The miniſtry in the late reign, however, ſeem to have been in ſome doubt about taking this ſtep, and very probably, if the parliament had not been ſitting, they might have made ſome attempt to have ſecured their own power at the expence of the public peace: but it fell out more happily

for the nation, ſo that, after a ſhort conſultation, they reſolved to give notice to the Houſe of Lords of their miſtreſs's demiſe; and upon this orders were immediately given for proclaiming Queen Eliſabeth [a].

There never was perhaps a kingdom in a more diſtreſſed condition than England at the acceſſion of this princeſs. It was engaged in a war abroad for the intereſt of a foreign prince; at home the people were divided and diſtracted about their religious and civil concerns. Thoſe of the reformed religion had been lately expoſed to the flames, and thoſe of the Roman communion found themſelves now in a declining ſtate. On the continent we had no allies; in this very iſland the Scots were enemies, and their queen claimed the Engliſh crown. The exchequer was exhauſted; moſt of the forts and caſtles throughout the kingdom mouldering into ruins; at ſea we had loſt much of our ancient reputation, and a too ſharp ſenſe of their misfortunes, had dejected the whole nation to the laſt degree [b].

ELISABETH was about twenty-five years of age, had quick parts, an excellent education, much prudence, and withal, what ſhe inherited from her father, a high and haughty ſpirit, qualified by a warm and tender affection for her people, and an abſolute contempt of thoſe pleaſures, by the indulging which princes are too commonly miſled. Her wiſdom conſiſted in good ſenſe, rather than refined maxims, and her policy ſeems to have roſe no higher than to this plain rule, of ſteadily minding her buſineſs. From the moment ſhe became a queen, ſhe never ſuffered herſelf to forget the ſtation in which God had placed her. She received the compliments on her acceſſion with majeſty, and ſhe ſupported her dignity even in her dying moments. The ſubſequent part of this hiſtory will ſhew, that this character is drawn from her actions, and that I have been no more inclined to flatter her, than to aſperſe ſome of her royal

[a] Additions to Fabian, p. 566. Grafton, p. 1367. Cooper's chronicle, fol. 377. The celebrated Lord Burleigh's diary of the reign of this princeſs in Murdin's collection, p. 747. Stowe, Holingſhed, vol. ii. Speed, and other hiſtorians. [b] Gul. Camden, annal. vol. i. p. 27. Strype's annals, vol. i. p. 2, 3. and the ſpeech of Lord-keeper Bacon in Sir Simmonds d'Ewes's journal, p. 11.

predeceſſors;

predeceſſors; though, if authorities could ſupport ſcandal, I might have cited not a few to countenance both.

But let us ſee by what ſteps this great queen and her able miniſters extricated their country from the miſery in which it was involved, and reſtored this realm not only to a ſettled and flouriſhing condition, but raiſed her glory higher than in her moſt happy times ſhe ever ſtood, laying the foundation of that extenſive power which ſhe has ſince enjoyed, and which ſhe may always enjoy, if there be not wanting honeſt men at the helm, or if the ſpirit of the nation co-operates conſtantly with that of her rulers.

The firſt act of the queen's government was aſſerting her independency. She made an order in council, in the preamble of which it was recited, that the diſtreſſes of the kingdom were chiefly owing to the influence of foreign counſels in the late reign, and therefore the queen thought fit to declare, that ſhe was a free princeſs, and meant ſo to act, without any further applications to Spain than the concerns of her people abſolutely required [c]. On the 21ſt of November, when ſhe had worn the crown but three days, ſhe ſent orders to Vice-admiral Malyn to draw together as many ſhips as he could for the defence of the narrow ſeas, and for preventing likewiſe all perſons from entering into, or paſſing out of the kingdom without licence, which he performed ſo ſtrictly, that in a ſhort time the council were forced to relax their orders, and to ſignify to the warden of the cinque ports, that the queen meant not to impriſon her ſubjects, but that perſons might paſs and repaſs about their lawful concerns [d].

With like diligence proviſion was made for the ſecurity of Dover, Portſmouth, and the iſle of Wight [e]; ſo that by the end of the year the kingdom was out of all danger from any ſudden inſult, and the queen at leiſure to conſider how ſhe might further ſtrengthen it, ſo as to render all the projects of her enemies abortive. Her entrance on government had the

[c] Cotton library, Titus, c. 10. See the queen's inſtructions to Guido Cavalcanti, dated the twenty-ninth of January, 1558-9, in Dr. Forbes's collection of ſtate papers, vol. i. p. 34.

[d] Strype's annals, vol. i. p. 6.

[e] See Sir William Cecil (Lord Burleigh's) diary in the Cotton library, Titus, c. 10.

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ſame appearance of wiſdom as if ſhe had been years upon the throne, and the hopes raiſed by her firſt actions were ſupported and even exceeded by the ſteadineſs of her conduct; ſo that, by a firm and uniform behaviour, ſhe ſecured the reverence and affection of her ſubjects at home, and eſtabliſhed a character abroad that prevented any immediate enterprizes upon her dominions in that feeble and fluctuating condition in which ſhe found them.

In the month of April 1559, peace was concluded with France, and therein, amongſt other things, it was provided, that, after the term of eight years, the French ſhould render to the queen the town of Calais, or pay her 50,000 crowns by way of penalty. In this treaty the dauphin and the queen of Scots were alſo included; but this was very indifferently performed; for the French immediately began to ſend over great forces into Scotland, where they intended firſt to root out the Proteſtant religion, and then to have made themſelves entirely maſters of the kingdom [f]. This proceeding ſo alarmed the nobility of Scotland, that many of them had immediate recourſe to arms, and, not finding their own ſtrength ſufficient, applied themſelves for protection to Queen Eliſabeth, who, foreſeeing the conſequence of ſuffering the French to fix themſelves, and eſtabliſh an intereſt in Scotland, determined to ſend thither the aſſiſtance that was deſired, both by land and ſea [g].

In the mean time a ſtrict but legal inquiry was made into the loſs of Calais in the late reign. The Lord Wentworth, on

[f] Corps diplomatique du droit des gens, tome v. p. i. p. 28. Buchanan, lib. xvi. xvii. Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 1184. Camden, vol. i. p. 42. Mezeray, tome v. p. 15, 16. and the reſt of the French hiſtorians, who all own this project of their King Francis II. But the beſt account of the treaty of Chateau Cambreſis is in Dr. Forbes's collection of ſtate papers, vol. i. to which we refer the reader.

[g] See the queen's letter to the duke of Norfolk, dated December 30th, 1559, in Haynes's collection of ſtate papers, p. 217, 218. the articles agreed to on the part of that princeſs by the duke of Norfolk with Lord James Stuart, and others of the nobility, when ſhe condeſcended to take the realm of Scotland and the confederate lords under her protection, dated February 27th, 1559; Lord Grey's inſtructions on his entering that kingdom, and other papers relating to this important buſineſs; Keith's hiſtory of the church and ſtate of Scotland, vol. i. p. 113; Sir James Melvil's memoirs, p. 28, 29.; Stowe, p. 641.; Speed, p. 834.

whom

whom many aſperſions had fallen, was fairly tried and honourably acquitted by his peers; but the captains Chamberlain and Harleſton were condemned, though the queen thought fit to pardon them [h]. As for Lord Grey, his gallant defence of the fortreſs, wherein he was governor, exempted him from any proſecution; inſtead of which he was appointed commander in chief of the forces that were to march into Scotland. The fleet was commanded by Admiral Winter, which ſailed up the frith of Forth, blocked up Leith by ſea, while the army of the Scots lords, and the Engliſh auxiliaries under Lord Grey, beſieged it by land, and in a very ſhort ſpace forced the French garriſon to capitulate, whereby all the deſigns of France on that ſide were entirely broken [i], and the queen left to look to her own concerns, which ſhe did with ſuch diligence, that in two years ſpace religion was reſtored, the principal grievances felt under the former government redreſſed, baſe money taken away, the forts throughout the kingdom repaired, and trade brought into a flouriſhing condition.

But, above all, the navy was the queen's peculiar care; ſhe directed a moſt exact ſurvey of it to be made, a very ſtrict inquiry into the cauſes of its decay, and the ſureſt means by which it might be recovered. She iſſued orders for preſerving timber fit for building, directed many pieces of braſs cannon to be caſt, and encouraged the making gun-powder here at home, which had been hitherto brought from abroad at a vaſt expence. For the ſecurity of her fleet, which generally lay in the river Medway, ſhe built a ſtrong fortreſs called Upnore-caſtle. The wages of the ſeamen ſhe raiſed, enlarged the number, and augmented the ſalaries of her naval officers, drew over foreigners, ſkilled in the arts relating to navigation, to inſtruct her people, and, by the pains ſhe took in theſe affairs, excited a ſpirit of emulation among her ſubjects, who began every where to exert themſelves in like manner, by repairing of ports, and building veſſels of all ſizes, eſpecially large and ſtout ſhips, fit for war as well as commerce. From all which, as Mr. Camden

[h] Stowe, p. 639. Camden, vol. i. p. 43. Strype, vol. i. p. 26.

[i] Buchanan, lib. xvii. Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 1187. Thuan. hiſt. lib. xxiv. § iv. Lord Burleigh's diary in Murdin's collection, p. 750.

tells us, the queen juſtly acquired the glorious title of the RESTORER OF NAVAL POWER, and SOVEREIGN OF THE NORTHERN SEAS; inſomuch that foreign nations were ſtruck with awe at the queen's proceedings, and were now willing reſpectfully to court a power, which had been ſo lately the object of their contempt[k].

The civil diſſenſions in the kingdom of France, which gave the court a pretence for oppreſſing thoſe of the reformed religion, whom they called Huguenots, produced in the year 1562 very deſtructive conſequences to their neighbours. A general ſpirit of rapine and confuſion having ſpread itſelf through the inhabitants of that extenſive kingdom, and the greateſt crimes meeting with impunity, ſuch as dwelt on the ſea coaſt, and who were moſtly Huguenots, fitted out ſhips to annoy their enemies; upon which the court-party did the like; ſo that at laſt piracies were frequent, and the Engliſh trade ſuffered thereby ſo intolerably, that at length the queen reſolved to interpoſe[l]. The French Proteſtants had long ſued to her for protection, and offered to put the port of Havre de Grace, then called Newhaven, into her hands; which ſhe at length accepted, and ſent over Ambroſe Dudley, earl of Warwick, in the month of September 1562, with a conſiderable fleet, and a good body of troops on board, who entered into the town, and kept poſſeſſion of it till the 29th of July following[m].

The taking into our hands this place proved of infinite detriment to the French; for, the court having declared all Engliſh ſhips good prize ſo long as the queen held that port, ſhe found herſelf obliged to iſſue a like proclamation; whereupon ſuch numbers of privateers were fitted out from Engliſh ports, and from Newhaven, that the ſpoil they made is almoſt incredible[n]. For

[k] Camdeni annales, vol. i. p. 86. where he ſomewhat exceeds the truth when he ſays the queen, with the aſſiſtance of her ſubjects, might fit out a fleet that would require 20,000 ſeamen, ſince in 1582 all the ſea-faring people in her realm did not exceed 14,295. Sir William Monſon's tracts, p. 279. Strype's annals, vol. i. p. 375.

[l] See her manifeſto, ſtill extant in Stowe's annals.

[m] F. Leonard, tome ii. p. 571. Davila, lib. iii. Thuan. lib. xxiii. § 4. Strype's annals, vol. i. p. 367. Forbes's ſtate papers, vol. ii. Lord Burleigh's diary in Murdin's collection, p. 753, 754.

[n] Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 1196. Camden, vol. i. p. 94. Speed, p. 835.

example, we are told that one Francis Clarke equipped, at his own expence, three frigates, and, after a cruize of six weeks, brought into Newhaven no less than eighteen prizes, which were valued at upwards of fifty thousand pounds [o]. The main motive to this conduct was, to revive a naval enterprising spirit amongst her subjects, the promoting ship-building, and preventing her neighbours from gaining an ascendency at sea, as they would certainly have done, if, in order to redress the nation's wrongs, she had had recourse to negociation. A maritime power injured, instead of expostulating, immediately makes reprisals, and thereby extorts apologies from the aggressors made sensible of their past mistake.

But by degrees this spirit of privateering grew to such a height, that the queen, for her own safety, and the honour of the nation, was obliged to restrain it [p]; those who had fitted out ships of force, from a disposition natural enough to privateers, plundering indiscriminately all vessels that came in their way. In the month of July, also in this year, the queen directed a small squadron of ships to be fitted out, *viz.* the Lyon, the Hoope, the Hart, Swallow, and a bark, named the Hare, of which Sir William Woodhous, knight, was appointed vice-admiral, under a pretence of guarding the narrow seas, which were then said to be greatly infested with pirates, but in reality, as appears from his instructions, to lend what assistance he possibly could to the malecontents in France; which none of our historians, at least that we can discover, have remarked. Some of these vessels were in the November following, such as the Hart, Swallow, Hare, *&c.* judged requisite by the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Pembroke, and the Lord Admiral Clinton, to remain at Portsmouth, not only for the security of the coast, and keeping the channel clear during the winter, but for the conveniency of transporting troops, money, provisions, and ammunition, as also for the conveying to, and receiving letters from Newhaven [q]. And, as we are told, the Hare having on

[o] Stowe's annals, p. 653.

[p] She was under the necessity of sending an extraordinary ambassador to his Catholic majesty, to excuse these piracies, and to restrain them for the future by a proclamation. Camdeni annales Elis. vol. i. p. 98.

[q] Haynes's state papers, p. 394. Forbes's state papers, vol. ii. p. 171.

board Sir John Portinarie, a famous engineer, in her paſſage to the laſt-mentioned place, was attacked by a French ſhip of ninety tons and upwards, which they notwithſtanding took, and which proved to be laden with wine, and carried her in with them on the twenty-fifth of the ſame month [r].

Philip II. of Spain, from the time of Queen Eliſabeth's acceſſion to the throne, had dealt with her very deceitfully, ſometimes pretending to be her firm friend, at others ſeeking every occaſion to injure and moleſt her ſubjects, which he had more frequent opportunities of doing, from the great commerce they carried on in Flanders [s]. What ſerved alſo to heighten the people's hatred againſt the Spaniards, was the cruelty and treachery with which they had treated Captain Hawkins [t] and his crew in the Weſt Indies, an inſult the queen could but very ill bear, though, as things were circumſtanced, ſhe could not well reſent it, all trade to the Spaniſh Weſt Indies being in ſome reſpect repugnant to treaties [u]. Yet while theſe things diſturbed the nation's tranquillity in a certain degree, France and the Low Countries were much more grievouſly torn through religious diſputes, which by degrees kindled a civil war [w]. The Proteſtants being the weakeſt, and withal the moſt injured party, the queen was inclined to favour them, and to afford them ſome aſſiſtance, though ſhe was not willing abſolutely to break either with the moſt Chriſtian or with the Catholic king.

The latter had ſent the duke of Alva to govern the Netherlands, who was a fierce and a cruel man, but withal a perſon of great courage, an able captain, and a conſummate ſtateſman. This duke, as he was a bitter enemy to the Proteſtants, ſo he had conceived, probably on that account, as keen a hatred againſt Queen Eliſabeth, which he ſoon found occaſion to diſcover. Towards the end of the year 1568, ſome merchants of Genoa, intending to have ſet up a bank in the Low Countries, procured a licence from the king of Spain to tranſport thither a very large ſum in ready money, on board certain ſhips belonging to

[r] Stowe's annals, p. 652. Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 1197. Strype's annals, vol. i. p. 367. [s] Camden, Burnet, Rapin. [t] A. D. 1567.

[u] Purchas's pilgrims, vol. iv. p. 1177. [w] Memoires de Caſtelnau, liv. i. Commentaires de Montluc, tome ii. liv. v. Dupleix, tome iii. Le Clerc's hiſtoire des Provinces Unies, tome i. liv. i.

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the province of Biſcay. Theſe ſhips were chaſed in their paſſage by ſome French privateers, and were forced to take ſhelter in the ports of Plymouth, Falmouth, and Southampton, where, by the queen's order, their veſſels were protected, and thoſe on board them well treated, till, at the requeſt of the Spaniſh ambaſſador, the money was brought aſhore.

Cardinal de Chatillon, who was at the ſame time here as a refugee, informed the queen that this money did not belong, as was pretended, to the king of Spain, but to private merchants, and that in caſe ſhe gave leave for tranſporting it into the Netherlands, the duke of Alva would certainly ſeize it, in order to carry on ſome of his dark deſigns. The queen, by the advice of her very wiſe and able miniſter Cecil, reſolved to defeat this ſcheme, by taking the money to her own uſe, promiſing to re-pay it immediately, if it ſhould appear to be the king of Spain's treaſure, and to compenſate the Genoeſe merchants for the time ſhe kept it with juſt intereſt, if it was theirs [x]. This was highly reſented by King Philip and the duke of Alva; the former, by his ambaſſador, endeavoured to get ſecretary Cecil aſſaſſinated, tampering alſo with the duke of Norfolk, and the earl of Ormond, to raiſe diſturbances both in England and Ireland; in which, however, he failed: but the duke of Alva, according to the violence of his temper, ſeized all the Engliſh effects in Flanders, and permitted his frigates and privateers to cruize on the Engliſh coaſt [y]. The queen made repriſals in her turn, and allowing her ſubjects to fit out ſhips, they purſued this trade of privateering with ſo much eagerneſs and ſucceſs, that at length they began not to diſtinguiſh friends from foes [z], upon which her majeſty was compelled to iſſue a proclamation, forbidding the purchaſe of any ſhip, or effects taken by theſe privateers. Soon after which theſe diſputes were compromiſed [a], and peace reſtored, though it did not laſt long, both the Spaniards and the Engliſh being generally inclined to break it [b].

[x] Stowe, p. 662. Camden, vol. i. p. 175. Bentivoglio, part i. lib. v. Thuan. lib. xliv. § xi. M. Turquet, tome ii. p. 1432. [y] Lord Burleigh's diary in Murdin's collection, p. 766, 767. Bentivoglio, p. 1. lib. v. [z] Murdin's ſtate papers, p. 257, 274. [a] A. D. 1573. [b] Meteren, hiſtoire des Pays Bas, liv. iii. F. Strada, lib. vii. Grimſton's hiſtory of the Netherlands, b. ix. p. 460.

In the midſt of all theſe difficulties, the queen took every opportunity to encourage her people in proſecuting new ſchemes of trade abroad, or purſuing what might be an improvement of their lands at home. With this view ſhe ſometimes contributed ſhips, ſometimes gave money, at others entered into partnerſhip; in ſhort, ſhe neglected nothing which might ſhew her maternal tenderneſs for all her ſubjects. She likewiſe afforded, in a very delicate conjuncture, a ſhining proof of her generoſity, in directing a ſtrong ſquadron of her ſhips to eſcort Anne of Auſtria, in her voyage from Flanders into Spain, notwithſtanding the bad terms whereon ſhe then ſtood with King Philip[c]. Her treaties with France, which ſeemed to exclude all fear of danger, did not hinder her from fortifying Portſmouth thoroughly, in which it quickly appeared, that her precaution was far from being the effects of a needleſs timidity; for the French ſoon fitted out a conſiderable fleet, pretending to take ſome offence at the ſupplies ſhe had ſent the Huguenots, as if it was contrary to the treaties between them; but when it appeared that her majeſty had provided effectually againſt any attempts they were able to make, they were glad to deſiſt, and even to make greater profeſſions of friendſhip than before, which diſpoſed the queen to ſend over the earl of Worceſter to the chriſtening[d] of the French king's daughter.

This proved unlucky for the Huguenots, who having fitted out abundance of rovers from Rochelle, they ſtopt and viſited veſſels of all nations approaching the French coaſt; amongſt the reſt, they ſeized a bark with part of the earl of Worceſter's baggage, which they took, and killed three or four people[e]. This being reported to the queen, ſhe iſſued her orders by the lord high admiral to ſcour the narrow ſeas, who appointed William Holſtock, Eſq; comptroller of the navy, with three light frigates, and three hundred and ſixty men on board, to perform this ſervice, which he did with ſuch induſtry and effect, that between the Northforeland and Falmouth, he took twenty privateers of ſeveral nations, with nine hundred men on board them, and ſent them as they were taken to Sandwich,

[c] Camdeni annales, vol. ii. p. 220, 221. Ferreras hiſt. de Eſpana, p. 15. § xvi. Sir Richard Hawkin's obſervations, p. 22. [d] A. D. 1576.

[e] Stowe, p. 67, 674. Camden, vol. ii. p. 270, 275. P. Daniel, tome viii. p. 750.

Dover,

Dover, Newport, and Portſmouth. He likewiſe re-took, and ſet at liberty, fifteen merchant-men, by them made prize, and all this within ſo ſhort a time as ſix weeks, returning into Portſmouth in the middle of the month of March. Among theſe priſoners were three perſons who were known and proved to be of the crew of that veſſel which had plundered the earl of Worceſter's baggage, and therefore they were immediately tried and hanged as pirates, but the reſt were ranſomed [f]. A few years after, the nation found itſelf under the like difficulties, though from another quarter.

The provinces of Zealand and Holland had now delivered themſelves from the Spaniſh bondage, and were growing conſiderable in the world by their maritime power. This, however, had a bad effect on the diſpoſition of the common people, who became iuſufferably inſolent to all their neighbours, and particularly to us who had been their principal benefactors. Their pretence for this was, our correſponding with the inhabitants of Dunkirk, who were their enemies. At firſt, therefore, they took only ſuch ſhips as were bound to that port; but by degrees they went farther, and committed ſuch notorious piracies, that the queen was again forced to ſend the comptroller of the navy, Mr. Holſtock, with a ſmall ſquadron to ſea, who quickly drove the Dutch frigates into their harbours, and ſent two hundred of their ſeamen to priſon. The queen, not ſatisfied with this puniſhment, ſent Sir William Winter, and Robert Beale, Eſq; to demand reſtitution of the goods taken from her ſubjects, which, however, they did not obtain; and on this account the Dutch factors here ſuffered ſeverely [g].

But as for ſuch refugees of all nations, as fled hither for the ſake of religion, ſhe not only received them kindly, but granted them various privileges, in order to induce them to ſtay, and fix here the manufactures in which they had laboured in their own countries. This policy ſucceeded ſo well, that Colcheſter, Norwich, Yarmouth, Canterbury, and many other places were filled with thoſe induſtrious foreigners, who taught us to weave

[f] Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 1257. Strype's annals, vol. ii. p. 171, 172. Thuan. lib. lv. § viii. [g] Stowe, p. 681. Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 1262. Camdeni annales, vol. ii. p. 303, 304. Grimſtone's hiſtory of the Netherlands, b. x. p. 592.

variety

variety of ſilk and worſted ſtuffs, while many alſo from Germany were ſent into the north, where they employed themſelves in mining, making ſalt-petre, forging all ſorts of tools made of iron, which were arts abſolutely unknown to us before their arrival, and which, for ages to come, might have continued ſo, but for the wiſdom and public ſpirit of the queen and her miniſters. The French and Spaniards, who were ſenſible of the advantages we gained, and the loſſes they ſuffered, by the retiring of their artificers into this iſland, had recourſe to ſevere laws in order to prevent it, which were ſo far from anſwering the end, that they drove people over faſter than they came before; ſo that we may truly ſay, our extenſive trade was a bleſſing beſtowed by God, for the countenance we afforded in thoſe their diſmal days of diſtreſs, to the afflicted Proteſtants in France and Flanders [h].

The growth of this kingdom's power and commerce being ſo conſpicuous, left King Philip of Spain, the moſt penetrating prince of his time, no room to doubt, that his projects for aſſuming the ſupreme dominion of Europe, or at leaſt the abſolute direction of it, would be rendered entirely abortive, unleſs ſome method could be contrived for ruining England at once. While he meditated this deſign, and took various ſteps towards it, he found himſelf daily more and more irritated, by the pains the queen took to fruſtrate his ſchemes, and to diminiſh the power which had been derived to him from his father the Emperor Charles V.[i] We have ſhewn how, during the adminiſtration of the duke of Alva in the Netherlands, differences had ariſen between the court of England and the king of Spain's ſubjects there, and how, after much warmth ſhewn on both ſides, theſe matters were in ſome meaſure accommodated in 1573. That accommodation was ſo far from being the effects of any cordial diſpoſition in either of theſe powers, that it was a mere act of policy on both ſides, neither having as yet brought thoſe things

[h] Mezeray, Strada, Camden, Strype, Stowe, Holingſhed, Speed, and, in general, all the writers of thoſe times, particularly ſuch as have made the progreſs of the reformation the ſubject of their writings; though, after all, the point has never been ſo thoroughly and particularly diſcuſſed as it deſerves.

[i] Camden, Strype, Rapin.

ſo

ſo far to bear, as were requiſite for accompliſhing their reſpective deſigns [k].

The Catholic king had three points in view, not for diſtreſſing only, but for deſtroying Queen Eliſabeth, and utterly ſubverting the Engliſh ſtate [l]. The firſt of theſe was, uniting againſt her, under colour of religion, moſt of the princes and ſtates abroad, which, by the aſſiſtance of the Pope, joined to his own extenſive influence, he in a good meaſure effected, carrying (as we ſhall hereafter ſee) his diſtaſte ſo far, as to practiſe even with the little republics in Germany, to diſturb our commerce, and to affront our government. His ſecond point was, perplexing the queen at home, by countenancing the Popiſh faction, and by maintaining, at a vaſt expence, ſuch fugitives as fled from hence [m], in which he was likewiſe for ſome time ſucceſsful, the peace of the kingdom being broken, its ſtrength enervated, the government, nay, the queen's life, often in danger by thoſe reſtleſs ſpirits, who were as aſſiduous in the blackeſt cauſe as if their induſtry had been prompted by the moſt honourable motives. The laſt thing King Philip had at heart was the providing, as ſecretly as might be, ſuch a force as, with the aſſiſtance of his other ſchemes, might enable him to make himſelf entirely maſter of England at once; to which end he with great diligence ſought to increaſe his maritime power, and, upon the pretence of his wars in the Netherlands, to keep under the command of the prince of Parma, one of the ableſt generals that or perhaps any age ever produced, ſuch an army in conſtant readineſs there, as might be ſufficient to atchieve this conqueſt, when he ſhould have a fleet ſtrong enough to protect them in their paſſage. In the proſecution of theſe deep-laid projects, Philip met with many favourable circumſtances, which might, and very probably did, ſtrongly flatter his hopes, particularly the death of the queen of Scots, that deeply ſtained the character of Eliſabeth in foreign courts, and his own acquiſition of

[k] Hugo Grotius in hiſt. Belg. [l] The reader may find a more copious detail of the political motives to the invaſion in 1588 in Strype's annals, vol. iii. p. 512. [m] There are in the collections publiſhed by Strype, Haynes, and Murdin, liſts of the names of perſons of quality and others, to whom the king of Spain aſſigned penſions on that account. See p. 242, 244. in the latter. Dr. Birche's memoirs of the reign of Eliſabeth, vol. i. p. 103.

the

the kingdom of Portugal, by which he gained a vaſt acceſſion of naval ſtrength [n].

Queen Eliſabeth and her miniſters were too penetrating, and had too quick as well as certain intelligence, to be at all in the dark as to the purpoſe of the king of Spain, and their prudence was ſuch, that by every method poſſible they worked to diſappoint him, without diſcloſing their apprehenſions to the world. With this intent, they laboured to convince foreign ſtates that King Philip was a common enemy, and that he aimed alike at ſubduing all his neighbours, which being a thing ſtrictly true, and at the ſame time nearly concerning themſelves, had undoubtedly a proper weight [o]. In the next place, pains were taken to cultivate a cloſer correſpondence with his diſcontented ſubjects in the Netherlands, and to furniſh them with money, and ſecretly with other aids, whereby they were enabled to give ſome check to his power both by ſea and land. Our own privateers were allowed to paſs into the Weſt-Indies, where they carried on an illicit trade, not more to their own profit than the public benefit; for by this means they gained a perfect acquaintance with the ports, rivers, and fortreſſes in the Weſt-Indies, with the nature of the commerce tranſacted there, the method of ſharing it by fair means, or of deſtroying it by force [p]. Thus, notwithſtanding their immenſe wealth and extenſive dominions, the Engliſh were in ſome meaſure a match for the Spaniards in all places, and at all points.

But ſtill the great ſecret, by which the queen defeated all King Philip's political inventions, ſeems to have been ſcarce known to moſt of the writers who have undertaken to acquaint us with the tranſactions of her reign. It was in reality this: ſhe diſcovered the principal inſtruments he intended to make uſe of for her deſtruction; but, inſtead of expoſing or deſtroying them, ſhe contrived ſo to manage them by her creatures, as to make them actually fulfil her purpoſes, though they remained all the time tools and penſioners to Spain. Thus ſhe cauſed the ambaſſador Mendoza, whoſe arts might have been otherwiſe dangerous,

[n] Camden, Stowe, Speed, Strype, Bentivoglio, p. xi. lib. 4. Grimſtone's hiſt. of the Netherlands, lib. xiii. M. Faria y Souſa, lib. v. cap. 3. [o] Strype's annals, vol. iii. p. 414. as alſo ſuch letters in the cabala as relate to the years 1587 and 1588. [p] Stowe, Holingſhed, Speed, Hakluyt, Purchas.

had

had he remained here, to be ſo wrought on as to forfeit his character, by ſuborning perſons to murder Secretary Cecil, and to ſpread libels in the night through the ſtreets, reflecting on herſelf [q]. The Spaniſh emiſſaries employed to ſeduce her people, in order to form a ſtong party on any invaſion, ſhe took care to engage in plots againſt her perſon, whereby they became ſpeedily obnoxious to a legal conviction, and ſo were brought to an ignominious death, equally terrible and ſhameful to the popiſh faction. This appears clearly from the caſe of Parry and other conſpirators, with whom her ſecretaries played till their treaſons were ripe, and then ſeized and convicted them; and thus at laſt, after all the pains the king had taken, ſhe eſcaped an invaſion by procuring ſuch notions to be infuſed into the prince of Parma's head, as inclined him rather to ſeek his own than his maſter's advantage, by which ſhe reaped a double benefit, that prince being ſoon after poiſoned, and ſo his particular ſchemes were likewiſe cut ſhort [r]. But it is time to return to our more immediate ſubject, the pains and precautions taken by the queen and her miniſters to put the nation into ſuch a ſtate of defence, both by land and ſea, as might give the people courage, and ſtrike the enemy with a ſtrong ſenſe of danger; the rather, becauſe theſe facts ſeem hitherto not to have been extremely well underſtood.

The queen's apprehenſions of the Spaniards deſigns were certainly conceived much earlier than moſt of our hiſtorians imagine, as appears from the ſtate-papers in her reign, among which, from the year 1574, we meet with nothing more frequent than inſtructions for viewing fortifications, examining the condition of our forts, inquiring into the ſtrength and poſture of our militia, taking frequent muſters, and, in fine, forming from all theſe

[q] Camden, Stowe, Speed, and more particularly in the life of Lord Burleigh, written by one of his ſervants, and publiſhed by the reverend Mr. Peck in the firſt volume of his Deſiderata curioſa. Biſhop Carleton's remembrances, chap. vii. p. 73. Strype's annals, vol. iii. book 1. chap. 14. The queen's declaration upon ſending him away is in the appendix, N° xxiv. p. 43. Mendoza is ſaid to have fallen into extreme diſgrace after his return to Spain, living retired like an hermit, abandoned by all the world. Dr. Birch's memoirs of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, vol. ii. p. 128.

[r] Carleton's remembrances, chap. viii. p. 90. Stowe's annals, p. 746. Holinſhed, Speed, Grimſtone's hiſtory of the Netherlands, lib. xiii. p. 1020, 1061.

inquiries a brief ſtate of the military and naval power of her dominions, of which I have ſeen many in ancient MSS. amongſt them one in 1575, whereby it appears, that the able men throughout England were computed to be 182,929, by which were intended ſerviceable men; and of ſuch as were armed, and in a continual capacity of acting, there were 62,462, and of light-horſe 2,566. I have likewiſe an account of the royal navy in 1548, by which it appears, that it conſiſted of no more than twenty-four ſhips of all ſizes[s]. The largeſt was called the Triumph, of the burden of a thouſand tons; the ſmalleſt was the George, which was under ſixty tons. At the ſame time all the ſhips throughout England, of an hundred tons and upwards, were but one hundred thirty-five; and all under an hundred, and upwards of forty tons, were ſix hundred and fifty-ſix.

It is, therefore, ſingularly ſtrange to find a late writer, who ought certainly to be as well acquainted with the ſtate of the navy as any man, give us the following liſt[t], under ſo amazing a title as,

WHAT OUR NAVY WAS IN 1573.

		Guns	No.	
Of	—	100,	1	59 of the line of battle, as they might be reckoned in thoſe days
From	—	80 to 60,	9	
From	—	58 to 40,	49	
From	—	38 to 20,	58	
From	—	18 to 6,	29	
			146	

Though nothing is eaſier than to diſcern at firſt ſight, that this account is abſurd and improbable, yet another writer has copied it implicitly, and no doubt, by degrees, it would gain credit, though I dare ſay there is an error of an hundred years at leaſt in the title of this ſtate of the navy. That it is abſolutely falſe, may appear from hence, that in an eſtimate in the office of ordnance, the guns on board the queen's ſhips in 1578, are computed to be five hundred and four[u], whereas, according to the foregoing ſtate, they muſt have been five years before, as

[s] E codice antiq. MS. penes Sam. Knight, S. T. P.

[t] Mr. Burchet, in his preface to his naval hiſtory. See alſo Lediard's naval hiſtory, vol. i. p. 160.

[u] E codice antiq. ante citat.

we

we ſee, no leſs than five thouſand ninty-nine, which, if we compare with the number of cannon in the Spaniſh armada, being but two thouſand ſix hundred and thirty, as appears by a liſt printed by authority of the Spaniſh court, we ſhall have a proper idea of the accuracy of this computation, which I have been forced to treat in this manner, to prevent ſo ſtrange a fact from being longer impoſed even on the moſt inattentive peruſer[w].

As I find authority has ſo great weight with ſome people, that they will not be brought to believe that the naval ſtrength of England was ſo inconſiderable at this time, I have thought it neceſſary to inſert *verbatim* the liſt before mentioned in this edition, and to add ſome remarks, which will, I think, put the matter beyond all diſpute.

The Names of her MAJESTY'S SHIPS, with the Number of Men and Furniture requiſite for the ſetting forth of the ſame, *A. D.* 1578.

I. TRIUMPH.

1. Men 780, whereof
   - Mariners, - - 450
   - Gunners, - - 50
   - Soldiers, - - 200
2. Furniture:
   - Harquebus, - - 250
   - Bows, - - 50
   - Arrows, ſheaves of, - 100
   - Pikes, - - 200
   - Corſlets, - - 100
   - Mariners, - - 200
3. Burden, - - 1000

II. ELISABETH.

1. Men 600, whereof
   - Mariners, - - 300
   - Gunners, - - 50
   - Soldiers, - - 200
2. Furniture:
   - Harquebus, - - 200
   - Bows, - - 50
   - Arrows, ſheaves of, - 100
   - Pikes, - - 280
   - Bills, - - 170
   - Mariners, - - 200
3. Burden, - - 900

III. WHITE BEAR.

Men, Furniture, and Burden, as the laſt.

IV. VICTORY.

1. Men 500, whereof
   - Mariners, - - 330
   - Gunners, - - 40
   - Soldiers, - - 100

[w] Strype's annals, vol. iii. p. 221. in the appendix.

2. Furniture:
Harquebus, - - 200
Bows, - - 40
Arrows, ſheaves of, - 80
Corſlets, - - 80
Mariners, - - 160
3. Burden, - - 803

V. PRIMROSE.

Men, Furniture, and Burden, as the laſt.

VI. MARY ROSE.

1. Men 350, whereof
Mariners, - - 200
Gunners, - - 50
Soldiers, - - 120
2. Furniture:
Harquebus, - - 125
Bows, - - 30
Arrows, ſheaves of, - 60
Pikes, - - 100
Bills, - - 120
Corſlets, - - 50
Mariners, - - 160
3. Burden, - - 600

VII. HOPE.

Men, Furniture, and Burden, as the laſt.

VIII. BONAVENTURE.

1. Men 300, whereof
Mariners, - - 160
Gunners, - - 30
Soldiers, - - 110
2. Furniture:
Harquebus, - - 110
Bows, - - 30
Arrows, ſheaves of, - 60
Pikes, - - 90
Bills, - - 100
Corſlets, - - 50
Mariners, - - 100
3. Burden, - - 600

IX. PHILIP and MARY.

Men, Furniture, and Burden, as the laſt.

X. LYON.

1. Men 290, whereof
Mariners, - - 150
Gunners, - - 30
Soldiers, - - 110
2. Furniture and Burden as the two laſt.

XI. DREADNOUGHT.

1. Men 250, whereof
Mariners, - - 140
Gunners, - - 20
Soldiers, - - 80
2. Furniture:
Harquebus, - - 80
Bows, - - 80
Arrows, ſheaves of, - 50
Pikes, - - - 50
Bills, - - 60
Corſlets, - - 40
Mariners, - - 80
3. Burden, - - 400

XII. SWIFTSURE.

Men, Furniture, and Burden, as the laſt.

XIII. SWALLOW.

1. Men 200, whereof
Mariners, - - 120
Gunners,

Gunners, - 20
Soldiers, - 60
2. Furniture:
Harquebus, - 75
Bows, - 25
Arrows, ſheaves of, - 50
Bills, - 60
Corſlets, - 30
Mariners, - 70
3. Burden, - 350

XIV. ANTELOPE.

Men, Furniture, and Burden, as the laſt.

XV. JENNET.

Men, Furniture, and Burden, as the two laſt.

XVI. FORESIGHT.

Men and Furniture as the three laſt.
Burden, - - 300

XVII. AID.

1. Men 160, whereof
Mariners, - - 90
Guns, - - 20
Soldiers, - - 50
2. Furniture:
Harquebus, - 50
Bows, - - 20
Arrows, ſheaves of, - 40
Pikes, - - 40
Bills, - - 50
Corſlets, - - 20
Mariners, - - 50
3. Burden, - 240

XVIII. BULL.

1. Men 120, whereof
Mariners, - - 10
Guns, - - 10
Soldiers, - - 40
2. Furniture:
Harquebus, - 35
Bows, - - 15
Arrows, ſheaves of, 30
Pikes, - - 30
Bills, - - 40
Corſlets, - 20
Mariners, - - 40
3. Burden, - - 160

XIX. TYGER.

Men, Furniture, and Burden, as the laſt.

XX. FAULCON.

1. Men 80, whereof
Mariners, - - 60
Guns, - - 10
Soldiers, - - 20
2. Furniture:
Harquebus, - 24
Bows, - - 10
Arrows, ſheaves of, 20
Pikes, - - 20
Bills, - - 30
Corſlets, - - 12
Mariners, - 24
3. Burden,

XXI. AIBATES.

1. Men 60, whereof
Mariners, - - 30
Gunners, - - 10
Soldiers,

Soldiers,	10
2. Furniture:	
Harquebus,	16
Bows,	10
Arrows, ſheaves of,	20
Pikes,	20
Bills,	30
Corflets,	12
Mariners,	24
3. Burden,	80

XXII. HANDMAID.

Men, Furniture, and Burden, as the laſt.

XXIII. BARK of BULLEN.

1. Men 50, whereof	
Mariners,	30
Gunners,	10
Soldiers, none.	
2. Furniture:	
Harquebus,	12
Bows,	10
Arrows, ſheaves of,	20
Pikes,	15
Bills,	20
Mariners,	30
3. Burden,	60

XXIV. GEORGE.

1. Men 50, whereof	
Mariners,	40
Guns,	10
Soldiers, none.	
2. Furniture:	
Harquebus,	12
Bows,	10
Arrows, ſheaves of,	20
Pikes,	15
Bills,	20
Mariners,	30

The ſum of all other, as well merchant ſhips as others in all places of England, of 100 tons and upwards, 135

The ſum of all barks and ſhips of 40 tons and upwards, to 100 tons, 656

There are beſides, by eſtimation, 100 ſail of hoyes; alſo of ſmall barks and fiſhermen an infinite number: ſo as the number through the realm cannot be leſs than 600, beſides London.

There cannot be fuller evidence expected for the authenticity of this liſt than the viſible conformity between it and all the liſts of the queen's ſhips of war, publiſhed in the relations by authority during that reign, and by Sir William Monſon in his naval memoirs, with one of which, containing the ſtate of the navy at the queen's demiſe, the reader will find an opportunity of comparing it hereafter. On the other hand, that there could be no ſuch fleet at the time the before-mentioned abſtract is dated, will ſtill farther appear from the following conſiderations: That the building and maintaining it was utterly

inconſiſtent

inconſiſtent with the ſtate of the public revenue at that time: that there is not the leaſt mention of any ſuch force in any of the hiſtories of thoſe times: that all the liſts of ſhips publiſhed by authority directly contradict it; ſo that unleſs we can believe the wiſeſt and moſt active men in that age were totally ignorant of what it moſt imported them to know, we muſt conclude, that this abſtract certainly belongs to another period, or that it is a downright chimera; but the former appears to me infinitely more probable than the latter.

It muſt give every candid and attentive reader a very high idea of the wiſdom and fortitude of Queen Eliſabeth and her miniſters, when he is told, that, during the whole time Spain was providing ſo formidable an invaſion, they were aſſiduouſly employed in cheriſhing the commerce and naval power of England, without ſuffering themſelves to be at all intimidated, either by the enemy's boaſts, or by the intelligence they had of their great ſtrength and vaſt preparations [x]. To diſtreſs King Philip in bringing home his treaſures from the Weſt-Indies, many adventurers were licenſed to cruiſe in thoſe ſeas, and the queen herſelf lent ſome ſhips for this purpoſe [y]. To delay the invaſion as much as poſſible, or, if it had been practicable, to defeat it, the queen ſent a ſtout fleet under Sir Francis Drake, in 1587, to Cadiz, where that admiral performed rather more than could be expected; for he forced ſix gallies, which were deſigned to have guarded the port, to ſhelter themſelves under the cannon of their caſtles, and then burnt a hundred ſhips and upwards in the bay, all of which were laden with ammunition and proviſions. From thence he ſailed to Cape St. Vincent, where he ſurprized ſome forts, and entirely deſtroyed the fiſhing craft in the neighbourhood.

Arriving at the mouth of the Tayo, and underſtanding that the Marquis de Santa Cruz lay hard by with a ſquadron of good ſhips, he challenged him to come out and fight; but the Marquis, who was one of the beſt ſeamen in Spain, adhering

[x] Stowe, Speed, Bohun, Lord Bacon's character of Queen Eliſabeth.

[y] Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 169, 170. Sir Francis Drake revived, London, 1643, 4to, p. 2. Prince's worthies of Devon, p. 239. Hakluyt, Purchas, Camden. Lord Burleigh's diary of this reign in Murdin's collection of ſtate papers, p. 782, 783.

cloſely

cloſely to his maſter's orders, choſe rather to let Drake burn and deſtroy every thing on the coaſt, than hazard an engagement. Sir Francis having done this, ſteered for the Azores, where he took a large ſhip homeward bound from the East-Indies, which added as much to his profit, as his former glorious exploits had done to his reputation, and ſo returned home in triumph [z]. This expedition delayed the Spaniards for ſome months; but, in the ſpring of the next year, this enormous fleet being almoſt ready, King Philip gave orders that it ſhould rendezvous at Liſbon, in order to paſs from thence to England.

His Catholic majeſty preſumed ſo much on the force of this extraordinary fleet, ſuperior certainly to any thing that had been fitted out for ages before, that, inſtead of concealing its ſtrength, he cauſed a very accurate account of it to be publiſhed in Latin, and moſt of the languages ſpoken in Europe, except Engliſh [a]. This piece was dated May 20th, 1588, and, according to it, the moſt happy Armada (for ſo it was ſtyled therein) conſiſted of one hundred and thirty ſhips, making in all fifty-ſeven thouſand eight hundred ſixty-eight ton; on board of which there were nineteen thouſand, two hundred ninety-five ſoldiers, eight thouſand four hundred fifty mariners, two thouſand eighty-eight ſlaves, with two thouſand ſix hundred and thirty pieces of cannon. Beſides, there was a large fleet of tenders, with a prodigious quantity of arms on board, intended for ſuch as ſhould join them. There were alſo on board this fleet, one hundred and twenty-four volunteers of quality, and about one hundred and eighty monks of ſeveral orders.

The command of the whole was originally deſigned to have been veſted in the above-mentioned marquis de Santa Cruz, a nobleman of known valour and great experience, of which he

z Stowe, p. 808. Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 170. M. Turquet, hiſtoire d' Eſpagne, liv. xxxiii. p. 113, 114. Lord Burleigh's journal of the reign of Eliſabeth in Murdin's collection of ſtate papers, p. 785.

a The title in Spaniſh runs thus: "La feliceſſima Armada que el Rey Felipe "nueſtro ſenior mando Junlaren el puerto de la Civedad de Liſboa en el Reyno "de Portugal: en anno de mille quinientos y ocenta y ocha. Hecha per Pedro "de Pas Salas."

had given high proofs in the famous battle of Lepanto; but he dying, the duke of Medina Sidonia, Don Alphonſo de Guſman, was appointed in his ſtead, rather on account of his ſuperior quality than his diſtinguiſhed merit, under whom ſerved Don Martinez de Ricalde, an old experienced Biſcayneer, who had the direction of all things, and by whoſe advice the general was entirely led. Theſe great officers repaired to Liſbon in the latter end of the month of May, and, in a few days after, their navy was in a condition to ſail [b]. But it is now time to return to the diſpoſitions made in England for warding off ſo dangerous a blow.

In the firſt place, the queen took care to give proper information to all foreign ſtates of the nature and intent of this project of the king of Spain, pointing out to them, not her own, but their danger, in caſe that monarch ſhould prevail; which method being as prudently carried into practice, as it was wiſely contrived, the king of Denmark, at the requeſt of her ambaſſador, laid an embargo on a very ſtrong ſquadron of ſhips hired for the uſe of King Philip in his dominions [c]. The Hanſe-towns, determined enemies at that time to England, retarded, however, the ſhips they were to have ſent to Spain, which, though a very ſeaſonable act of prudence then, proved fatal to them afterwards. King James VI. of Scotland buried all his reſentments for his mother's death, and ſteadily adhered to his own, by following the queen's intereſts. The French were too wiſe to afford the Spaniards any help, and the Dutch fitted out a conſiderable navy for the ſervice of the queen, under the command of Count Juſtin of Naſſau [d].

[b] Stowe, p. 745. Camden, vol. ii. p. 571. Speed, p. 858. Ferrera's hiſtoria de Eſpana, p. 15. § xvi. M. Faria y Souſa, lib. v. cap. vii. Dupleix, tome iv. p. 173. Bentivoglio, p. ii. lib. iv. [c] Camden, vol. ii. p. 586. Strype's annals, vol. iii. p. 524. Stowe. [d] Camden, vol. ii. p. 566. See an original letter from that prince to the queen, dated Edinburgh, Auguſt the 4th, 1588, full of the warmeſt expreſſions of friendſhip, reſpect, and eſteem, offering to march at the head of all the forces of his kingdom, to her aſſiſtance, againſt the enemies of her country, in Rymer's fœdera, tome xvi. p. 18. It is alſo to be met with in Dr. Birche's memoirs of that princeſs, vol. i. p. 55. Mezeray, tome v. p. 320. P. Daniel, tome ix. p. 297. Le Clerc, hiſtoire des Provinces Unies, tome i. p. 140.

The Engliſh fleet was commanded by Charles Lord Howard of Effingham, then high-admiral, who had under him for his vice-admiral Sir Francis Drake, for his rear-admiral Sir John Hawkins, and abundance of experienced officers, who had ſignalized their courage and conduct: their orders were to lie on the weſt coaſt, that they might be ready to receive the enemy. Lord Henry Seymour, in conjunction with Count Naſſau, cruized on the coaſt of Flanders, the better to prevent the prince of Parma from making any deſcent, as it was expected he would attempt to do, with the army under his command.

In regard to a land-force, the queen had three armies; the firſt conſiſted of twenty thouſand men, cantoned along the ſouth coaſt; another of two and twenty thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe, which was encamped near Tilbury, under the command of the earl of Leiceſter; the third, which was made up of thirty-four thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, all choſen men, was for the guard of the queen's perſon, their commander being the Lord Hunſdon, a brave, active, and reſolute nobleman, the queen's near relation [c].

The Spaniſh fleet ſailed from the river of Liſbon on the firſt of June, N. S. with as great pomp, and as ſanguine hopes as any fleet ever did. The king's inſtructions to the duke of Medina Sidonia were, to repair to the road of Calais, in order to be joined there by the prince of Parma, and then to purſue ſuch further orders as he ſhould find in a ſealed letter delivered to the general with his inſtructions. It was further recommended to him, to keep as cloſe as poſſible to the French ſhore, in order to prevent the Engliſh from having any intelligence of his approach, and, in caſe he met our fleet, he was to avoid fighting to the utmoſt of his power, and to endeavour only to defend himſelf. But in doubling the North Cape the fleet was ſeparated by foul weather, which obliged the general to ſail to the Groyne, where he re-aſſembled his ſhips, and had intelligence that the Engliſh fleet, believing their expedition laid aſide, was put into Plymouth.

[c] Stowe, p. 744. Speed, p. 859. Camden, vol. ii. p. 564. Bentivoglio, p. 11. lib. iv.

Upon

Upon this he held a council of war, to conſider whether they ſhould adhere ſtrictly to the king's order, or embrace this favourable opportunity of burning the Engliſh fleet in their harbour. After a long debate, wherein many were of a contrary opinion, it was reſolved to attempt the Engliſh fleet, and this chiefly at the inſtigation of Don Diego Flores de Valdez, admiral of the Andaluſian ſquadron. The pretence indeed was very plauſible, and, but for an unforeſeen accident, they had certainly carried their point. The firſt land they fell in with was the Lizard, which they miſtook for the Ram's-Head near Plymouth, and being towards night ſtood off to ſea till the next morning. In this ſpace of time they were deſcried by a Scots pirate, one Captain Fleming, who bore away immediately for Plymouth, and gave the lord admiral notice, which proved the utter ruin of their deſign, as well as the ſole cauſe of the preſervation of the Engliſh fleet[d].

The ſeaſon was ſo far advanced, and the Engliſh had ſo little intelligence of the Spaniards departure, that their fleet was not only returned into port, but ſeveral of their ſhips alſo were already laid up, and their ſeamen diſcharged. The admiral, however, ſailed on the firſt notice, and, though the wind blew hard into Plymouth-ſound, got out to ſea, but not without great difficulty[e]. The next day, being the 20th of July, they ſaw the Spaniſh navy drawn up in a half-moon, ſailing ſlowly through the Channel, its wings being near ſeven miles aſunder. The admiral ſuffered them to paſs by quietly, that, having the advantage of the wind, he might the better attack them in the rear, which he performed with equal courage and ſucceſs, and though Don Martinez de Ricalde did all that it was poſſible for a brave officer to do, yet they were put into the utmoſt diſorder, and many of them received conſiderable damage. More had been done, but that a great part of the Engliſh fleet lay at too great a diſtance, ſo that the admiral was forced to wait for them.

[d] Stowe, p. 747. Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 172. Speed, p. 860.
[e] Camden, vol. ii. p. 571. Phœnix Britannicus, 4to, 1731. p. 346. Strype, vol. iii. Meteren, lib. xv. fol. 302. Grotii hiſtor. Belg. lib. i. p. 118.

The night following a Dutch gunner, who had been ill treated by ſome Spaniſh officers, ſet fire to the ſhip on board which was their treaſure; nor was it without great difficulty that the flames were extinguiſhed. The greateſt part of the money was put on board a galleon commanded by Don Pedro de Valdez, which ſoon after ſprung her foremaſt, and being thus diſabled, and the night very dark, fell into the hands of Sir Francis Drake, who ſent her captain to Dartmouth, and left the money on board to be plundered by his men[f]. The next day was ſpent by the Spaniſh general in diſpoſing his fleet, iſſuing orders to his officers, and deſpatching an advice-boat to haſten the duke of Parma, by giving him an account of the great loſs he had already ſuffered, and the extreme danger he was in. On the twenty-third they fought again, with variety of ſucceſs, which, however, demonſtrated to the Spaniards, that the mighty bulk of their ſhips was a diſadvantage to them, their ſhot flying over the heads of the Engliſh, while every bullet of theirs took place.

On the twenty-fourth the Engliſh were able to do little for want of ammunition; but a ſupply arriving in the evening, the admiral made all neceſſary diſpoſitions for attacking the Spaniards in the midſt of the night, dividing his fleet into four ſquadrons, the firſt commanded by himſelf, the ſecond by Sir Francis Drake, the third by Admiral Hawkins, and the fourth by Captain Martin Forbiſher, but a dead calm prevented the execution of this deſign. On the twenty-fifth one of the Spaniſh ſhips was taken, and on the twenty-ſixth the admiral reſolved to make no further attempts upon them till they ſhould enter the Streights of Dover, where he knew Lord Henry Seymour and Sir William Winter waited for them with a freſh ſquadron. He alſo took this opportunity of knighting Lord Thomas Howard, Lord Sheffield, Roger Townſend, Admiral Hawkins, and Captain Forbiſher, for their gallant behaviour throughout the engagement[g].

[f] Stowe's annals, and Sir William Monſon's naval tracts. Grimſtone's hiſtory of the Netherlands, book xiii. p. 1002. Bentivoglio, p. xi. lib iv. [g] Camden, vol. ii. p. 576. Stowe, p. 744. Speed, p. 861. Reidanus, l. viii. p. 173. Memoirs of the earl of Monmouth, p. 51.

The

The wind favouring the Spaniſh fleet, they continued their courſe up the Channel, with the Engliſh ſhips cloſe in their rear. The ſtrength of the Spaniards had not only alarmed, but excited the courage of the whole nation, inſomuch that every man of quality and fortune was ambitious of diſtinguiſhing himſelf, by appearing upon this occaſion againſt the common enemy. With this public-ſpirited view, the earls of Oxford, Northumberland, and Cumberland, Sir Thomas Cecil, Sir Robert Cecil, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Thomas Vavaſor, and many others, fitted out ſhips at their own expence, and went moſt of them in perſon to attend the admiral. Men of lower rank ſhewed their zeal and loyalty by ſending ammunition and proviſions; and ſo unanimous were all men againſt theſe foreigners, that even the papiſts, whom the Spaniards expected to have found in arms, were glad to wipe away the aſperſions which had been thrown upon them, by ſerving as common ſoldiers.

When, therefore, the Spaniſh fleet anchored on the twenty-ſeventh of July before Calais, the Engliſh admiral had with him near a hundred and forty ſhips, which enabled him to gall the enemy extremely. But perceiving, on the twenty-eighth, that the Spaniards had ſo diſpoſed their large ſhips, that it would be a very difficult matter to put them again into diſorder, he reſolved to practiſe an expedient long before in contemplation, in caſe the enemy ſhould have come up the river Thames, which was converting ſome of their worſt veſſels into fire-ſhips. This method he accordingly purſued, filling eight large barks with all ſorts of combuſtible matter, and ſending them under the command of the Captains Young and Prowſe, about midnight, into the thickeſt part of the Spaniſh fleet, where they ſpeedily began to blaze, and, as the admiral had foreſeen, obliged the navy to ſeparate, and each ſhip by ſteering a ſeparate courſe to ſeek its own ſafety.

The next day a large galeaſs ran aſhore on the ſands of Calais, where ſhe was plundered by the Engliſh. Deſirous, however, of attempting ſomewhat, the Spaniards again rendezvouſed near Graveling, where they waited ſome time, in hopes the prince of Parma would have come out; but in this they were diſappointed, whether through the want of power or of will in that great general, is uncertain. At laſt, finding themſelves

hard

hard preſſed by the Engliſh fleet, which continued to make a terrible fire upon them, they made a bold attempt to have retreated through the Streights of Dover; but the wind coming about, with hard gales at north-weſt, drove them on the coaſt of Zealand, but ſoon after veering to the ſouth-weſt, they tacked and got out of danger. The duke de Medina Sidonia took this opportunity of calling a council of war, wherein, after mature deliberation, it was reſolved, that there were now no hopes left of ſuceeding, and therefore the moſt prudent thing they could do was to drop their deſign, and to ſave as many ſhips as poſſible [h].

This reſolution being once fixed, was immediately carried into execution, and the whole Spaniſh navy made all the ſail they could for their own coaſt, going north about, which expoſed them to a variety of unforeſeen dangers. The Engliſh admiral very prudently ſent Lord Henry Seymour with a ſtrong ſquadron to cruize on the coaſt of Zealand, to prevent any danger from their joining with the prince of Parma, and afterwards left them to purſue their courſe. When the Spaniſh fleet arrived on the Scots coaſt, and found that care was every where taken they ſhould meet with no ſupply, they threw their horſes and mules overboard, and ſuch of them as had a proper ſtore of water, bore away directly for the bay of Biſcay, with the duke of Medina Sidonia, making in all about twenty-five ſhips. The reſt, about forty ſail, under the command of the vice-admiral, ſtood over for the coaſt of Ireland, intending to have watered at Cape Clear. On the ſecond of September, however, a tempeſt aroſe, and drove moſt of them aſhore, ſo that upwards of thirty ſhips, and many thouſand men, periſhed on the Iriſh coaſt.

Some likewiſe were forced a ſecond time into the Engliſh channel, where they were taken, ſome by the Engliſh, and ſome by the Rochellers. Several very large veſſels were loſt among the weſtern iſles, and upon the coaſt of Argyleſhire. Out of theſe about five hundred perſons were ſaved, who came into Edinburgh in a manner naked, and, out of mere charity, were clothed by

[h] Camden, Stowe, Monſon, Strype, Speed, p. 862. Diſcourſe concerning the Spaniſh fleet invading England in the year 1588, &c. originally written in Italian, by Petruccio Ubaldino of Florence, London, 1690, quarto, p. 15.

the

the inhabitants of that city, who alſo attempted to ſend them home to Spain: but, as if misfortunes were always to attend them, they were forced in their paſſage upon the coaſt of Norfolk, and obliged to put into Yarmouth, where they ſtaid till advice was given to the queen and council, who, conſidering the miſeries they had already felt, and not willing to appear leſs compaſſionate than the Scots, ſuffered them to continue their voyage [i].

Thus, in the ſhort ſpace of a month, this mighty fleet, which had been no leſs than three years preparing, was deſtroyed and brought to nothing. Of one hundred and thirty ſhips there returned but fifty-three or four, and of the people embarked there periſhed twenty thouſand men at leaſt. We may beſt form an idea of their loſs, from the precaution taken by King Philip to hide it, which was, publiſhing a proclamation to prohibit mourning. As to the courage and conſtancy he expreſſed upon this occaſion, I ſhould be loth to contradict many great authorities; yet this is certain, that the Lord-treaſurer Burleigh received intelligence of another kind, viz. that the king ſhould ſay after maſs, "That he would ſpend the wealth of Spain, to one of "thoſe candleſticks upon the altar, rather than not revenge "himſelf upon the Engliſh [k]." His future conduct agreed ſo exactly with this threatening, that we may well conclude, if he did not ſay, he thought ſo, and was therefore far from being ſo unmoved at this diſaſter as is commonly reported. What might in ſome meaſure juſtify his reſentment, was the falling out of this miſchief through the breach of his orders, which is well remarked by a writer of our own; for, if the king's inſtructions had been purſued, it is more than probable that Queen Eliſabeth's government had run the utmoſt hazard of being overturned.

The duke of Medina Sidonia eſcaped puniſhment through the intereſt of his wife; but as for Don Diego Flores de Valdez, whoſe perſuaſions induced the general to take that raſh ſtep, he was arreſted as ſoon as he ſet foot on ſhore, and conducted to

[i] Stowe's annals, p. 749. Strype's annals, vol. iii. p. 216. in the appendix. Meteren, liv. xv. fol. 305, 306. Bentivoglio, p. xi. lib. iv. Certain advertiſements out of Ireland concerning the loſſes and diſtreſſes which happened to the Spaniſh navy, London, 1588, quarto. Lord Burleigh's journal of the reign of Eliſabeth in Murdin's collection of ſtate papers, 788.

[k] Strype's annals, vol. iii. p. 525. Camdeni annal. vol. ii. p. 580. Speed, p. 862.

the caſtle of St. Andero, after which he was never heard of more. The ſame writer, from whom we have this particular, remarks alſo an error in the conduct of the Engliſh, *viz.* that they did not attack the Spaniſh fleet after it arrived before Graveling, which, however, he aſſures us, was not through any fault in the admiral, but was occaſioned through the negligence of ſome under-officers, who had the direction of the military ſtores, and had been too ſparing of powder and ammunition; otherwiſe, he tells us, it was thought the duke de Medina Sidonia, at the perſuaſion of his confeſſor, would have yielded both himſelf and his ſhips, which, it ſeems, were in that particular not at all better provided. This would have been a conqueſt indeed, a conqueſt equally glorious and important, the loſs of which ought to teach poſterity not to be too haſty in cenſuring great officers, or too remiſs in puniſhing little ones. In the preſent caſe, this miſchance ſeems to have been covered by the many favours beſtowed by Providence, and the offenders to have eſcaped through that general joy which their deliverance from ſo great an evil diffuſed through the whole nation [l].

It ſeems to be injurious to the reputation of thoſe brave men, who on this occaſion atchieved ſuch great things, to give no account of the force of the Engliſh fleet, which, however, I find not in any of our general hiſtorians; a deficiency which I ſhall endeavour to ſupply, by adding a liſt collected at that time, and which, for any thing I know, has not hitherto been publiſhed [m].

A LIST of the ENGLISH FLEET in the year 1588.

Men of war belonging to her majeſty, - - -	17
Other ſhips hired by her majeſty for this ſervice, - -	12
Tenders and ſtore-ſhips, - - - - -	6
Furniſhed by the city of London, being double the number the queen demanded, all well manned, and thoroughly provided with ammunition and proviſion, -	16
Tenders and ſtore-ſhips, - - - - -	4
Carried over	55

[l] Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 172, 173. Stowe, p. 748. Camden, vol. ii. Meteren, lib. xv. fol. 308. Bentivoglio, p. xi. lib. iv. p. 115—118.

[m] Communicated to me by the Rev. D. Knipe, canon of Chriſt church, Oxon.

Brought over	55
Furniſhed by the city of Briſtol, large and ſtrong ſhips, and which did excellent ſervice,	3
A tender,	1
From Barnſtaple, merchant-ſhips converted into frigates,	3
From Exeter,	2
A ſtout pinnace,	1
From Plymouth, ſtout ſhips every way, equal to the queen's men of war,	7
A fly-boat,	1
Under the command of Lord Henry Seymour, in the narrow ſeas, of the queen's ſhips and veſſels in her ſervice,	16
Ships fitted out at the expence of the nobility, gentry, and commons of England,	43
By the merchant-adventurers, prime ſhips, and excellently well furniſhed,	10
Sir William Winter's pinnace,	1
In all	143

THE queen having intelligence that the Spaniards, which was an evident mark of reſentment, meditated a ſecond attempt upon her dominions, reſolved, like a wiſe princeſs, to find them work at home; in order to which, in the ſpring of the year 1589, ſhe expreſſed her royal intention of aſſiſting Don Antonio to recover his kingdom of Portugal [n]. The expedition was undertaken partly at the queen's charge, and partly at the expence of private perſons. Her majeſty furniſhed ſix men of war, and 60,000 pounds: Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Norris were joint commanders, who with their friends adventured 50,000 pounds: the reſt was defrayed by London, the cinque ports, Ipſwich, Harwich, Newcaſtle, &c. and the whole navy conſiſted of 146 ſail [o]: to which alſo the Dutch, as much intereſted as we, joined a ſmall ſquadron [p].

[n] Stowe, p. 752. Camden, vol. iii. p. 600, 601. M. Faria y Souſa, lib. v. cap. 3. [o] Stowe, Speed, p. 863. Strype, vol. iii. p. 538. [p] Camden, vol. iii. p. 601. Le Clerk, tome i. liv. iv.

The first exploit this armament performed was landing near Corunna, commonly called the Groyne; which place they attacked, burnt the adjacent country, together with many magazines of naval stores, defeated a great body of Spaniards, and then re-embarked their forces, and sailed, as they had at first designed, for the river of Lisbon[q]. On their arrival before Peniche, the troops were landed, the place quickly surrendered to Don Antonio, and from thence Sir John Norris with the earl of Essex, and the whole army, marched immediately by land towards Lisbon, where they expected to have met the fleet under the command of Sir Francis Drake; but he, finding it impossible to proceed up the river with safety to her majesty's ships, staid at the castle of Cascais; which place he took, and also seized sixty sail of ships belonging to the Hanse-towns, laden with corn and ammunition, which, with about 150 pieces of cannon, were the principal fruits of this voyage[r]. It was indeed intended to have gone to the Canaries; but by this time the soldiers and sailors were so weakened with sickness, that it was thought more expedient to return. In their passage home they landed at Vigo, took and plundered it, and, having made some addition to their booty, reached England, Sir Francis Drake arriving at Plymouth on the 21st of June, and Sir John Norris with the rest of the fleet on the third of July, after having been about ten weeks abroad[s].

This expedition was inexpressibly destructive to the Spaniards, disappointed all their designs, weakened their naval force, and spread a mighty terror of the English arms through their whole dominions. But, as to any advantages which the proprietors reaped, they were but very inconsiderable, and the generals met with a cold reception in England; Sir John Norris charged Sir Francis Drake with breach of his promise, and Sir Francis accused him of expecting from a fleet services that were impracti-

[q] Sir William Monson's naval tracts, p. 174. Birch's memoirs of Elisabeth, vol. i. p. 58.

[r] See all the before-cited authors, who write copiously of this affair, and yet memoir-writers ascribe this miscarriage to the variance between our generals. See also Sir Francis Drake's letter to the Lord-treasurer Burleigh, dated the 2d of June, 1589, in Strype's annals, vol. iv. p. 8.

[s] Stowe's annals, p. 757. Speed, Camden. Birch's memoirs, vol. i. p. 60, 61. Ferrera's hist. de Espana, p. xv. § 16.

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table. The chief grounds of their miſcarriage were in thoſe days, when men could beſt judge, held to be theſe: Firſt, they were but indifferently manned and victualled, of which misfortune they were very ſenſible before they were out of the Channel. Secondly, their landing at the Groyne was contrary to their inſtructions, gave the men an opportunity of drinking new wines, and expoſed them to a great and unneceſſary loſs. Thirdly, the diſagreement of the generals before Liſbon defeated the remaining part of their deſign, and obliged them to think of coming home ſooner than they intended, or was neceſſary; whereas, if, in purſuance of their inſtructions, they had ſailed directly to the coaſt of Portugal, and landed their forces there, it is more than probable they had effectually placed Don Antonio upon the throne of Portugal, which would have given a deadly ſtroke to the power of Spain, and muſt have greatly promoted the intereſt and extended the commerce of England [t].

The diſappointments which happened in this voyage did not diſcourage either the queen or her ſubjects from purſuing the war by ſea, and endeavouring as much as poſſible to ruin the maritime force of Spain, and augment their own. In order to this, her majeſty ſettled a part of her revenue for the ordinary ſupply of the navy, amounting to about nine thouſand pounds a-year, and, by expreſſing a very high eſteem for ſuch young lords and other perſons of diſtinction as had ſhewn an inclination to the ſea-ſervice, ſhe encouraged others to undertake yet greater things [u]. Amongſt theſe the earl of Cumberland particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by fitting out a ſtout ſquadron in the ſummer of the year 1589, with which he ſailed to the Tercera iſlands, where he did the Spaniards incredible miſchief, and obtained conſiderable advantages for himſelf and for his friends. The iſland of Fayal he reduced, took the city and caſtle thereon, from whence he carried forty-five pieces of cannon, forced the iſland of Gracioſa to a compoſition, and ſeized ſeveral rich ſhips; among the reſt one, the cargo of which was valued at

[t] Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 174, 175. Stowe's annals, p. 757. in which we find that, on their return, the ſoldiers and ſailors thought of making themſelves amends for their diſappointments by plundering Bartholomew fair.

[u] Camden. Sir R. Naunton in his fragmenta regalia. Lord Bacon in his character of Queen Eliſabeth.

upwards of an hundred thouſand pounds, which in his return, however, was loſt in Mount's-bay on the coaſt of Cornwall [w].

In 1590 Sir John Hawkins and Sir Martin Forbiſher were at ſea with two ſquadrons, and by impeding the return of the Spaniſh plate-fleets from America, and other ſervices, kept King Philip entirely employed at home, though his thoughts were ſtill buſy in contriving another expedition againſt England. The ſucceeding year Lord Thomas Howard, ſecond ſon to the duke of Norfolk, ſailed with a ſquadron to the iſlands, in hopes of intercepting the Spaniſh fleet from the Weſt Indies, which now was forced to return home. In this he had probably ſucceeded, if his force had been greater; but having no more than ſeven of the queen's ſhips, and about as many fitted out by private adventurers, he very narrowly eſcaped being totally deſtroyed by the Spaniards; for King Philip, knowing the diſmal conſequences that muſt have followed in caſe his plate-fleet was intercepted, reſolved to employ that force which was intended againſt England for its relief, and accordingly ſent Don Antonio Baſſan, an experienced ſeaman and an excellent officer, with a fleet of forty-five ſail to attack Lord Thomas Howard, who very narrowly eſcaped them. His vice-admiral, Sir Richard Grenville, in the Revenge, was taken through his own obſtinacy; for, when the enemy was in ſight, he would not be perſuaded that it was the armada, but inſiſted that it was the American fleet, and ſo was ſurrounded. He ſold his life and his ſhip, which was the only one of the queen's taken in the war, dearly; for a man of war called the Aſcenſion, of Seville, and a double fly-boat full of men, ſunk by his ſide. The Revenge was ſo battered that ſhe could not be carried to Spain, but foundered at ſea with two hundred Spaniards on board; and as for Sir Richard Grenville, he died two days after of his wounds. The next day after the fight the plate-fleet arrived, which ſhews the uncertainty of expeditions of this kind; for had it come but one day ſooner, or had the armada been one day later, the Engliſh had poſſeſſed themſelves of an immenſe treaſure. The Spaniards, however, gained very little by their dear-bought ſucceſs; for, in their return home, near 100 veſſels were wrecked, and the greateſt part

[w] Hakluyt's voyages, vol. ii. p. 143. Purchas's pilgrims, vol. iv. p. 1148. Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 176.

of the wealth on board them was loſt, while Lord Thomas Howard with his little fleet ſtill kept the ſea, and, by picking up ſtragglers, ſaved a great part of the expences of his expedition [x].

In 1591 the earl of Cumberland made another expedition, and in 1592 Sir Martin Forbiſher and Sir John Burroughs infeſted the Spaniſh coaſt, and did much miſchief. In 1594 the queen ſent a ſmall ſquadron to ſea under the command of Sir Martin Forbiſher, to reduce the port of Breſt in Bretagne, which the king of Spain had taken, by the aſſiſtance of the leaguers in France, from King Henry IV. A place that, if it had been long kept, muſt have been very troubleſome to that monarch, and would have given the Spaniards great advantages againſt us. It was ſtrong as well by ſituation as by the art and expence employed in fortifying it, and had beſides a numerous garriſon of Spaniſh troops. Sir John Norris, with a ſmall Engliſh army, formed the ſiege by land; Sir Martin Forbiſher, with only four men of war, forced an entrance into the harbour, and having thus blocked up the place by ſea, landed his ſailors, and, in conjunction with Sir John Norris, ſtormed the fort, which, though gallantly defended, was taken, but with the loſs of abundance of brave men, and amongſt them may be reckoned Sir Martin himſelf, who died of the wounds he received in that ſervice. The ſame year Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins ſailed on their laſt expedition into the Weſt-Indies [y].

The Spaniards, who ſeldom abandon any deſign they once undertake, were all this time employed in aſſembling and equipping another fleet for England, and, as an earneſt of their intentions, in the year 1595, Don Diego Brochero, with four gallies, arrived in Mount's-bay in Cornwall, and, landing with all his men, burnt three little places, *viz.* Mouſe-hole, Newlin, and Penzance, with a neighbouring church, but without killing or taking ſo much as a ſingle man [z]. This, however, alarmed the nation, and engaged the queen to undertake an invaſion of the Spaniſh dominions, to prevent any ſuch future viſits to her

[x] Camden, vol. iii. p. 637, 638. Sir William Monſon, p. 178, 179. Carew's ſurvey of Cornwall, fol. 62. Sir Walter Raleigh's true report in Hakluyt, vol. ii. p. 169. Linſchotten's voyages, book i. chap. 99. Sir Richard Hawkins's obſervations, p. 10. [y] Camden, vol. iii. Stowe, p. 809. Hakluyt, vol. iii. Fuller's worthies in Yorkſhire, p. 233. Sir William Monſon's naval tracts.

[z] Camden, vol. iii. p. 697. Carew's ſurvey of Cornwall, fol. 115.

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own; in order to which, a ſtout fleet and a numerous army were provided, under the moſt experienced officers of thoſe times.

The true deſign of this expedition was to deſtroy the Spaniſh fleet in the port of Cadiz, and to make themſelves maſters of that rich city. The force employed was very great, not leſs in all than one hundred and fifty ſail, of which one hundred twenty-ſix were men of war; but of theſe only ſeventeen were the queen's ſhips, the reſt were hired from traders, and fitted for this voyage. On board this mighty fleet were embarked upwards of ſeven thouſand men[a]. The joint commanders of the expedition were the earl of Eſſex and the lord high-admiral (Howard), aſſiſted by a council of war, compoſed of the following honourable perſons, *viz.* Lord Thomas Howard, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Francis Vere, Sir George Carew, and Sir Conyers Clifford. There was beſides a Dutch ſquadron, under the command of Admiral Van Duvenvoord, conſiſting of twenty-four ſhips, well manned and victualled. This navy lay for ſome time at Plymouth, till all things could be got ready, and then, on the firſt of June 1596, ſailed for the coaſt of Spain with a fair wind, and the good wiſhes of all their countrymen[b].

In their paſſage they were divided into five ſquadrons; and, whereas in former expeditions great inconveniences had happened by the enemy's having early intelligence, in this they were ſo happy as to arrive in ſight of Cadiz on the twentieth of the ſame month, before they were either looked for, or ſo much as apprehended. They found the town indifferently well fortified, and defended by a ſtrong caſtle. In the port were fifty-nine Spaniſh ſhips, amongſt them many laden with treaſure, and nineteen or twenty gallies. It was reſolved the ſame day in a council of war to have landed all their forces at St. Sebaſtian's; but, when they came to attempt it, that was found impracticable. After this, ſome time was loſt before their coming to another reſolution, which was owing to the joint command; for the earl of Eſſex, who was young and warm, affected to dictate; and, on the other hand, the admiral, who had as much

[a] Stowe, p. 771. Speed, p. 868. Sir William Monſon's account of the wars with Spain in the reign of Queen Eliſabeth, p. 28. Vere's commentaries, p. 24.

[b] Camden, vol. iii. p. 720, 721. Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 184. Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 607. Meteren, liv. xviii. fol. 390. Bentivoglio, p. iii. liv. iii.

courage,

courage, and a great deal more experience, could not brook being treated in ſuch a manner.

At laſt it was determined to attack the ſhips in the haven, before any attempt was made upon the town; whereupon a new difficulty aroſe, which was, who ſhould command this attack; firſt demanded by the earl of Eſſex, then given to Sir Walter Raleigh, laſtly, challenged and enjoyed by the vice-admiral Lord Thomas Howard. In the execution of it ſome errors were committed by the Engliſh, through the too great heat and emulation of their commanders; but others much more groſs and fatal by the Spaniards, who, when they found themſelves compelled to fly, did it without any of thoſe precautions whereby they might have provided for their ſafety; for, inſtead of running their ſhips aſhore under the town, where they would have been covered by their own artillery, and where at leaſt their men might have gone aſhore in ſafety, they ran them up the bay as far from the enemy as poſſible, by which means part fell into the hands of the Engliſh, and the reſt were burnt [c].

In the mean time the earl of Eſſex landed his men quietly, the enemy deſerting a ſtrong fort, from which they might have done him much miſchief; three regiments alſo were ſent to make themſelves maſters of the cauſeway which unites the iſland to the main. This they performed with very ſmall loſs, but afterwards quitted it again, which gave the gallies an opportunity of eſcaping; another overſight, for which no account can be given. The lord admiral, hearing the earl was landed, landed alſo with the remainder of the forces, doubting much whether his lordſhip could have kept the place; and, while the two generals were employed in reducing the city, Sir Walter Raleigh was ſent to ſeize the ſhips in the harbour of Port-real, to prevent which the duke of Medina Sidonia cauſed them to be ſet on fire and burnt, whereby twenty millions were buried in the ſea [d].

[c] See the relation at the end of the firſt volume of Hakluyt's voyages, ſaid to be written by a perſon who was in the expedition; as alſo a better copy of the ſame relation in Stowe's annals, p. 771. See likewiſe Sir William Monſon's account and obſervations on this voyage in his tracts, p. 184. Ferrera's hiſt. de Eſpana, p. xv. § 16. Mayerne. Turquet, hiſt. d'Eſpagne, liv. xxxvi. p. 281.

[d] Camden, vol. iii. p. 725. Stowe, p. 774. Speed, p. 870. Sir Walter Raleigh's relation of the action at Cadiz in his genuine remains publiſhed by his grandſon, p. 25. Vere's commentaries, p. 42.

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The city and its forts they poſſeſſed for a fortnight, and the earl of Eſſex was very deſirous of being left there with a garriſon, however ſmall; which was, notwithſtanding, over-ruled by the council of war, and then it was agreed to ſail to Faro, in the kingdom of Algarve, where they found the place deſerted by its inhabitants, and void of any thing that could be made plunder. To repair this diſappointment, the earl of Eſſex was for ſailing to the Azores, and there waiting for the Eaſt-India ſhips; but in this too he was over-ruled, becauſe there was a great complaint of the want of proviſion and ammunition on board their fleet. In their return they looked into the ports of the Groyne, St. Andero, and St. Sebaſtian's, where they expected to find ſhips, but met with none; and after this nothing remarkable happened till their arrival in England, which was on the eighth of Auguſt the ſame year. They brought with them two galleons, one hundred braſs guns, and an immenſe booty, the deſire of keeping which is conceived to have hindered them from performing more. But with reſpect to the damage done the Spaniards, it is not eaſy to form any computation. However, this we know, that they burnt eleven men of war, forty ſhips from the Indies, four large merchant-men, and many magazines of ammunition and proviſion; ſo that, notwithſtanding the people might murmur here at home about the miſcarriage of this voyage, as from the writings in thoſe times it manifeſtly appears they did, yet, taking all things together, it anſwered very well, and diſtreſſed the enemy exceſſively[c].

In the ſpring of the year 1597, the king of Spain fitted out a freſh armada from Liſbon, compoſed not only of his own ſhips and gallies, but alſo of all that he could take up and hire in Italy or elſewhere. On board of theſe he embarked a great

[c] Compare Sir William Monſon's remarks with the apology of the earl of Eſſex, as alſo with the account given of this buſineſs by Mr. Oldys in his excellent life of Sir Walter Raleigh. See likewiſe the different relations of this expedition by the earl of Eſſex, Sir Anthony Standen, Sir Chriſtopher Blunt, and the Lord Admiral Howard, in Dr. Birch's memoirs of Eliſabeth, vol. ii. p. 45—55. Letters of thanks were written to the Lord Admiral, on his arrival at Plymouth, and to the earl of Eſſex, and Mynheer Van Duvenwoord at Portſmouth, by order of the queen, for their great ſervices on this occaſion. See Lord Burleigh's diary in Murdin's collection, p. 809.

body of troops, eſpecially of the Iriſh, intending to have invaded both England and Ireland; but the winds diſappointed him, ſcattered his fleet, and thirty-ſix ſail were caſt away. In the mean time the queen reſolved to fit out another fleet under the command of the earl of Eſſex, with an intent to intercept the plate-fleet near the Azores, after burning ſuch veſſels as were in the harbours of the Groyne and Ferrol. This fleet conſiſted of forty men of war, and ſeventy other ſhips, to which the Dutch added ten men of war, under Sir John Van Duvenwoord, who was knighted in the former expedition[f].

They ſailed from Plymouth the ninth of July; but a ſtorm ariſing, they were forced back thither again, and did not ſail the ſecond time till the ſeventh of Auguſt. They uſed their beſt endeavours to perform the firſt part of their inſtructions, but finding it impracticable, they thought it expedient to ſteer for the iſlands, which accordingly they did. In this voyage Sir Walter Raleigh's ſhip ſprung her maſt, which however did not hinder him, when he had repaired his loſs, from proceeding to the place of rendezvous, which was the iſland of Flores. He had ſcarce begun to wood and water there, before the earl of Eſſex ſent him orders to follow him to Fayal, which iſland the general himſelf intended to attempt. Raleigh obeyed him; but not finding Eſſex on his arrival, and perceiving that the people were ſecuring their goods, throwing up retrenchments, and making every other preparation neceſſary for their defence, he, with the advice of his officers, reſolved, in caſe Eſſex did not arrive in four days, to attempt the reduction of the iſland, which accordingly he performed; but though he got reputation by this expioit, yet he loſt the general's friendſhip, ſo that a coldneſs thenceforward prevailed, which afterwards increaſed to open oppoſition and the moſt rancorous hatred[g].

After Eſſex's arrival they ſailed together to Gracioſa, which immediately ſubmitted. Here the general intended to have ſtaid; and, if he had done ſo, undoubtedly it had anſwered his

[f] Ferrera's hiſt. de Eſpana, p. 15. § 16. Meteren, liv. xix. fol. 403. Camden, vol. iii. p. 737, 738.

[g] See Sir William Monſon's reflections upon this expedition, the life of Sir Walter Raleigh before cited, and Stowe's annals, p. 783.

purpoſe, and he had taken the whole Spaniſh fleet; but being too eaſily brought to alter his purpoſes, he took another method, which gave the Spaniards, who arrived next day, an opportunity of proceeding for Tercera, with the loſs of no more than three ſhips, which were taken by Sir William Monſon[h]. The reſt of the fleet, conſiſting of about thirty-ſeven ſail, arrived ſafely in the port of Angra, which was well defended by ſeveral forts, ſo that, on mature deliberation, it was judged impracticable to attempt any thing there with reaſonable hopes of ſucceſs.

The earl of Eſſex, vexed at this diſappointment, reſolved to do ſomewhat of conſequence before he returned, and therefore landing, ſurpriſed the town of Villa Franca, and plundered it; after which he re-embarked his forces, and prepared for his return home[i]. In his paſſage he had the good luck to take a very rich Spaniſh ſhip, which fell into his fleet, miſtaking it for their own, and had taken another in the ſame manner, but for the imprudence of a Dutch captain, who firing haſtily upon her, frighted her away. In the mean time, the Spaniards were meditating great deſigns. The abſence of the Engliſh fleet gave them an opportunity of ſending out their ſquadrons from the Groyne and Ferrol. With theſe they intended to have made a deſcent in Cornwall, and to have poſſeſſed themſelves of the port of Falmouth, in which leaving a ſtrong garriſon, they thought next of intercepting the Engliſh fleet in their return, when they knew it muſt be weakened by ſo rough and troubleſome an expedition, in which ſo long a ſpace of time had been ſpent, and their ſhips were to return ſo late in the year.

This deſign, as it was wiſely laid, ſo it was well conducted; the Spaniſh admiral joined his ſquadrons as he intended, and proceeded with them to the iſlands of Scilly, almoſt within ſight of our ſhore. There he thought fit to call a council of war, in order to give his officers neceſſary inſtructions as to the

[h] Stowe, p. 783. Speed, p. 870. Vere's commentaries, p. 45——67. See the relation of this voyage by the earl of Eſſex, Lord Thomas Howard, Lord Montjoy, Sir Walter Raleigh, &c. in Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1935.

[i] See a copious account of this expedition written by Sir Arthur Gorges, who was employed therein, in the fourth volume of Purchas's pilgrims, p. 1938.

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intended deſcent. But it ſo happened, that while his captains were on board, a very high ſtorm aroſe, which hindered them for a long time from getting back to their reſpective ſhips, and afterwards entirely ſeparated their fleet, toſſing them to and fro, ſometimes towards our coaſt, ſometimes on their own. In this ſtorm eighteen capital ſhips were loſt, ſeveral forced into Engliſh ports were taken, and the Spaniſh admiral's ſchemes thereby entirely diſconcerted. Nor did our fleet eſcape the fury of this tempeſt, but were terribly beaten; however, their ſhips being light and ſtrong, and manned by able ſeamen, they with much difficulty reached our weſtern coaſt, in the latter end of the month of October [k].

The compaſs of this work, I confeſs, ought to deter me from digreſſions; but as the principal intention of it is to give the reader a juſt and impartial notion of the conduct of our naval affairs under every reign, ſo I think myſelf obliged to make a few ſhort reflections on the facts before ſet down, in order to ſhew how little we ſtood indebted for ſafety to the management of our own commanders, or to the faults of our enemies, and how much we owe to the care of divine Providence, which a heathen would have called the fortune of Queen Eliſabeth.

This expedition to the Azores might have proved, if well managed by us, the ruin of the Spaniſh power, and, as it was managed, had very near been fatal to our own; ſo much depends on the conduct of commanders, and ſo little regard ought there to be had to high titles and great quality, where the ſafety of a nation is at ſtake. The earl of Eſſex was choſen for this command from court-motives, ſuch as his birth, intereſt, and perſonal accompliſhments, though he wanted almoſt all the qualities requiſite for a commander in chief. His courage was hot and fierce, but not reſolute or laſting; his wit was quick, but his judgment ſlow and unſettled; and beſides all this, deficient in experience. Sir William Monſon, who went the voyage with him, and who appears enough inclined to favour him, owns that their miſcarriage was entirely owing to his Lordſhip's incapacity, who was unable to form any right reſolution him-

[k] Camden, Stowe, Speed, Rapin.

ſelf, or purſue ſteadily any meaſures recommended to him by thoſe who were more knowing than he [l]. Sir Walter Raleigh fell into diſgrace with him, and, as Sir William Monſon ſays, had ſmarted ſeverely, if the earl had not been afraid of being called to an account for it in England, and all this for doing his duty, for performing the only important ſervice done in the whole expedition. This demonſtrates, that the earl had no view but to his own particular glory, and that the public ſervice was to be poſtponed whenever it came in competition therewith. By this management that plate-fleet eſcaped, which, if it had been taken, would have ruined the Spaniards, and made us.

His ſubſequent attempts to repair his own honour, and to make a ſhew of that reſolution which he really had not, delayed the return of the fleet, and gave the Spaniſh admiral an opportunity of invading England, which an accidental ſtorm prevented. So much is due to truth, and to the intereſt of the nation; nor would I have this looked on as flowing from any pique to the memory of the earl of Eſſex, who was certainly a popular nobleman, endowed with many virtues; but where the public ſuffers, an hiſtorian ought to ſpare no man, however ſupported by the favour of his prince, or magnified by the folly of the people [m].

In 1598, the earl of Cumberland fitted out a ſquadron of eleven ſail at his own expence, with which he firſt attempted to intercept the Liſbon fleet in its paſſage to the Eaſt Indies. Being diſappointed in that, he ſailed to the Canaries, where he made a deſcent on the iſland of Lancerota, plundered it, and then proceeded to America, where he promiſed himſelf great things. The place he fixed upon was the iſland of Puerto Rico, where he landed, and took the capital with ſmall loſs. This city he determined to keep, therefore refuſed a very large ranſom offered him by the inhabitants, whom he turned out, and then thought of fortifying the place, with an intent to have

[l] Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 191.

[m] The reader may be convinced of the truth of what is above aſſerted, by comparing the relation of Sir Arthur Gorges, before cited, with Sir William Monſon's account in his naval tracts, and what is ſaid on the ſame ſubject by Mr. Oldys, in his life of Sir Walter Raleigh.

cruized

cruized from thence upon the Spaniſh coaſts; but he was quickly convinced that the deſign was impracticable, diſeaſes ſpreading amongſt his ſoldiers and ſeamen, to ſuch a degree, that he was obliged to abandon his conqueſt, and to return home with very great reputation, rather than any conſiderable reward[n].

In 1599, there was a great fleet fitted out by the queen's command: but it ſeems rather with an intent to watch the Spaniards, than to undertake any other enterprize of importance; ſince after remaining about three weeks in the Downs, it was again laid up. Yet the equipping this fleet had a great effect upon Spain, and all the powers of Europe, for it was drawn together in twelve days time, well victualled, and thoroughly manned, which ſhewed the ſtrength of our maritime power, and how much it was improved ſince 1588[o]. The next year, being 1600, Sir Richard Leviſon was ſent to intercept the plate-fleet, which deſign, though it was well contrived, and wiſely executed, yet failed[p]. In 1601, the ſame admiral was employed in Ireland, where he did good ſervice, in obliging the Spaniards, who had landed a conſiderable body of forces, to relinquiſh their deſign, and withdraw out of that iſland[q].

In 1602, the ſame admiral, in conjunction with Sir William Monſon, was employed in an expedition for intercepting the galleons, which had infallibly taken effect, if the Dutch had ſent their ſquadron, agreeable to their engagements with the queen[r]. Notwithſtanding this diſappointment, they continued on the coaſt of Portugal, and at length reſolved to attack a galleon, which lay with eleven gallies in the road of Cerimbra, which, as it was one of the moſt gallant exploits performed in the whole war, deſerves to be circumſtantially related. The town of Cerimbra was large, and well built with free-ſtone, defended by a good citadel well furniſhed with artillery. Above the town, on the top of a mountain, ſtood an abbey,

[n] Camden, vol. iii. p. 778. Stowe, p. 788. Purchas's pilgrims, vol. iv. p. 1150—1157. [o] Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 195. Stowe, p. 788. Speed, p. 877. [p] Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 196.
[q] Stowe, p. 798. Itinerary of Fynes Moryſon, b. ii. p. 134. Camden, p. 887.
[r] Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 198. Camden, p. 893.

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ſo fortified as to command the place, the citadel, and the road. The galleon was moored cloſe to the ſhore, ſo as to defend by its fire part of the citadel and part of the town: the gallies had ſo flanked and fortified themſelves, that they were able to make a great fire upon the Engliſh fleet, without receiving any damage themſelves, till ſuch time as our ſhips were juſt before the town. Yet, in ſpite of theſe and many other advantages, the Engliſh admirals reſolved to attack them, which they did on the third of June. A gale of wind blowing freſh about two in the morning, the admiral weighed, and made the ſignal for an attack. The vice-admiral did the like, and ſoon after they fell upon the enemy with great fury; and though the Spaniards defended themſelves with much reſolution, yet in the end ſeveral of the gallies were burnt, the garriſon driven from the caſtle, and the rich galleon, for which all this ſtruggle was made, taken, with about a million of pieces of eight on board[s]. The fourth, taking the benefit of a fair wind, they returned to England.

Frederic Spinola, in the St. Lewis, ſailed from Cerimbra, with the reſt of the gallies that had eſcaped, *viz.* the St. John Baptiſt, the Lucera, the Padilla, the Philip, and the St. John, for the coaſt of Flanders, and on the twenty-third of September entered the Britiſh channel[t]. Sir Robert Manſel was cruizing there with two or three men of war, and four Dutch ſhips, to intercept them. The enemy firſt diſcovered two of the Dutch ſhips, and reſolved to engage them. But before they could put this deſign in execution, perceiving one of the queen's, they ſtood off the remainder of the day, hoping by advantage of the night to gain their intended port. The admiral, and the other ſhips, with the two Dutch men of war, chaſed them from eight in the morning till ſun-ſet, when the gallies altered their courſe for the Engliſh ſhore, and came ſo near it, that ſome of the ſlaves got off their chains, leaped overboard, and ſwam to land. They then very unhappily ran into

[s] Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 199—201. Camden, p. 893—895. Fuller's worthies in Lincolnſhire, p. 163. [t] Johnſtoni, rerum Britannicarum hiſt. lib. ix. p. 309. Winwood's memorials, vol. i. p. 401, 412, 413, 435, 436, 438, 439. Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 203.

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the place, where one of her majeſty's ſhips and the Hollanders lay at anchor. Sir Robert foreſeeing that the gallies muſt fall in with thoſe ſhips, in order to make them ſtill keep that courſe, ſteered a little out of the way, to get between them and the coaſt of Flanders. The ſhip which they thus fell in with, was the Anſwer, Capt. Broadgate, who fired upon them very briſkly, as the Dutch did likewiſe. The enemy however did not fire ſo much as a ſingle gun, but made the beſt uſe they could of their oars, and ſteering at random, one of them in the night came directly upon the admiral, who diſcharging all his guns, brought down her main-maſt, when, hearing a moſt lamentable cry, he offered thoſe who were in her quarter. The other five gallies came to her aſſiſtance, at whom he diſcharged a broadſide, but what execution it did could not be diſcovered. One of the Dutch ſhips falling foul of the galley called the Lucera, carried away her rudder, and ſo diſabled her that ſhe ſunk immediately, with all that were on board. By a like accident the Padilla ſplit in pieces, and the Dutch veſſel, who was the occaſion of the diſaſter, narrowly eſcaped ſharing the ſame fate. A third was caſt away through careleſſneſs of the ſailors, in her endeavouring to reach Calais. Two put into Newport. Spinola in the Admiral, with a very valuable cargo, got ſafe, though with difficulty, into Dunkirk, and after refitting the three gallies, carried them to Sluys [u]. The year following he was killed in an engagement with the Dutch, leaving behind him the character of a very brave and gallant commander [w].

This was the laſt great exploit performed by ſea in this reign; for the queen, now far in years, and worn out with the cares and fatigues of government, died on the twenty-fourth of March following, in the forty-fifth year of her reign, and in the ſeventieth of her life, when ſhe had ſettled the Proteſtant religion throughout her kingdom, had reſtored the crown to its

[u] Camdeni annal. Eliz. p. 895. Hugon. Grotii hiſt. Belgic. ſub anno 1602. He gives all the honour to his countrymen, but with how little reaſon will appear hereafter, from a very curious and authentic paper written by Sir Robert Manſel. [w] Card. Bentivoglio Guerra de Fiandra, p. 531. H. Grotii annal. & hiſt. A. D. 1603. Meteren Nederland. hiſt. fol. 500.

ancient reputation, ſupported her allies with the greateſt firmneſs, and humbled her enemies, ſo as to compel them to think of ſoliciting for peace [x].

[x] Camden. Lord Bacon in his character of Queen Eliſabeth, and in his diſcourſe of peace and war. Stowe, Speed. See alſo a very curious letter of Mr. afterwards Sir Ralph Winwood, and ſecretary of ſtate to the duke de Tremouille, acquainting him with the demiſe, and ſome other extraordinary particulars of this illuſtrious princeſs, in Winwood's memorials, vol. ii. p. 460, 461. Dr. Birche's memoirs of that reign, vol. ii. p. 508. Moyſer's memoirs of the affairs of Scotland, p. 309. See a very particular and accurate relation of the laſt ſickneſs and death of this great queen, left us by her near relation Sir Robert Cary, afterwards earl of Monmouth, in his memoirs, p. 172.

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The names of such ships as her majesty left at her death.

Names of ships.	Tonnage.	Men in harbour.	Men at sea, whereof	Mariners.	Gunners.	Soldiers.
Elisabeth Jonas,	900	30	500	340	40	120
Triumph,	1000	30	500	340	40	120
White Bear,	900	30	500	340	40	120
Victory,	800	17	400	268	32	100
Mer-Honeur,	800	30	400	268	32	100
Ark Royal,	800	17	400	268	32	100
Saint Matthew,	1000	30	500	340	40	120
Saint Andrew,	900	17	400	268	32	100
Due Repulse,	700	16	350	230	30	90
Garland,	700	16	300	190	30	80
Warspight,	600	12	300	190	30	80
Mary Rose,	600	12	250	150	30	70
The Hope,	600	12	250	150	30	70
Bonaventure,	600	12	250	150	30	70
The Lyon,	500	12	250	150	30	70
Nonpareil,	500	12	250	150	30	70
Defiance,	500	12	250	150	30	70
Rainbow,	500	12	250	150	30	70
Dreadnought,	400	10	200	130	20	50
Antelope,	350	10	160	114	16	30
Swiftsure,	400	10	200	130	20	50
Swallow,	330	10	160	114	16	30
Foresight,	300	10	160	114	16	30
The Tide,	250	7	120	88	12	20
The Crane,	200	7	100	70	10	20
Adventure,	250	7	120	88	12	20
Quittance,	200	7	100	70	10	20
Answer,	200	7	100	70	10	20
Advantage,	200	7	100	70	10	20
Tyger,	200	7	100	70	10	20
Tramontain,	——	6	70	52	8	10
The Scout,	120	6	66	48	8	10
The Catis,	100	5	60	42	8	10
The Charles,	70	5	45	32	6	7
The Moon,	60	5	40	30	5	5
The Advice,	50	5	40	30	5	5
The Spy,	50	5	40	30	5	5
The Merlin,	45	5	35	26	5	4
The Sun,	40	5	30	24	4	2
Synnet,	20	2	——	——	——	——
George Hoy,	100	10	——	——	——	——
Pennyrose Hoy,	80	8	——	——	——	——

Her attention to trade appears in many inſtances, of ſome of which it may not be amiſs to treat more particularly. The merchants of the Hanſe-towns complained loudly, in the beginning of her reign, of the ill treatment they had received in the days of Edward and Queen Mary; to which ſhe very prudently anſwered, "That as ſhe would not innovate any thing, ſo ſhe "would protect them ſtill in the immunities and condition ſhe "found them;" which not contenting them, their commerce was ſoon after ſuſpended for a time, to the great advantage of the Engliſh merchants; for they trying what they could do themſelves therein, their adventures and returns proving ſucceſsful, they took the whole trade into their hands, and ſo divided themſelves into ſtaplers and merchant-adventurers, the one reſiding conſtantly at ſome one place, the other keeping their courſe and adventuring to other towns and ſtates abroad, with cloth and other manufactures. This ſo nettled the Hanſe, that they deviſed all the ways that a diſcontented people could, to draw upon our new ſtaplers or adventurers the ill opinion of other nations and ſtates; but that proving of too ſmall force to ſtop the current of ſo ſtrong a trade as they were now run into, they reſorted to ſome other practices.

They applied themſelves to the emperor, as being a ſociety incorporated into the empire, and, upon complaint, obtained ambaſſadors to the queen to mediate the buſineſs; but theſe returned *re infecta*. Hereupon the queen cauſed a proclamation to be publiſhed, that the merchants of the Hanſe ſhould be treated and uſed as all other ſtrangers in her dominions, in point of commerce, without any mark of diſtinction. At laſt the Hanſe-towns prevailed ſo far in virtue of their German connections as to gain an imperial edict, whereby the Engliſh merchants were prohibited all commerce in the empire; this was anſwered by a proclamation[y], in conſequence of which ſixty ſail of their ſhips were taken in the river of Liſbon, laden with contraband goods for the uſe of the Spaniards. Theſe ſhips the queen intended to have reſtored, as ſincerely deſiring to have

[y] The imperial edict of the Emperor Rodolph II. bears date the firſt of Aug. 1597, which, together with her majeſty's proclamation of the 13th of January following, may be met with at large in Wheeler's treatiſe of commerce, p. 83, 93.

compro-

compromiſed all differences with thoſe trading cities; but when ſhe was informed that a general aſſembly was held at the city of Lubeck, in order to concert meaſures for diſtreſſing the Engliſh trade, ſhe cauſed the ſhips and their cargoes to be confiſcated; only two of them were releaſed to carry home this news, and that the queen had the greateſt contempt imaginable for all their proceedings [z].

After this Sigiſmond king of Poland interpoſed in their behalf, ſending hither an ambaſſador, who talking in a very high ſtyle, the queen in her anſwer told him plainly, that the king his maſter made no right eſtimate of his own power, and that himſelf was very little fit for the employment in which ſhe found him [a]. Thus were we ridded for ever of theſe incorporated foreign factors, and our own merchants eſtabliſhed in the right of managing our commerce. In the letter end of her reign, ſome diſputes happening with the king of Denmark, and he moſt unadviſedly ſeizing the Engliſh ſhips that were in his ports, the queen ſent one Dr. Parkins to demand an immediate and adequate ſatisfaction; which he did in ſo peremptory a ſtyle, that the Dane was glad to compound the matter for forty thouſand dollars, which he paid her majeſty, and which ſhe cauſed to be proportionably divided among the merchants who were injured [b].

Theſe are inſtances of her noble ſpirit in obtaining redreſs of grievances in foreign countries, even in the moſt perilous times, and when her affairs were in the utmoſt embarraſſment. As to her care of trade and navigation within her own dominions, we have already mentioned many particulars; however, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that, in 1563, an act was made for the better regulation, maintenance and increaſe of the navy [c]: and, in 1566, there was a law to enable the maſter, wardens, and the aſſiſtants of the Trinity-houſe to ſet up beacons and ſea-marks [d]. The ſame year there paſſed an act for incorporating, and more effectually eſtabliſhing the company of merchant-adventurers [e].

[z] Camden, vol. iii. p. 604, 606, 748, and the other hiſtorians of her reign. Wheeler's treatiſe on commerce. Molloy de jure maritimo, book ii. chap. xii.

[a] See the memorable reply of that princeſs upon this occaſion at large in Speed, p. 871. [b] Stowe, p. 787. Lord Burleigh's diary in Murdin's collection.

[c] See the ſtatute, anno 1 Eliſ. cap. v. [d] Anno 8 Eliſ. cap. xiii.

[e] Hakluyt's voyages, vol. i. p. 394.

In 1571 there likewiſe paſſed an act for the increaſe of mariners, and for the maintenance of navigation, and more eſpecially for recovering the trade to Iceland, which began then to decay, and in which there had been employed annually upwards of two hundred ſail of ſtout ſhips[f]. In 1585, the queen erected, by her letters-patent, a new company for the management of the trade to Barbary[g]; and, in the year 1600, ſhe incorporated a ſociety of merchants trading to the Eaſt-Indies[h], whence the preſent Eaſt-India Company is derived, as will be hereafter ſhewn.

Beſides theſe numerous marks of her royal favour, and ſtrict attention to the commerce of her ſubjects, the queen afforded others continually; by ſending envoys and agents to the Czar, to the Shah of Perſia, to ſeveral great princes in the Eaſt-Indies, and, in ſhort, wherever her interpoſition could be of any uſe to open, to promote, or to recover any branch of traffic, as appears by all the hiſtories that are extant of her reign[i]. It may be ſaid, and, which is more, may be ſaid with truth and juſtice, that, in the midſt of theſe great things done for induſtry and trade, the prerogative was carried very high, many monopolies erected, and ſeveral excluſive privileges granted, which have been found injurious to trade. But the diſcuſſing theſe points belongs to general hiſtory. The queen levied taxes ſparingly, and helped out her revenues by what were then ſtyled rights of the crown. Monopolies were the invention, at leaſt had the countenance, and turned to the profit of her miniſters, who for a time deceived their miſtreſs into the ſupport of them; but when ſhe underſtood the nature and extent of them, ſhe gave them up. As to ſtatutes prejudicial to trade, there were ſome founded in popular error, from which no age is exempt; or things themſelves have changed their circumſtances, if not their nature, that what was or might be judged right then, may be plainly wrong now.

f An. 13 Eliſ. cap. vii. g Hakluyt's voyages, vol. ii. p. 114. h Dated at Weſtminſter, December 31. A. R. 43. and recited at large in Purchas, vol. i. lib. iii. p. 144. i Camden, Bacon, Oſborne, Stowe, Holingſhed, Speed, Rapin. See the letters addreſſed to thoſe princes by the queen, on that head, at length, in Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 338, 339, 375, 418. vol. ii. p. 138, 203. vol. iii. p. 852.

But

But the peculiar glory of Queen Eliſabeth's reign in this reſpect, was the great care ſhe took of the coin, which, as we have ſhewn, was ſhamefully debaſed in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. and though her ſiſter had put an entire ſtop to this bad practice, yet the circumſtances of her affairs were very far from being ſuch as to admit her taking any meaſures towards an effectual amendment, the baſe coin continuing to have a currency, though it began to ſink in its value; which, however, did not hinder foreigners from pouring in vaſt quantities of that mixed money, to the great detriment of the nation, and this notwithſtanding that princeſs expoſtulated with her neighbours upon that ſubject, and her doing all ſhe could to hinder it[k]. But, immediately after the acceſſion of Queen Eliſabeth, the Lord Burleigh and Sir Thomas Smith, whoſe papers upon that head are yet extant, interpoſed with the queen, and ſhewed her clearly the bad conſequences of a debaſed coinage; and ſhewed her farther, that it was not the ſhort ends of wit, or ſome ſlight and temporary devices that could ſuſtain the expence of a great monarchy, but ſound and ſolid courſes. I make uſe of their expreſſions, which, though not elegant, are very emphatic. They therefore exhorted her to purſue the ſteps of her great-grandfather Edward IV. and rejecting all expedients as ineffectual in themſelves, and unworthy of her, to ſtrike at the root of the evil. Admirable and ſolid counſels!

She took their advice, and, by a proclamation in the ſecond year of her reign, called in all the debaſed money, directing it to be marked with a greyhound, portcullice, lion, harp, roſe, or fleur-de-lys, to diſtinguiſh the ſeveral intrinſic values of the pieces, it being her deſign to refine the coin, not according to the legal, but natural eſtimation of money; and therefore ſhe directed, that foreign coin and money ſhould be brought to her mint, as there was from eight thouſand to twenty-two thouſand pounds every week, and the like quantity of gold in Spaniſh piſtoles, for the ſpace of about ſix months, when ſhe repaid her ſubjects the full value of the ſilver in new money of that ſtandard, which has ſince continued, and which was fixed after

[k] Camden. annal. Eliſ. vol. i. p. 75, 76. Stowe, p. 646, 647. Strype's an. vol. i. chap. xxii. p. 264, 265. Lord Burleigh's diary in Murdin's collection, p. 751.

mature

mature deliberation, and with a juſt regard to the value ſilver and gold had obtained in foreign countries at that time. In the very next year the majority of her council were for undoing all again, by introducing a freſh debaſement, but the Lord Burleigh, then Sir William Cecil, and ſecretary of ſtate, withſtood this, as he did every other project of that kind ſo long as he lived, with ſuch vehemence of ſpeech, and with ſuch ſtrength of argument, as kept the queen ſteady to her firſt meaſure.

When this great undertaking was thoroughly perfected, the queen took occaſion to tell her people, in a proclamation, that ſhe had now conquered that monſter which had ſo long devoured them; and it is very wiſely recited in the preamble of an act of parliament, in the fifth year of her reign, "That, by "her great goodneſs, new money had been coined of the ſame "fineneſs as in the time of her noble progenitors." Neither was this famous act, as ſhe herſelf called it upon another occaſion, forgot in the inſcription placed upon her monument, where, after mention being made of reſtoring religion to its primitive ſincerity, and eſtabliſhing a laſting tranquillity, it follows, that ſhe reduced the coin to its juſt value. Hence we may perceive how great an action this was, and of what laſting benefit to the kingdom.

It may, however, contribute not a little to our ſatisfaction, if we inquire what quantity of coin, both gold and ſilver, there might be in the nation towards the cloſe of her reign, that is, at the beginning of the laſt century, becauſe it is of very great conſequence to have a juſt notion of what was the nation's ſtock in ready money at that period, when our great foreign commerce began. We have, indeed, an authentic account of her entire coinage in ſilver, amounting to above four millions and a half; but then, if we conſider that ſhe re-coined almoſt all the ſilver ſpecie of the kingdom, and that there was a ſmall alteration in the ſtandard in the latter end of her reign, which raiſed ſilver from five ſhillings to five and two-pence an ounce, which occaſioned a new fabrication, ſo that much of the former coin came into the mint again as bullion, we may, with the judicious Dr. Davenant, eſtimate the ſilver coin at that time in this kingdom at two millions and a half; to which if we add the gold of her own and her predeceſſors coin, and eſtimate this at a million

and

and a half, we may be pretty ſure that we are not much wide of the truth, and that 150 years ago the current coin of England amounted in the whole to four millions or thereabouts.

As the reſtoring the coin was in effect putting the firſt wheel in motion, ſo, this being thus early ſet right, all the ſubordinate parts of general commerce began quickly to reſume their reſpective forces; and the willingneſs which the queen ſhewed upon every occaſion to facilitate whatever deſigns were formed for improving her dominions, employing her ſubjects, and venting the produce of their induſtry, had ſuch effects, that by degrees, one thing opening a way to another, the face of affairs totally changed. All the complaints that were formerly made gave place to a general approbation of the queen's government amongſt the better part of her ſubjects, that is, amongſt thoſe who were willing to help themſelves by their honeſt and cheerful endeavours to enlarge their properties, and to turn to the utmoſt advantage the laudable deſire, which their ſovereign expreſſed, of encouraging whatever could be invented for the promoting their welfare, and augmenting the public ſtock.

This diſpoſition in the queen excited a like ſpirit throughout the whole nation. Not only perſons bred to trade, and ſome of the middle gentry of the kingdom, launched out into expeditions for diſcoveries, and planting new-found countries; but even perſons of the firſt diſtinction became encouragers and adventurers in thoſe deſigns, ſuch as the Lord-treaſurer Burleigh, the earl of Warwick, the earl of Leiceſter, &c. and ſome of them actually engaged in the execution of ſuch projects, amongſt whom were the earls of Cumberland, Eſſex, and Southampton, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Richard Grenville, Sir Humphry Gilbert, Sir Robert Dudley, &c.[l] And therefore we need not wonder at the ſurpriſing increaſe of our maritime power, or the number of remarkable undertakings of this ſort, within ſo ſhort a period of time. Let us mention only a few. In 1575 Sir Humphry Gilbert attempted the diſcovery of a north-weſt paſſage. In 1577 Sir Martin Forbiſher ſought one the ſame way[m]. Pet and Jackman ſailed on a like deſign, in 1580, by the direction of the governor and

[l] Hakluyt's, Monſon's, and Purchas's collections conſiſt chiefly of inſtances of this ſort.

[m] Hakluyt's voyages, vol. iii. p. 32.

company

company of merchant-adventurers[n]. An expedition was undertaken at a great expence by Sir Humphry Gilbert, in order to ſettle Florida; nor did it miſcarry through any error of the undertaker[o]. The great Sir Walter Raleigh would have ſettled Virginia in 1584, if prudence, induſtry and public ſpirit could have effected it; but though he failed in the extent, yet he was not totally defeated in his hopes, ſince he laid the foundation of that ſettlement, which hath ſince ſo happily ſucceeded. But it is now time to ſpeak of thoſe great men by whom theſe celebrated actions were atchieved, and firſt of

CHARLES HOWARD, Baron of Effingham, afterwards earl of Nottingham, knight of the garter, and lord high-admiral of England.

WE have already ſeen two brothers of this illuſtrious family of Howard ſucceſſively lord high-admirals, and we are now to ſpeak of another Howard, who arrived by merit at the ſame high honour, and, which is more, was alſo the ſon of a lord high-admiral of England[p]. He was born in the year 1536, in the latter end of the reign of King Henry VIII. his father having the title only of Lord William Howard[q]. His mother's name was Margaret, the daughter of Sir Thomas Gamage of Glamorganſhire. Lord William being raiſed to the title of baron of Effingham, and admiral, his ſon ſerved under him in ſeveral expeditions till the acceſſion of Queen Eliſabeth, when he was about twenty-two years of age[r]. His father coming into great favour with that princeſs, he enjoyed a ſhare of it, and in 1559 was ſent over into France to compliment King Charles IX. who had juſt aſcended that throne[s]. Nine years afterwards he was general of horſe in the expedition made by the earl of Warwick againſt the earls of Northumberland and Weſtmore-

[n] Camden, vol. ii. p. 360, 361. [o] See a full account of this matter in Sir George Pecham's relation, who was concerned therein. [p] See in a former chapter the lives of Sir Edward, and Sir Thomas Howard, afterwards duke of Norfolk, and uncle to this noble lord. [q] Baronagium Angliæ, p. 34. MS. [r] Dugdale's baronage, tome ii. p. 278. [s] Camden. annal. p. 54.

land, who had taken arms in the north, and in crushing whose rebellion he was very active [t].

In the following year he commanded a squadron of men of war, which, as we before observed, the queen was pleased should escort Anne of Austria, daughter of the Emperor Maximilian, to the coast of Spain [u]. Upon this occasion the Spanish fleet were obliged to take in their flags, while they continued in the British seas, having been sufficiently instructed in that ceremonial in their passage to Flanders by Sir John Hawkins, as the reader will find at large related in our memoirs of that gallant seaman. In 1571, he was chosen to parliament as knight of the shire for the county of Surry, and very soon after succeeded his father in his title and estate, who died January the 12th, 1572, in the great office of lord privy seal, and very highly in the queen's favour [w].

The queen distinguished the son, as she had done the father, by raising him to the highest offices in the kingdom, not hastily, but, as her manner was, by a due progression. He became first chamberlain of the household, an office which his father had enjoyed, and on the 24th of April, 1573, he was elected knight of the garter [x]. Some of the writers of those times say, that he was raised to check Leicester's greatness; which is thus far probable, that they were certainly the most opposite people in the world in their tempers [y]: for, whereas Leicester was a deep dissembler, excessively ambitious, and one who sought to govern all things; the lord-chamberlain, on the other hand, was an open, generous, public-spirited man, in the good graces of the queen from his known affection to her person, and exceedingly popular as well on account of his hospitality, affability, and other good qualities, as for the sake of his most noble, most loyal, and heroic family. When therefore the earl of Lincoln died in 1585, the queen immediately determined to raise the Lord Effingham to the post of high-admiral, which she did with the general ap-

[t] Strype's annals, vol. i. p. 583. Holingshed, vol. ii. p. 1212. [u] Camden, p. 220, 221. See the epistle dedicatory addressed to this noble person by Mr. Hakluyt, of the first vol. of his excellent collection of voyages. [w] Stowe, p. 674. Holingshed, vol. ii. p. 1212. Willis's notitia parliamentaria, p. 88, 95.
[x] Dugdale's baronage, tome ii. p. 279. Ashmole's history of the order of the garter, p. 715. [y] Lloyd's state worthies, p. 736.

probation of her ſubjects, and much to the ſatisfaction of the ſeamen, by whom he was exceſſively beloved [z].

When the Spaniards had ſpent three years in preparing their armada, the queen willingly intruſted the care of herſelf and the nation to this noble lord, of whoſe conduct and whoſe fortune ſhe had equal hopes. We have already ſeen how happily that important conteſt ended for the honour of this nation; here therefore, we are to ſpeak only of what was perſonally performed by the admiral. As ſoon as he knew that the Spaniſh fleet was ready to ſail, he put to ſea, and continued cruiſing for ſome time, till the court having received advice, that the Spaniards would be unable to make any attempt that year, and the lateneſs of the ſeaſon rendering this probable, Secretary Walſingham wrote to him, directing, that four of the largeſt ſhips ſhould be ſent into port, and the ſeamen diſcharged, to ſave expence. The admiral wrote back to excuſe his not obeying this direction, and in the cloſe of the letter deſired, that, if his reaſons were thought inſufficient, the ſhips might remain at his expence [a].

When he received intelligence from Captain Fleming of the approach of the Spaniſh fleet, and ſaw of what mighty conſequence it was to get out what few ſhips were ready in the port of Plymouth, he, to encourage others, not only appeared and gave orders in every thing himſelf, but wrought alſo with his own hands, and with ſix ſhips only got the firſt night out of Plymouth, and the next morning, having no more than thirty ſail, and thoſe the ſmalleſt of the fleet, attacked the Spaniſh navy [b]. He ſhewed his conduct and prudence by deſpatching his brother-in-law, Sir Edward Hobby, to the queen, to inform her of the great diſproportion between the enemy's force and his own, to deſire her to make the proper diſpoſition of her land-forces for the ſecurity of the coaſts, and to haſten as many ſhips as poſſible to his aſſiſtance [c]. His valour he diſcovered in the repeated attacks he made on a ſuperior enemy, and the excellency of his cool temper appeared in his paſſing a whole night in the

[z] Stowe, p. 700, 709. Camden, p. 451. [a] Stowe, p. 745, 746. Speed, p. 860. Camden, vol. ii. p. 571.

[b] See the account of this victory printed in the firſt volume of Hakluyt's collection. Fuller's worthies in Surrey, p. 84.

[c] Stowe's annals, p. 747.

midſt

midſt of the Spaniſh fleet, and retiring, as ſoon as he had light enough to diſcover his own, without loſs [d].

It was owing to his magnanimity and prudence that the victory was ſo great; and ſuch as have ſuggeſted that it might have been ſtill greater, readily acknowledge, that this did not happen through any fault of the admiral, who always diſcovered the utmoſt alacrity in his country's ſervice [e]. The queen acknowledged his merit in the moſt expreſſive and glorious terms, and, though extremely frugal, rewarded him with a penſion for life [f], and at his requeſt granted a pardon and a penſion to Captain Fleming the pirate, who firſt brought the news of the Spaniſh fleet's being on our coaſts; which I mention to ſhew how careful this great man was; a thing uncommon even among the greateſt men, that the merits of meaner perſons ſhould not paſs unrewarded, or be ſuperciliouſly overlooked [g].

Sir Richard Hawkins in his obſervations has a very remarkable paſſage in relation to this noble perſon, which the reader will no doubt be very well pleaſed to ſee in his own words.

"Worthy of perpetual memory," ſays he, "was the prudent "policy and government of our Engliſh navy in *anno* 1588, by "the worthy earl of Nottingham, lord high-admiral of England, "who in the like caſe, with mature and experimented know-"ledge, patiently withſtood the inſtigations of many courageous "and noble captains who would have perſuaded him to have "laid them aboard; but when he foreſaw, that the enemy had "an army aboard, he none; that they exceeded him in number "of ſhipping, and thoſe greater in bulk, ſtronger built, and "higher moulded, ſo that they, who with ſuch advantage fought "from above, might eaſily diſtreſs all oppoſition below, the "ſlaughter peradventure proving more fatal than the victory "profitable, by being overthrown he might have hazarded the "kingdom, whereas by the conqueſt (at moſt) he could have "boaſted of nothing but glory and an enemy defeated. But by "ſufferance he always advantaged himſelf of wind and tide, "which was the freedom of our country, and ſecurity of our "navy, with the deſtruction of theirs, which in the eye of the

[d] Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 597. [e] See the reflections made by Sir William Monſon on this moſt important action in his naval tracts.

[f] Camden, Stowe, Speed. [g] Stowe's annals, p. 795.

" ignorant, (who judge all things by the external appearance),
" ſeemed invincible, but, truly conſidered, was much inferior to
" ours in all things of ſubſtance, as the event proved; for we
" ſunk, ſpoiled, and took many of them, and they diminiſhed
" of ours but one ſmall pinnace, nor any man of name ſave only
" Captain Cocke, who died with honour amidſt his company.
" The greateſt damage that, as I remember, they cauſed to any
" of our ſhips, was to the Swallow of her majeſty's, which I
" had in that action under my charge, with an arrow of fire,
" ſhot into her beak-head, which we ſaw not becauſe of the
" ſail, till it had burnt a hole in the roſe as big as a man's
" head; the arrow falling out, and driving along by the
" ſhip's ſide, made us doubt of it, which after we diſcovered."

In 1596, he commanded in chief at ſea, as the earl of Eſſex did at land, the forces ſent againſt Spain, and was at very great expence in providing for that expedition. His prudence and moderation, as well as his great experience and reputation amongſt the ſeamen and ſoldiers, were the principal cauſes of the ſucceſs the Engliſh met with in that attempt, and his conduct throughout the whole was ſo wiſe and fortunate, that, upon his return home, the queen, on the 22d of October the ſame year, advanced him to the dignity and title of earl of Nottingham, (being deſcended from the family of Mowbray, ſome of whom had been earls of that county), the reaſons wereof are thus inſerted in his patent [s]:

" That, by the victory obtained *anno* 1588, he had ſecured
" the kingdom of England from the invaſion of Spain and other
" impending dangers; and did alſo, in conjunction with our dear
" couſin Robert, earl of Eſſex, ſeize by force the iſle, and the
" ſtrongly fortified city of Cadiz, in the fartheſt part of Spain;
" and did likewiſe entirely rout and defeat another fleet of the
" king of Spain, prepared in that port againſt this kingdom."—
An honourable preamble! but leſs needful in that reign than in any other, ſince it was well known, that Queen Eliſabeth parted not with titles till they were deſerved, and where ſhe knew the public voice would approve her favour, as in this caſe it loudly did; for the earl of Nottingham, on his firſt going to the

[s] Pat. 39 Eliſ. p. 3.

houſe

houſe of peers, was received with unuſual marks of joy, ſufficiently declaring how worthy the beſt judges eſteemed him of his new dignity, to which the queen added alſo another, making him lord juſtice itinerant of all the foreſt ſouth of Trent for life [t].

The next great ſervice in which the earl of Nottingham was employed was in 1599, when the ſtate was again in very great danger. On the one ſide, the Spaniards ſeemed to meditate a new invaſion, and ſome conceived they were on the very point of executing it, having aſſembled a great fleet at the Groyne, on board which many Engliſh fugitives were directed to repair. On the other, the earl of Eſſex, who was then lord-lieutenant of Ireland, acted in a ſtrange manner, treating with the rebels he was ſent to reduce, and forming, as it was believed, ſome deſigns of employing the troops, with the command of which he was intruſted by the queen, to the diſturbance of her government. Her majeſty, who always placed her ſafety in being too quick for her enemies, iſſued her orders to the city of London to furniſh immediately ſixteen ſhips for the reinforcement of the navy, and ſix thouſand men for her ſervice by land. The like directions being ſent into other parts of the kingdom, ſuch a fleet and ſuch an army were drawn together in a fortnight's ſpace, as took away all hopes, indeed all ſhadow of ſucceſs from foreign and domeſtic enemies; and, to ſhew the confidence ſhe had in the admiral's fidelity and capacity, ſhe was pleaſed to repoſe in him the ſole and ſupreme command both of fleet and army, with the high and very unuſual title of LORD LIEUTENANT-GENERAL OF ALL ENGLAND, an office ſcarce known to former, never revived in ſucceeding times, and which he held with almoſt regal authority for the ſpace of ſix weeks, being ſometimes with the fleet in the Downs, and ſometimes on ſhore with the forces [u].

The unfortunate earl of Eſſex, having taken a ſudden reſolution to leave his command in Ireland, and return to England, the queen thought fit to puniſh this dangerous contempt with a ſhort reſtraint, and afterwards ſeemed inclined to have received him again into favour. But he, either hurried on by his own raſh diſpoſition, or inſtigated thereto by ſome deſperate perſons about him, attempted to raiſe a force ſufficient to have compelled

[t] Pat. 39 Eliſ. p. 1. [u] Camden. annal. p. 794. Stowe's annals, p. 778. Speed. Sir William Monſon's naval tracts.

the

the queen to do what he thought expedient. Upon his falling in this wild and ill-concerted project, he retired with ſuch as were about him to Eſſex-houſe in the Strand, where he fortified himſelf, and confined the chancellor, the chief juſtice of England, and other privy counſellors ſent by the queen to inquire into the grievances which had driven him to this rebellious violence, as he pretended. This was on the 8th of February, 1600, when the queen ſaw herſelf (in the decline of her life, and after ſhe had triumped over all her foreign foes, in the utmoſt peril from an aſſuming favourite, who owed all his credit to her kindneſs, and who had thus excited a dangerous ſedition in her capital) on the point of being impriſoned or depoſed. In this perilous ſituation ſhe had recourſe to the loyalty of her people, and to the courage and conduct of her nobility, giving the command of all to the lord-admiral, who, ſhe often ſaid, WAS BORN TO SERVE AND TO SAVE HIS COUNTRY.

He performed on this occaſion, as on all others, the utmoſt the queen could expect; for he in a few hours reduced the earl of Eſſex, after a romantic ſally into the city, to ſuch diſtreſs, that he was content to yield himſelf a priſoner; and, when he had ſo done, the lord high-admiral treated him with all the lenity and kindneſs poſſible[w]. The ſame year the admiral was appointed one of the commiſſioners for executing the office of earl-marſhal of England[x]; and to him, upon her death-bed, the queen was pleaſed to declare her royal intention, as to the ſucceſſion, in favour of the KING OF SCOTS[y].

Upon the acceſſion of King James, he not only retained his great office, and was honoured with a large ſhare of that prince's confidence, but was likewiſe the perſon of whom he made choice to officiate as lord high-ſteward at the ceremony of the coronation[z]. Soon after this he was named ambaſſador to the court of Spain, for the concluſion of a ſtrict intercourſe of friendſhip with that crown, in purſuance of the treaty made at London the 18th of Auguſt, 1604, wherein alſo his lordſhip had been an acting commiſſioner. It was very requiſite, that much ſtate ſhould be kept up in this embaſſy, and therefore the earl of

[w] Stowe, Speed, Camden, Oldy's life of Sir Walter Raleigh. [x] Pat. 44. Eliſ. p. 14. in dorſo. [y] Camden, vol. iii. p. 912. Dr. Birch's memoirs of Queen Eliſabeth, vol. ii. p. 507, 508. [z] Pat. 1. Jac. I. p. 18.

Nottingham

Nottingham was appointed with general approbation, not as a man of very great fortune, but from the known generosity of his temper, and the number of his dependents, who at their own charge were content to accompany him in this voyage. Accordingly he set out for Spain with a retinue wherein were six peers and fifty knights, and for the support of this great train he had an appointment of fifteen thousand pounds, which fell, however, very far short of his expences. During the time that he resided at the court of King Philip III. he was treated with the utmost deference and respect, maintained, with the universal applause, and to the admiration of the Spaniards, his dignity, and did the highest honour to the nation. At his departure the king of Spain made him presents which amounted to twenty thousand pounds[a].

On his return he was not so well received at court as he had reason to expect, which was by no means owing to his ill conduct, or the mutable temper of the king himself, being injured, and his master abused, by false reports, that the admiral, while in Spain, had assumed more state, and acted with less precaution, than became him[b]. However, he quickly recovered his master's good graces, attended on the Lady Elisabeth when she was married to the Elector Palatine, and afterwards escorted her with a squadron of the royal navy to Flushing[c]. This was the last service he did his country in that capacity; for, being now grown very old and infirm, it was thought expedient that he should resign his office to the new favourite Villiers, at that time earl, and afterwards duke of Buckingham.

Some of the memoir-writers of those days treat this matter in a way exceedingly injurious to the king's memory, disgraceful to the duke of Buckingham, and not much for the reputation of the earl of Nottingham. The sum of their accounts amounts to this: The good old earl after so many and so great services, when in a manner bedrid, was forced, through the ambition of Buckingham, to resign his office of admiral, which he did very unwillingly. At the same time it cost the king dear, who was obliged to make that earl a recompence. But that, after all, he insisted upon his creature, Sir Robert Mansel, being made vice-admiral

[a] See the 2d volume of Windwood's memorials, p. 69. [b] Ibid. p. 91, 92,
[c] Wilson's life of King James in Kennet's complete history of England, vol. ii. p. 690, 691.

for

for life, before he would reſign; and thus, ſay they, an experienced and wiſe officer was removed from a poſt of the higheſt importance, to make way for a high-ſpirited youth unfit for ſuch a charge [d].

It appears, however, upon the ſtricteſt inquiry, and due conſideration of all circumſtances, that theſe ſtories are very ill founded, and that in reality the earl of Nottingham's laying down his poſt, after he had enjoyed it with great honour thirty-two years, was not either uneaſy to himſelf, or capable of fixing any diſgrace on his maſter. The propoſition came firſt from himſelf, without any participation of Buckingham, or ſo much as his knowledge, and was, on account of his age and infirmities, very eaſily agreed to. His eſtate was not great, and he had lately married a young wife, the daughter of the earl of Murray, for whom he was deſirous of providing, as well as for her children. The terms, therefore, on which he conſented to reſign, were theſe; that a debt of eighteen hundred pounds due from him to the crown ſhould be remitted [e], that he ſhould have an annual penſion of a thouſand pounds [f], and that, as earl of Nottingham, he ſhould take place in the houſe according to the deſcent of his anceſtors, ſo created by Richard II. and not as a new made-peer [g].

Theſe points were quickly adjuſted. The duke went in perſon to ſee him, and to return him thanks for reſigning in his favour, at the ſame time that he made the young counteſs a preſent of three thouſand pounds. He carried alſo his reſpect to this venerable old man ever after as far as it was poſſible, calling him always FATHER, and bending his knee whenever he approached him. Beſides all this, Sir Robert Manſel, who had been ever a dependent on, and was once the earl of Nottingham's menial ſervant, but then vice-admiral during pleaſure, by the intereſt of the duke, had that office confirmed to him for life

[d] The court and character of King James by Sir A. W. *i. e.* Sir Anthony Weldon; London, 1650, 12mo, p. 123, 124. [e] Camden's annals of King James in Biſhop Kennet's complete hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 651, 653. Sir William Dugdale's baronage, vol. ii. p. 279. Crawfurd's peerage of Scotland, p. 360. [f] Aulicus Coquinariæ in anſwer to the court and character of King James; London, 1650, 12mo, p. 169. This by ſome is aſcribed to Dr. Goodman, biſhop of Glouceſter. [g] Camden's annals of King James, p. 653.

by patent, which his old maſter took ſo kindly, that, aged and infirm as he was, he made Buckingham a viſit to return him thanks [h]. In reference to the public, the king was ſo much aware of what might be ſaid upon this change, that he appointed the marquis of Buckingham in quality of lord high-admiral, a council compoſed of perſons of rank, and who were perfectly verſed in naval affairs, without whoſe advice he was to do nothing material, and by whoſe advice and aſſiſtance he actually made a great reform, bringing the ordinary expence of the fleet from fifty-four thouſand to thirty thouſand pounds *per annum*, chiefly by his intereſt in procuring effectual funds to be aſſigned for this ſervice [i]. On the whole, therefore, there ſeems to be nothing in the leaſt diſhonourable in this tranſaction, for all parties were ſerved, and all ſeem to have been content. What is ſaid to the contrary flows evidently from a deſire of prejudicing the world againſt the memories of men, from ſurmiſes and conjectures, a method of all others the moſt deſtructive of the true end and fruit of hiſtory, which ought to diſcover the truth, and inſtruct thereby ſuch as peruſe it.

The remaining years of his life were ſpent by the earl of Nottingham in honourable eaſe and retirement, to the time of his deceaſe, which happened on the 14th of December, 1624, when he was eighty-eight years old [k]. He was a perſon extremely graceful in his appearance, of a juſt and honeſt diſpoſition, incapable either of doing bad things, or ſeeing them done without expoſing them. His ſteady loyalty to the crown preſerved his reputation unſtained, and his fortune unhurt, when the reſt of his family were in the utmoſt danger [l]. Queen Eliſabeth knew and valued his integrity, and preferred his candour to the policy of ſome of her greateſt favourites. She had a particular felicity in ſuiting men's employments to their capacities; and this never appeared more clearly than on thoſe occaſions wherein ſhe made choice of this nobleman, whoſe cou-

[h] Aulicus Coquinariæ, p. 170. [i] Roberti Johnſtoni, rerum Britannicarum Hiſtoriæ, lib. xviii. p. Sanderſon's hiſtory of King James I. p. 489. Ruſhworth's collections, vol. i. p. 307, 378, 379. [k] From a MS. catalogue of nobility deceaſed, in the reign of King James I. [l] Camden. Sir Rob. Naunton in his fragmenta regalia, Lloyd's ſtate worthies, p. 751.

rage no danger could daunt, whoſe fidelity no temptation could impeach, much leſs corrupt.

In public employments he affected magnificence, as much as he did hoſpitality in private life, keeping ſeven ſtanding houſes, as Dr. Fuller phraſes it, at once[m]. It is true, we meet with oppoſite accounts of this lord, his character and conduct, eſpecially in the latter part of his life; but as theſe are only in private letters, written by one apparently prejudiced againſt him of whom he ſpeaks; and as the rough ſoldier-like behaviour of Eliſabeth's active times ſuited little with the ſtiff and ſolemn air of the ſtateſmen in King James's court, we need not wonder, that among theſe the earl of Nottingham met with ſome detractors[n]. His actions are ſufficient to ſilence envy, and to deſtroy the credit of malicious cenſures. He who beat the Spaniſh armada, equipped a fleet ſufficient to aſſert the ſovereignty of the ſea in a fortnight's time, and by his preſence alone diſpirited the earl of Eſſex's adherents, muſt have been a very extraordinary man; though we ſhould grant his enemies, that he was not very learned, expreſſed himſelf a little bluntly, and, though a perſon of ſo high a quality, had little or no tincture of thoſe arts which, though they are peculiar, do no great honour to a court.

I have inſerted his hiſtory here, becauſe, though he died in the reign of King James, he ſpent his life in the ſervice of Queen Eliſabeth. He was, indeed, the king's ambaſſador in Spain, but as he is celebrated for being an able admiral, rather than a great ſtateſman, I thought it but juſt to inſert his memoirs where they might do his memory moſt honour. For the ſame reaſon I refer thoſe of Sir Walter Raleigh to the ſucceeding reign, becauſe the laſt action of his life, and that which led to his unfortunate death, fell out under King James. But it is time to reſume the thread of our diſcourſe, and to proceed to an account of

[m] Engliſh worthies, Surrey, p. 84.

[n] The reader will find enough of this in a letter of the earl of Northampton to Sir Charles Cornwallis, ambaſſador in Spain. Winwood's memorials, vol. ii. p. 91.

Sir

Sir HUMPHRY GILBERT, knight, an eminent ſeaman, and great diſcoverer.

THIS gentleman was deſcended from a very ancient and honourable family in Devonſhire, ſeated there at leaſt as early, and, if ſome writers are to be credited, even before the conqueſt [o]. His father's name was Otho Gilbert, of Greenway, Eſq; his mother, Catharine daughter of Sir Philip Champernon of Modbury, in the ſame county, who afterwards married Walter Raleigh of Fardel, Eſq; and by him was mother to the famous Sir Walter Raleigh, half-brother to the gentleman of whom we are now writing [p]. He was but a ſecond ſon, though his father, having a good eſtate, left him a conſiderable fortune.

It was to his mother's care that he owed an excellent education, firſt at Eaton, afterwards at Oxford, which enabled him to make the figure he did in the world, and to diſtinguiſh himſelf in an age fruitful of great men [q]. He was as fortunate in an aunt as in a mother, Mrs. Catharine Aſhly, who attended on the perſon, and was much in the favour of Queen Eliſabeth. She introduced him to that princeſs while a boy, and the queen being much pleaſed with his courtly behaviour, love of learning, and generous diſpoſition, recommended him to Sir Henry Sidney as a youth of merit. His genius naturally led him to the ſtudy of coſmography, navigation, and the art of war, which he improved by a diligent application, as well as by continual practice; for he with great courage expoſed his perſon early in the ſervice of his country, and acquired a very juſt reputation from his actions, before he entered upon any of his great projects [r].

The firſt place wherein he was diſtinguiſhed for his ripe judgment, as well as for his daring ſpirit, was in the expedition to Newhaven, wherein he behaved with ſo much prudence, and his various attempts were attended with ſo great ſucceſs, that

[o] Collection of arms, &c. of the ancient families in Devonſhire, by Sir J. Northcote, Bart. MS. [p] Sir William Pole's deſcription of Devonſhire.

[q] Riſdon's ſurvey of Devonſhire, vol. i. p. 152, 172. Fuller's worthies, Devon, p. 260. [r] Supply of Iriſh chronicles by Hooker, p. 132. Fuller's worthies in Devon. p. 260.

though then but a young man, he was much conſidered, and raiſed high expectations in all who knew him. In ſeveral expeditions undertaken in thoſe troubleſome times, he added to his fortune as well as to his fame; and being always ready, both in diſcourſe and with his pen, to render a reaſon for his own conduct, and to apologize for others, he came to be conſidered, by ſome of the moſt eminent perſons in the court of Queen Eliſabeth, as one capable of doing his country great ſervice, particularly in Ireland, where men of true abilities were much wanted[s]. Their conceptions concurring with Mr. Gilbert's views, and with that ambition of making himſelf known by great atchievements, which was the ruling paſſion of his noble mind, he accepted the offers that were made him, and paſſing over into that iſland, became preſident of Munſter, where he performed great things with a handful of men, and became more dreaded by the Iriſh, than any Engliſhman employed in that ſervice.

By his induſtry and addreſs, he compoſed the ſtirs raiſed by the Mac-Carthies, and by his valour and activity drove the Butlers out of his province, when they ſwerved from their duty. He likewiſe forced James Fitz-Morrice, the greateſt captain amongſt the Iriſh, to abandon his country[t], and ſeek for ſafety abroad, and performed many other things in conjunction with his brother Sir Walter Raleigh, which would well deſerve to be recorded here, if the limits of this work would permit, or if they fell in with my deſign: but as we mention him only as a ſeaman, it will be unneceſſary to dwell on ſuch actions of his life as have no relation to that character; and therefore let us haſten to the propoſals he made for diſcovering a paſſage by the north to the Indies, in which he laboured as rationally and as aſſiduouſly, though at the ſame time as unſucceſsfully, as any man in the age in which he lived.

It is not very clear, whether this gentleman had acquired the honour of knighthood before his return out of Ireland or not:

[s] Stowe, p. 812. Sidney papers, vol. i. p. 28.

[t] Camden, vol. i. p. 198, 199. Sidney papers, vol. i. p. 36, 38, 39. Cox's hiſtory of Ireland, p. 333.

there

there are authorities on both sides[u]; but I incline to think, that he received that honour from Sir Henry Sidney, deputy of Ireland, about the year 1570, and that he did not come over to England till some years afterwards[w]. The first discovery he made, both of his knowledge and of his intentions, was in his discourse to prove that there is a north-west passage to the East Indies, which was first printed in the year 1576, though I conceive it was written some time before[x].

It is a very plain, methodical, and judicious piece; and at the close of it there is an account of another treatise of navigation which he had written and intended to publish, and which is now probably lost. The design of this discourse was to excite a spirit of discovery in his countrymen, and to facilitate a design he had formed for planting unknown countries, as well as for the discovery of the north-west passage; for that he still had this, among other projects, in view, is plain from the letters-patent granted to his brother Adrian Gilbert in 1583. For the present, however, he adhered to his design of planting, and with that view procured from the queen an ample patent, dated at Westminster, June 11, 1578, wherein he had full powers given him to undertake the western discovery of America, and to inhabit and possess any lands hitherto unsettled by Christian princes or their subjects[y].

Immediately on the procuring these letters-patent, Sir Humphry applied himself to the procuring associates in so great an undertaking, wherein at first he seemed to be highly successful, his reputation for knowledge being very great, and his credit as a commander thoroughly established; yet, when the project came to be executed, many departed from their agreements, and others, even after the fleet was prepared, separated themselves, and chose to run their own fortunes in their own way[z].

[u] Prince's worthies of Devonshire, wherein he first places his knighthood, A. D. 1570, afterwards 1577; but in both asserts, from Sir William Pole's MS. that it was conferred by Queen Elisabeth, p. 327.

[w] Supply of Irish chronicles by Hooker, p. 132.

[x] This treatise is still preserved in Hakluyt's voyages, vol. iii. p. 11.

[y] This patent is also extant in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 135.

[z] See Mr. Hayes's account in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 145. Holingshed, vol. ii. p. 1369. Risdon's survey of Devon. vol. ii. p. 205.

These

Theſe misfortunes, however, did not deter Sir Humphry from proſecuting his ſcheme, in which alſo he was ſeconded by his brother Sir Walter Raleigh, and a few other friends, of unſhaken reſolution. With theſe he ſailed to Newfoundland, where he continued but a ſhort time, and, being then compelled to return, he in his paſſage home met with ſome Spaniſh veſſels, from whom he cleared himſelf with great difficulty. This ſeems to have been in the ſummer of 1578; but we have a very dark account of it, without dates or circumſtances, further than thoſe which have been already given [a]. Yet his miſcarriage in this firſt undertaking was far from diſcouraging him; for after his return he went on as cheerfully, as he had done before, in procuring freſh aſſiſtance for completing what he intended, and for promoting Chriſtian knowledge by the means of Engliſh ſettlements in undiſcovered lands. This conduct ſufficiently ſhewed not only the ſteadineſs of his courage, but the extent of his credit, ſince, after ſuch a diſappointment, another commander would ſcarce have found any adventurers to join with him; which, however, was not his caſe [b].

One thing which haſtened his ſecond expedition was this, that though the grant in his patent was perpetual, yet there was a clauſe in it by which it was declared void, in caſe no poſſeſſion was actually taken within the ſpace of ſix years. This term drawing to a cloſe, Sir Humphry, in the ſpring of the year 1583, haſtened his friends in their preparations, ſo as by the firſt of June his little fleet was in readineſs to ſail. It conſiſted of five ſhips: I. The Delight, of the burden of 120 tons, admiral, in which went the general Sir Humphry Gilbert, and under him Captain William Winter: II. The bark Raleigh, a ſtout new ſhip of 200 tons, vice-admiral, built, manned, and victualled at the expence of Sir Walter, then Mr. Raleigh, under the command of Captain Butler: III. The Golden Hind, of 40 tons, rear-admiral, commanded by Captain Edward Hayes, who was alſo her owner: IV. The Swallow, of the like burden, commanded by Captain Maurice Brown: V. The

[a] See the life of Sir Walter Raleigh by Mr. Oldys, p. 13.

[b] As appears by Sir George Peckham's relation of Sir Humphry's voyage. Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 165.

Squirrel,

Squirrel, of the burden only of ten tons, under the command of Captain William Andrews [c].

They ſailed from Plymouth on the eleventh of June, and on the thirteenth the bark Raleigh returned, the captain and moſt of thoſe on board her falling ſick of a contagious diſtemper. On the 30th of the ſame month, the reſt of the fleet had ſight of Newfoundland. On the third of Auguſt they landed; the general read his commiſſion, which was ſubmitted to by all the Engliſh veſſels upon the coaſt; and on the fifth he took poſſeſſion of the harbour of St. John, in the name of the queen of England, and granted, as her patentee, certain leaſes unto ſuch as were willing to take them. At the ſame time a diſcovery was made of a very rich ſilver mine, by one Daniel, a Saxon, an able miner, brought by the general for that purpoſe [d].

Sir Humphry now inclined to put to ſea again, in order to make the beſt uſe of his time in diſcovering as far as poſſible; and having ſent home the Swallow with ſuch as were ſick, or diſcouraged with the hardſhips they had already undergone, he left the harbour of St. John's, in 47 degrees 40 minutes N. L. on the 20th of Auguſt, himſelf in the ſmall ſloop called the Squirrel, becauſe, being light, ſhe was the fitter for entering all creeks and harbours; Captain Brown in the Delight, and Captain Hayes in the Golden Hind. On the 27th, they found themſelves in latitude of 45 degrees; and though the weather was fair, and in all appearance like to continue ſo, yet on the 29th of Auguſt, in the evening, a ſudden ſtorm aroſe, wherein the Delight was loſt, twelve men only eſcaping in her boat. This was a fatal blow to Sir Humphry Gilbert, not only with reſpect to the value of the ſhip, and the lives of the men, but alſo in regard to his future hopes, for in her he loſt his Saxon miner, and with him the ſilver ore which had been dug in Newfoundland, and of which he was ſo confident, as to tell ſome of his friends, that, upon the credit of that mine, he doubted not to borrow ten thouſand pounds of the queen for his next voyage [e].

[c] Riſdon's ſurvey of Devon. vol. ii. p. 205, 206. Narborough's voyages, edit. 1711. p. 13. Dr. Birche's memoirs of Queen Eliſabeth, vol. i. p. 34.
[d] Mr. Hayes's account of Sir Humphry's voyage in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 154.
[e] Ibid. p. 155.

On the ſecond of September he went on board the Golden Hind, in order to have his foot dreſſed, which by accident he had hurt in treading on a nail. He remained on board all day, and thoſe who were in that veſſel did all that was in their power to perſuade him to make his voyage home in her, which he abſolutely refuſed to do, affirming, that he would never deſert his bark and his little crew, with whom he had eſcaped ſo many dangers. A generous but fatal reſolution! For the veſſel being too ſmall to reſiſt the ſwell of thoſe tempeſtuous ſeas, about midnight, on the ninth of September, was ſwallowed up, and never ſeen more[f]. In the evening, when they were in great danger, Sir Humphry was ſeen ſitting in the ſtern of the bark, with a book in his hand, and was often heard to ſay, with a loud voice, "Courage, my lads! we are as near heaven at "ſea as at land." Thus he died like a Chriſtian hero, full of hope, as having the teſtimony of a good conſcience. Mr. Edward Hayes, who accompanied Sir Humphrey in his voyage, and who hath left us an account of it, affirms, that he was principally determined to his fatal reſolution of ſailing in the Squirrel by a malicious report that had been ſpread, of his being timorous at ſea[g]. If ſo, it appears that death was leſs dreadful to him than ſhame; but it is hard to believe that ſo wiſe a man could be wrought upon by ſo weak and inſignificant a reflection.

Such was the fate of Sir HUMPHRY GILBERT! one of the worthieſt men of that age, whether we regard the ſtrength of his underſtanding, or his heroic courage. Some further particulars relating to him I might have added from Prince's Worthies of Devonſhire, but that I am ſuſpicious of their credit, and the more ſo, becauſe they do not agree well together; beſides, they are but trivial, and my deſign leads me to take notice of ſuch only as concern his character[h]. The reaſon I have given

[f] Camdeni annales, vol. ii. p. 402. Riſdon's ſurvey, vol. ii. p. 207. Stowe, p. 812. Fuller's worthies in Devon. p. 261,

[g] Hakluyt's voyages, vol. iii. p. 159.

[h] He tells us, amongſt other things, that the queen, of her particular grace, gave to Sir Humphrey Gilbert a golden anchor, with a large pearl at the peak. If this were true, it is ſtrange that in the prolix accounts we have of his voyages, and in the Latin poem written expreſsly to do him honour by Stephen Parmenius,

given his memoirs a place here is this, that he was in a manner the parent of all our plantations, being the firſt who introduced a legal and regular method of ſettling, without which ſuch undertakings muſt neceſſarily prove unſucceſsful. Beſides, his treatiſe of the north-weſt paſſage was the ground of all the expectations, which the beſt ſeamen had for many years, of actually finding ſuch a route to the Eaſt Indies; and though at preſent we know many things advanced therein to be falſe, yet we likewiſe find many of his conjectures true, and all of them founded in reaſon, and the philoſophy then commonly received. I ſhall conclude my account of him by tranſcribing a paſſage which he affirms of his own knowledge, and which I judge worthy of conſideration, becauſe ſome later accounts of the Spaniſh miſſionaries in California affirm the ſame thing.

"There was," ſays he, "one Salvaterra, a gentleman of "Victoria in Spain, that came by chance out of the Weſt In- "dies into Ireland, *anno* 1568, who affirmed the north-weſt "paſſage from us to Catäia, conſtantly to be believed in Ame- "rica navigable; and further ſaid, in the preſence of Sir Henry "Sidney (then lord-deputy of Ireland) in my hearing, that a "frier of Mexico, called Andrew Urdaneta, more than eight "years before his then coming into Ireland, told him, that he "came from Mer del Sur into Germany through this north- "weſt paſſage, and ſhewed Salvaterra (at that time being then "with him in Mexico) a ſea-card made by his own experience "and travel in that voyage, wherein was plainly ſet down and "deſcribed this north-weſt paſſage, agreeing in all points with "Ortelius's map. And further, this frier told the king of "Portugal, as he returned by that country homeward, that "there was (of certainty) ſuch a paſſage north-weſt from Eng- "land, and that he meant to publiſh the ſame; which done, "the king moſt earneſtly deſired him not in any wiſe to diſcloſe "or make the paſſage known to any nation; for that (ſaid the

Parmenius an Hungarian, who accompanied him in his laſt voyage, there ſhould be no mention of it. Perhaps he had this circumſtance from ſome ſuch authority as that from whence he took Sir Humphry's motto, which he ſays was, *Mallem mori, quam mutare;* whereas Sir Humphry himſelf gives it thus, *Mutare vel timere ſperno.* But that the former was the family motto of the Gilberts of Compton, and alſo of the Gilberts of Greenway, I have been ſince informed. Worthies of Devon. p. 326—329. Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 24.

" king) if England had knowledge and experience thereof, it " would greatly hinder both the king of Spain and me. This " frier (as Salvaterra reported) was the greateſt diſcoverer by " ſea that hath been in our age. Alſo Salvaterra, being per- " ſuaded of this paſſage by the frier Urdaneta, and by the " common opinion of the Spaniards inhabiting America, offer- " ed moſt willingly to accompany me in this diſcovery, which " it is like he would not have done, if he had ſtood in doubt " thereof[i]."

It is true, that Sir William Monſon diſcredits this relation, as he endeavours to refute all the reaſons that have been offered to ſupport the opinion of a paſſage to the north-weſt[k]; yet I meddle not with the diſpute but with the fact, which, as I have ſaid, is confirmed by later teſtimonies to the ſame purpoſe. Let us now proceed to

SIR JOHN HAWKINS, a famous admiral, and one who performed many great ſervices againſt the Spaniards.

THIS gentleman was a native of Devonſhire as well as the former, and deſcended alſo of a good family; his father was William Hawkins, Eſq; a gentleman of a conſiderable eſtate; his mother's name was Joan Trelawny, daughter of William Trelawny of the county of Cornwall, Eſq. Our John Hawkins was their ſecond ſon, born at Plymouth[l], but in what year I have not been able to find: however, from circumſtances we may gather that it could not be later than 1520. He was from his youth addicted to navigation and the ſtudy of the mathematics, as indeed were all his family, and began very early to carry his ſkill into practice, by making ſeveral voyages to Spain, Portugal, and the Canaries, which were in thoſe days extraordinary undertakings, and muſt have given him much more experience than almoſt any of his contemporaries[m].

[i] Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 19. [k] Naval tracts, p. 418.

[l] Stowe's annals, p. 807. Prince's worthies of Devon. p. 389.

[m] I have ſeen a catalogue of the ancient families in Devon, amongſt whom his has a place; and we may collect from circumſtances, that his father was a gentleman of conſiderable fortune, as is ſaid above.

Of

Of theſe voyages we have no particular account, any more than of thoſe of his father Mr. William Hawkins, who was likewiſe a very great ſeaman, and the firſt of our nation who made a voyage to Brazil[n]. His ſon, probably, reaped the benefit of his obſervations; for he came early into the world with a great reputation, and was employed by Queen Eliſabeth as an officer at ſea, when ſome who were afterwards her chief commanders were but boys, and learned the ſkill, by which they roſe, from him.

In the ſpring of the year 1562, he formed the deſign of his firſt famous voyage, advantageous to himſelf and moſt of his proprietors; but much more ſo in its conſequences to his country. In ſeveral trips to the Canaries, where by his tenderneſs and humanity he had made himſelf much beloved, he acquired a knowledge of the ſlave-trade, and of the mighty profit obtained by the ſale of negroes in the Weſt Indies. After due conſideration he reſolved to attempt ſomewhat in this way, and to raiſe a ſubſcription amongſt his friends (the greateſt traders in the city of London) for opening a new trade, firſt to Guinea for ſlaves, and then to Hiſpaniola, St. John, de Porto Rico, and other Spaniſh iſlands, for ſugars, hides, ſilver, &c. Upon his repreſentation of the affair, Sir Lionel Ducket, Sir Thomas Lodge, Sir William Winter, Mr. Bromfield, and Mr. Gunſon, whoſe daughter Mr. Hawkins married, readily joined in the undertaking[o].

At their expence a little fleet was prepared, compoſed of the following ſhips: the Solomon, of the burthen of 120 tons, in which went Mr. Hawkins himſelf; the Swallow, of 100 tons, commanded by Captain Thomas Hampton, and a bark of 40 tons, called the Jonas; on board of which there were about 100 men in all. Such were the beginnings of Britain's naval power! With this ſquadron he ſailed from the coaſt of England in the month of October, 1562, and in his courſe firſt touched at Teneriffe, ſailed thence to the coaſt of Guinea, where having, by force or purchaſe, acquired three hundred negroe ſlaves, he ſailed directly to Hiſpaniola, and making there a large pro-

[n] Hakluyt, vol. ii. p. 510.

[o] Purchas's pilgrims, vol. iv. p. 1179.

fit, he returned ſafe into England in the month of September 1563[p].

The next year he made another voyage with a much greater force, himſelf being in the Jeſus of Lubeck, a ſhip of ſeven hundred tons, accompanied by the Solomon, and two barks, the Tiger and the Swallow. He ſailed from Plymouth the eighteenth of October, 1564, proceeded to the coaſt of Guinea, and thence to the Spaniſh Weſt Indies, where he forced a trade much to his profit; and, after viſiting the port of the Havanna, came home through the Gulf of Florida, arriving at Padſtowe in Cornwall, on the twentieth of September, 1565, having loſt but twenty perſons in the whole voyage, and bringing with him a large cargo of very rich commodities[q]. His ſkill and ſucceſs had now raiſed him to ſuch a reputation, that Mr. Harvey, then Clarencieux king at arms, granted him, by patent, for his creſt, a demi-moor in his proper colour, bound with a cord[r].

In the beginning of the year 1567, he ſailed to the relief of the French Proteſtants in Rochelle, and returning home in the ſummer, began to make the neceſſary preparations for his third voyage to the Weſt Indies, which he undertook ſome time afterwards[s].

Mr. Hawkins made this, as he did his former voyage, in the Jeſus of Lubeck, accompanied by the Minion and four other ſhips. He ſailed with theſe from Plymouth the ſecond of October, 1567. At firſt they met with ſuch ſtorms that they had thoughts of returning home; but the weather growing better, and the wind coming fair, he continued his courſe to the Canaries, thence to the coaſt of Guinea, and ſo to the Spaniſh America to ſell his negroes. The governor of Rio de la Hacha refuſing to trade, Hawkins landed and took the town, in which there ſeems to have been ſome colluſion; for, notwithſtanding this, they traded together in a friendly manner till moſt of the negroes were ſold. Thence he ſailed to Carthagena, where he diſpoſed of the reſt; but, in returning home, being ſurpriſed with ſtorms on the coaſt of Florida, he was forced to ſteer for

[p] Hakluyt's voyages, vol. iii. p. 500. [q] Stowe's annals, p. 807. Prince's worthies of Devon. p. 389. Hakluyt's voyages, vol. iii. p. 501.

[r] Prince, in the page before cited, tells us, he took this from the original patent.

[s] Strype's annals, vol. ii. Prince, p. 389.

the

the port of St. John de Ulloa, in the bottom of the bay of Mexico. He entered the port the 16th of September, 1568, when the Spaniards came on board, ſuppoſing him to have come from Spain, and were exceedingly frighted when they found their miſtake. Mr. Hawkins treated them very civilly, aſſuring them, that all he came for was proviſions; neither did he attack twelve merchant-ſhips that were in the port, the cargoes of which were worth 200,000 pounds, but contented himſelf with ſeizing two perſons of diſtinction, whom he kept as hoſtages, while an expreſs was ſent to Mexico with an account of his demands.

The next day the Spaniſh fleet appeared in ſight, which gave Captain Hawkins great uneaſineſs; for, if he kept them out, he was ſenſible they muſt be loſt with all they had on board, which amounted to near two millions ſterling; an act which, conſidering there was no war declared againſt Spain, he was afraid his native ſovereign Queen Eliſabeth would never pardon. On the other hand he was no leſs ſenſible that, the port being narrow, and the town pretty populous, the Spaniards would not fail, if once they were ſuffered to come in, to attempt ſome treachery. At length he determined to admit the fleet, provided the new viceroy of Mexico, who was on board it, would agree that the Engliſh ſhould have victuals for their money, that hoſtages ſhould be given on both ſides, and that the iſland, with eleven pieces of braſs cannon which were therein, ſhould be yielded to his crew while they ſtaid. At theſe demands the viceroy at firſt ſeemed highly diſpleaſed; yet quickly after he yielded to them, and, at a perſonal conference with Mr. Hawkins, ſolemnly promiſed to perform them [t].

At the end of three days, all things being concluded, the fleet entered the port on the 26th with the uſual ſalutations, and two days more were employed to range the ſhips of each nation by themſelves, the officers and ſailors on both ſides uſing reciprocal civilities, and profeſſing a great deal of friendſhip. But the Spaniards intended nothing leſs; for they had by this time muſtered 1000 men on land, and deſigned on Thurſday

[t] Camdeni annales, p. 158. Sir John Hawkins's account of this voyage in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 522, 523.

the 24th, at dinner-time, to ſet on the Engliſh on every ſide. On the day appointed, in the morning, the Engliſh perceived the Spaniards ſhifting their weapons from ſhip to ſhip, pointing their ordnance towards them; they likewiſe obſerved a greater number of men paſſing to and fro than the buſineſs on board the ſhips required, which, with other circumſtances, giving grounds of ſuſpicion, Captain Hawkins ſent to the viceroy to know the meaning of ſuch unuſual motions; whereupon the viceroy ſent orders to have every thing removed that might give the Engliſh umbrage, with a promiſe, on the faith of a viceroy, to be their defence againſt any clandeſtine attempts of the Spaniards. The captain, however, not being ſatisfied with this anſwer, becauſe he ſuſpected a great number of men to be hidden in a ſhip of 900 tons, which was moored next the Minion, ſent the maſter of the Jeſus, who underſtood Spaniſh, to know of the viceroy whether it was ſo or not. The viceroy, finding he could conceal his mean and villainous deſign no longer, detained the maſter, and cauſing the trumpet to be ſounded, the Spaniards on this ſignal, of which they were apprized, began the attack upon the Engliſh on all ſides. Thoſe who were upon the iſland being ſtruck with fear at this ſudden alarm, fled, thinking to recover their ſhips; but the Spaniards, debarking in great numbers at ſeveral places at once, (which they might do without boats, the ſhips lying cloſe to the ſhore), ſlew them all without mercy, excepting a few who eſcaped on board the Jeſus[u].

The great ſhip, wherein 300 men were concealed, immediately fell on board the Minion; but ſhe, having put all hands to work the moment their ſuſpicions commenced, had in that ſhort ſpace, which was but a bare half-hour, weighed all her anchors. Having thus gotten clear, and avoided the firſt brunt of the great ſhip, the latter clapped the Jeſus aboard, which was at the ſame time attacked by two other ſhips. However, with much ado, and the loſs of many men, ſhe kept them off till ſhe cut her cable, and got clear alſo. As ſoon as the Jeſus and the Minion were got two ſhips length from the Spaniſh fleet, they began the fight, which was ſo furious, that in one hour the admiral of the Spaniards and another ſhip

u Purchas's pilgrims, vol. iv. p. 1177. Sir Walter Raleigh's works, vol. ii. p. 271, 272.

were

were ſuppoſed to be ſunk, and their vice-admiral burned, ſo that they had little to fear from the enemy's ſhips; but they ſuffered exceedingly from the ordnance on the iſland, which ſunk their ſmall ſhips, and mangled all the maſts and rigging of the Jeſus in ſuch a manner, that there was no hopes of bringing her off.

This being the caſe, they determined to place her for a ſhelter to the Minion till night, and then taking out of her what victuals and other neceſſaries they could, to leave her behind. But preſently after, perceiving two large ſhips, fired by the Spaniards, bearing down directly upon them, the men on board the Minion, in great conſternation, without conſent of either the captain or maſter, ſet ſail and made off from the Jeſus in ſuch haſte, that Captain Hawkins had ſcarce time to reach her. As for the men, moſt of them followed in a ſmall boat, the reſt were left to the mercy of the Spaniards, which, ſays the captain, I doubt was very little [w].

The Minion and the Judith were the only two Engliſh ſhips that eſcaped; and in the night the Judith, which was a bark only of fifty tons, ſeparated herſelf from the Minion, on board which was captain Hawkins and the beſt part of his men. In this diſtreſs having little to eat, leſs water, in unknown ſeas, and many of his men wounded, he continued till the eighth of October, and then entered a creek in the bay of Mexico, in order to obtain ſome refreſhment. This was about the mouth of the river Tampico, in the latitude of 23 degrees 36 minutes N. where his company dividing, one hundred deſired to be put on ſhore, and the reſt, who were about the ſame number, reſolved at all events to endeavour to get home. Accordingly, on the 16th, they weighed and ſtood through the gulf of Florida, making the beſt of their way for Europe. In their paſſage, they were forced to put into Ponte Vedra, in Spain, where the Spaniards coming to know their weakneſs, thought by treachery to ſeize them a ſecond time; but they ſuſpecting this ſailed forthwith to Vigo, not far off.

They there met with ſome Engliſh ſhips, which ſupplied their wants, and departing on the 20th of January 1586, arrived in

[w] Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 524.

Mount's

Mount's Bay in Cornwall the 25th of January following. As to the hardſhips endured in this unfortunate expedition, they cannot be more ſtrongly or exactly pictured, than in the following lines, with which captain Hawkins concludes his own relation[x]. "If all the miſeries and troubleſome affairs," ſays he, "of this ſorrowful voyage ſhould be perfectly and tho-"roughly written, there ſhould need a painful man with his "pen, and as great a time as he had that wrote the lives and "deaths of the martyrs[y]." In reward of his famous action at Rio de la Hacha, Mr. Cook, then Clarenchieux, added to his arms, on an eſcutcheon of pretence, Or, an eſcallop between two palmer's ſtaves Sable; and his patent for this augmentation is ſtill extant[z].

When the Spaniſh fleet went to fetch Anne of Auſtria, the laſt wife of Philip the ſecond, out of Flanders, Sir John Hawkins with a ſmall ſquadron of her Majeſty's ſhips was riding in Catwater, which the Spaniſh admiral perceiving, he endeavoured to run between the iſland and the place without paying the uſual ſalutes. Sir John ordered the gunner of his own ſhip to fire at the rigging of the Spaniſh admiral, who taking no notice of it, the gunner fired next at the hull, and ſhot through and through. The Spaniards, upon this, took in their flags and topſails, and run to an anchor. The Spaniſh admiral then ſent an officer of diſtinction in a boat, to carry at once his compliments and complaints to Sir John Hawkins. He ſtanding upon deck, would not either admit the officer or hear his meſſage; but bid him tell his admiral, that having neglected the reſpect due to the queen of England, in her ſeas and port, and having ſo large a fleet under his command, he muſt not expect to lie there; but in twelve hours weigh his anchor and be gone, otherwiſe he ſhould regard him as an enemy declared, his conduct having already rendered him ſuſpected.

x Camdeni annales, p. 352. Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 524, 525. Purchas's pilgrims, vol. iv. p. 1177.

y Theſe are the laſt words of Captain Hawkins's relation; but the inquiſitive reader may find ſome further circumſtances relating to this unfortunate voyage, in the travels of Miles Philips, and of Job Hartop, two of the men ſet on ſhore by Sir John Hawkins, in the Bay of Mexico, in Hakluyt's collection, vol. iii. p. 469, 487.

z Prince's worthies of Devon. p. 389. from the copy of this patent.

The Spaniſh admiral upon receiving this meſſage came off in perſon, and went in his boat to the Jeſus of Lubeck, on board which Sir John Hawkins's flag was flying, deſiring to ſpeak with him; which at firſt was refuſed, but at length granted. The Spaniard then expoſtulated the matter, inſiſted that there was peace between the two crowns, and that he knew not what to make of the treatment he had received. Sir John Hawkins told him, that his own arrogance had brought it upon him, and that he could not but know what reſpect was due to the queen's ſhips; that he had deſpatched an expreſs to her majeſty with advice of his behaviour, and that in the mean time he would do well to depart. The Spaniard ſtill pleaded ignorance, and that he was ready to give ſatisfaction.

Upon this Sir John Hawkins told him mildly, that he could not be a ſtranger to what was practiſed by the French and Spaniards in their own ſeas and ports; adding, Put the caſe, Sir, that an Engliſh fleet came into any of the king your maſter's ports, his majeſty's ſhips being there, and thoſe Engliſh ſhips ſhould carry their flags in their tops, would you not ſhoot them down, and beat the ſhips out of your port? The Spaniard owned he would, confeſſed he was in the wrong, ſubmitted to the penalty Sir John impoſed, was then very kindly entertained, and they parted very good friends. This account we have from his ſon Sir Richard Hawkins, who was eye-witneſs of all that paſſed.

The next great action of this worthy ſeaman, was his ſervice under the lord high-admiral, in 1588, againſt the Spaniſh armada, wherein he acted as rear-admiral on board her majeſty's ſhip the Victory, and had as large a ſhare of the danger and honour of that day as any man in the fleet, for which he moſt deſervedly received the honour of knighthood[a]; and in purſuit of the flying Spaniards he did extraordinary ſervice, inſomuch that, on his return from the fleet, he was particularly commended by the queen.

In 1590, he was ſent, in conjunction with Sir Martin Forbiſher, each having a ſquadron of five men of war, to infeſt the coaſts of Spain, and intercept, if poſſible, the plate-fleet. At

[a] Stowe's annals, p. 748. Speed, p. 861. Strype's annals.

firſt, his Catholic majeſty thought of oppoſing theſe famous commanders, with a ſuperior fleet of twenty ſail, under the command of Don Alonzo de Baſſan; but, upon more mature deliberation, he abandoned this deſign, directed his ſhips to keep cloſe in port, and ſent inſtructions into the Indies, that the fleet, inſtead of returning, ſhould winter there. Sir John Hawkins and his colleague ſpent ſeven months in this ſtation, without performing any thing of note, or ſo much as taking a ſingle ſhip. They afterwards attempted the iſland of Fayal, which had ſubmitted the year before to the earl of Cumberland; but the citadel being re-fortified, and the inhabitants well furniſhed with artillery and ammunition, Sir John and his aſſociates were forced to retreat.

It muſt be owned, that with the populace very ſmall reputation was gained by the admirals in this expedition; and yet they loſt no credit at court, where the iſſue of the buſineſs was better underſtood. By compelling the Spaniſh navy to fly into fortified ports, they deſtroyed their reputation as a maritime power; and the wintering of their plate-ſhips in the Indies, proved ſo great a detriment to the merchants of Spain, that many broke, in Seville and other places; beſides, it was ſo great a prejudice to their veſſels to winter in the Indies, that the damage could not be repaired in many years. Thus, though no immediate profit accrued, the end of this expedition was fully anſwered, and the nation gained a very ſignal advantage, by grievouſly diſtreſſing her enemies[b].

The war with Spain continuing, and it being evident that nothing galled the enemy ſo much as the loſſes they met with in the Indies, a propoſition was made to the queen by Sir John Hawkins and Sir Francis Drake, the moſt experienced ſeamen in her kingdom, for undertaking a more effectual expedition into thoſe parts, than had been hitherto made through the whole courſe of the war; and at the ſame time they offered to be at a great part of the expence themſelves, and to engage their friends to bear a conſiderable proportion of the reſt. There were many motives which induced our admiral, though then far in years, to hazard his fortune, his reputation, and his

[b] Camdeni annales, p. 620. Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 177. Linſchotten's voyages, chap. 99.

perſon

perſon in this dangerous ſervice; amongſt which, this was not the laſt or the leaſt, that his ſon Richard, who was afterwards Sir Richard Hawkins, was at this time a priſoner in the hands of the Spaniards, and ſome hope there was, that in the courſe of ſuch an enterpriſe, an opportunity might offer of redeeming him[c].

The queen readily gave ear to this motion, and furniſhed, on her part, a ſtout ſquadron of men of war, on board one of which, the Garland, Sir John Hawkins embarked. Their ſquadron conſiſted of twenty-ſeven ſhips and barks, and their whole force amounted to about two thouſand five hundred men. Of all the enterprizes throughout the war, there was none of which ſo great hope was conceived as this, and yet none ſucceeded worſe. The fleet was detained for ſome time after it was ready on the Engliſh coaſt by the arts of the Spaniards, who, having intelligence of its ſtrength, and of the ends for which it was equipped, conceived, hat the only means by which it could be defeated, was practiſing ſome contrivances that might diſappoint the firſt exploits intended, by procuring delay; in order to which, they gave out, that they were ready themſelves to invade England; and, to render this the more probable, they actually ſent four gallies to make a ſudden deſcent on Cornwall. By theſe ſteps they carried their point; for, the queen and the nation being alarmed, it was held by no means proper to ſend ſo great a number of ſtout ſhips on ſo long a voyage at ſo critical a juncture.

At laſt, this ſtorm blowing over, the fleet ſailed from Plymouth on the 28th of Auguſt, in order to execute their grand deſign of burning Nombre de Dios, marching thence by land to Panama, and there ſeizing the treaſure which they knew was arrived at that place from Peru. A few days before their departure, the queen ſent them advice, that the plate-fleet was ſafely arrived in Spain, excepting only a ſingle galleon, which, having loſt a maſt, had been obliged to return to Porto-Rico; the taking of this veſſel ſhe recommended to them as a thing very practicable, and which could prove no great hinderance to their other affair. When they were at ſea, the generals differed, as is uſual in conjunct expeditions. Sir John Hawkins was for executing

[c] Sir Richard Hawkins's obſervations on his voyage to the South ſeas, p. 133.

immediately what the queen had commanded, whereas Sir Francis Drake inclined to go firſt to the Canaries, in which he prevailed; but the attempt they made was unſucceſsful, and then they ſailed for Dominica, where they ſpent too much time in refreſhing themſelves, and ſetting up their pinnaces. In the mean time the Spaniards had ſent five ſtout frigates to bring away the galleon from Porto-Rico, having exact intelligence of the intention of the Engliſh admirals to attempt that place. On the 30th of October Sir John Hawkins weighed from Dominica, and, in the evening of the ſame day, the Francis, a bark of about thirty-five tons, and the ſternmoſt of Sir John's ſhips, fell in with the five ſail of Spaniſh frigates before-mentioned, and was taken; the conſequences of which being foreſeen by Sir John, it threw him into a fit of ſickneſs, of which, or rather of a broken heart, he died on the twenty-firſt of November, 1595, when they were in ſight of the iſland of Porto-Rico, and not, as Sir William Monſon ſuggeſts, of chagrin on the miſcarriage in attempting the city of the ſame name, which in truth he never lived to ſee[d].

At ſo great a diſtance of time it may ſeem ſtrange to enter into, or at leaſt to enter minutely into the character of this famous ſeaman; but as we have good authorities, and ſuch reflections may be of uſe to poſterity, we think it not amiſs to undertake this taſk, in performing which we ſhall uſe all the care and impartiality that can be expected[e]. Sir John had naturally ſtrong parts, which he improved by conſtant application. He was apt in council to differ from other men's opinions, and yet was reſerved in diſcovering his own[f]. He was ſlow, jealous, and ſomewhat irreſolute, yet in action he was merciful, apt to forgive, and a ſtrict obſerver of his word. As he had paſſed a great part of his life at ſea, he had too great a diſlike of land-ſoldiers[g],

d Camdeni annales, p. 698, 699, 700. Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 182, 183. There is an accurate and copious account of this voyage in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 583. as alſo in Purchas's pilgrims, vol. iv. p. 1183. See alſo the following tracts, entitled, Relation of a voyage to the Weſt Indies by Sir Francis Drake, *&c.* p. 50. e In order to this I have compared what is to be met with in Hakluyt, Purchas, Monſon, Stowe, and Sir Richard Hawkins's book, as alſo whatever notices I have been able to collect from other contemporary writers. f Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 183. g See a very remarkable letter ſigned R. M. by one who had ſailed with Hawkins, and Drake, and drew a parallel between them. Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1185.

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When occaſion required it, he could diſſemble, though he was naturally of a blunt rather than reſerved diſpoſition. And, now we are making a catalogue of his faults, let us not forget the greateſt, which was the love of money, wherein he exceeded all juſt bounds [h].

In ſpite, however, of his imperfections, he was always eſteemed one of the ableſt of his profeſſion, of which theſe are no inconſiderable proofs, that he was a noted commander at ſea forty-eight years, and treaſurer of the navy two and twenty [i].

He and his eldeſt brother William were owners at once of thirty ſail of good ſhips [k], and it was generally owned, that Sir John Hawkins was the author of more uſeful inventions, and introduced into the navy better regulations, than any officer who had bore command therein before his time. One inſtance of this amongſt many, was the inſtitution of that noble fund, (for I will not call it charity, becauſe that term implies, in common acceptation, alms), the CHEST at CHATHAM, which was the humane and wiſe contrivance of this gentleman and Sir Francis Drake; and their ſcheme, that ſeaman ſafe and ſucceſsful ſhould, by a voluntary deduction from their pay, give relief to the wants, and reward to thoſe who are maimed in the ſervice of their country, was approved by the queen, and has been adopted by poſterity. Sir John Hawkins built alſo a noble hoſpital, which he plentifully endowed at the ſame place [l].

MEMOIRS of SIR FRANCIS DRAKE, a moſt ſkilful ſeaman, the firſt who made a voyage round the world, and vice-admiral of the Engliſh fleet in 1588:

IT ſeems in ſome meaſure to detract from the common notions about nobility of birth, and the advantages of blood, that ſeveral of the moſt illuſtrious perſons in our nation have riſen from very obſcure beginnings, and have left their hiſtorians dif-

[h] I take this from the ſaid letter, and from ſome MS. remarks on Hakluyt.

[i] Camdeni annales, p. 700. Stowe's annals, p. 807. Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 371. [k] Stowe's annals, p. 807. [l] Lambarde's perambulation of Kent. Kilburn's ſurvey of Kent, p. 53. MSS. of Samuel Pepys, Eſq.

ficulties

ficulties enough to ſtruggle with in deriving their deſcents. This is particularly true of Sir Francis Drake, concerning whoſe family I muſt confeſs I can ſay nothing with certainty. That he was born in Devonſhire, occaſioned his being taken notice of by the reverend Mr. Prince, who has left us a life of him not much to be depended on[m]; and as to earlier writers, who might have been better informed, many of them are ſilent.

According to the account given by Mr. Camden, who profeſſes to have taken it from his own mouth, we are told that he was ſon of a perſon in ordinary circumſtances who lived at a ſmall village in Devonſhire, and that Sir Francis Ruſſel, afterwards earl of Bedford, was his godfather. His father, having embraced the proteſtant religion, was obliged to quit his country, and retire to Kent, where he firſt read prayers on board the fleet, was afterwards ordained deacon, and in proceſs of time became vicar of the church of Upnore. As for our Francis Drake, he was bound apprentice to the maſter of a coaſting veſſel, whom he ſerved ſo faithfully, that, dying unmarried, he bequeathed his ſhip to Drake, which laid the primary foundation of his fortunes[n].

I do not doubt but many or indeed moſt of the circumſtances in this ſtory may be true, if brought into their right order; but, as they ſtand in Camden, they cannot be ſo: for, firſt, this account makes our hero ten years older than he was; next, if his father fled about the ſix articles, and he was born ſome time before, Sir Francis Ruſſel could have been but a child, and therefore not likely to be his godfather[o]. Another ſtory there is, as circumſtantial, and written as early, which perhaps ſome judicious reader will be able to reconcile with this: but whether that can be done or not, I think it better deſerves credit. According to this relation I find that he was the ſon of one Edmund Drake an honeſt ſailor, and born near Taviſtock in the year 1545, being the eldeſt of twelve brethren, and brought up at

[m] Worthies of Devon. p. 236.

[n] Camdeni annales, p. 351. Yet in his Britannia, p. 145. he makes him a native of Plymouth. Engliſh hero, p. 1. and Fuller's holy ſtate, p. 123.

[o] It appears by the monumental inſcription on the tomb of this noble perſon, that he was born *A. D.* 1527, and was therefore but ten years old at Drake's chriſtening according to this account, but might well be his godfather, if born 1545.

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the expence, and under the care, of his kinſman Sir John Hawkins. I likewiſe find, that, at the age of eighteen, he was purſer of a ſhip trading to Biſcay, that at twenty he made a voyage to Guinea, and at the age of twenty-two had the honour to be appointed captain of the Judith in the harbour of St. John de Ulloa in the gulf of Mexico, where he behaved moſt gallantly in that glorious action under Sir John Hawkins, and returned with him into England with a very great reputation, but not worth a ſingle groat [p].

Upon this he conceived a deſign of making repriſals on the king of Spain, which, ſome ſay, was put into his head by the miniſter of his ſhip; and to be ſure in ſea-divinity the caſe was clear, the king of Spain's ſubjects had undone Mr. Drake, and therefore Mr. Drake was at liberty to take the beſt ſatisfaction he could on the ſubjects of the king of Spain [q]. This doctrine, how rudely ſoever preached, was very taking in England, and therefore he no ſooner publiſhed his deſign, than he had numbers of volunteers ready to accompany him, though they had no ſuch pretence even as he had to colour their proceedings [r]. In 1570 he made his firſt expedition with two ſhips, the Dragon and the Swan, and the next year in the Swan alone, wherein he returned ſafe with competent advantages, if not rich; and having now means ſufficient to perform greater matters, as well as ſkill to conduct them, he laid the plan of a more important deſign with reſpect to himſelf and to his enemies [s].

This he put in execution on the 24th of March 1572, on which day he ſailed from Plymouth, himſelf in a ſhip called the Paſcha, of the burden of ſeventy tons, and his brother John Drake in the Swan, of twenty-five tons burden, their whole ſtrength conſiſting of no more than twenty-three men and boys; and with this inconſiderable force, on the 22d of July [t], he attacked the town of Nombre de Dios, which then ſerved the Spaniards for the ſame purpoſes (though not ſo conveniently) as

[p] Stowe's annals, p. 807. [q] Prince's worthies of Devon, p. 239.

[r] Stowe's annals, p. 807. Camdeni annales, p. 351.

[s] Sir Francis Drake revived by Philip Nichols, preacher, a 4to of 94 pages in black letter, publiſhed by Sir Francis Drake, baronet, his nephew.

[t] This is one of thoſe facts which prove, that things really happen, which are altogether improbable, and which, but for the weight of evidence which attend them, would not only be eſteemed fiction but abſurdities.

thoſe

thoſe for which they now uſe Porto-Bello. He took it in a few hours by ſtorm, notwithſtanding a very dangerous wound he received in the action; yet upon the whole they were no great gainers, but after a very briſk action were obliged to betake themſelves to their ſhips with very little booty. His next attempt was to plunder the mules laden with ſilver, which paſſed from Vera Cruz to Nombre de Dios; but in this ſcheme too he was diſappointed. However, he attacked the town of Vera Cruz, carried it, and got ſome little booty. In their return they met unexpectedly with a ſtring of fifty mules laden with plate, of which they carried off as much as they could, and buried the reſt [u]. In theſe expeditions he was greatly aſſiſted by the Simerons, a nation of Indians who are engaged in a perpetual war with the Spaniards. The prince or captain of theſe people, whoſe name was Pedro, was preſented by Captain Drake with a fine cutlaſs which he at that time wore, and to which he ſaw the Indian had a mind. Pedro in return gave him four large wedges of gold, which Captain Drake threw into the common ſtock, with this remarkable expreſſion, "That he thought it but juſt, that ſuch "as bore the charge of ſo uncertain a voyage on his credit, "ſhould ſhare the utmoſt advantages that voyage produced." Then embarking his men with all the wealth he had obtained, which was very conſiderable, he bore away for England [w], and was ſo fortunate as to ſail in twenty-three days from Cape Florida to the iſles of Scilly, and thence without any accident to Plymouth, where he arrived the ninth of Auguſt 1573 [x].

His ſucceſs in this expedition, joined to his honourable behaviour towards his owners, gained him a high reputation, and the uſe he made of his riches ſtill a greater; for, fitting out three ſtout frigates at his own expence, he ſailed with them to Ireland, where, under Walter earl of Eſſex, (the father of that unfortunate earl who was beheaded), he ſerved as a volunteer, and did

[u] Captain Drake's conduct was in all reſpects equal to his courage; he propoſed coming into theſe ſeas on the ſame errand again; and to this deſign, and the means that might accompliſh it, all his actions point.

[w] At the diſtance of a century Sir William Davenant, poet-laureat in the reign of King Charles II. made this expedition the baſis of a dramatic performance, called THE HISTORY OF SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.

[x] See that relation, as alſo Camdeni annales, p. 351.

many glorious actions [y]. After the death of his noble patron he returned into England, where Sir Chriſtopher Hatton, who was then vice-chamberlain to Queen Eliſabeth, privy counſellor, afterwards lord-chancellor, and a great favourite, took him under his protection, introduced him to her majeſty, and procured him her countenance [z]. By this means he acquired a capacity of undertaking that glorious expedition, which will render his name immortal. The thing he firſt propoſed was a voyage into the South-ſeas through the Streights of Magellan, which was what hitherto no Engliſhman ever attempted. This project was well received at court, and in a ſhort time Captain Drake ſaw himſelf at the height of his wiſhes; for in his former voyage, having had a diſtant proſpect of the South-ſeas, he framed an ardent prayer to God, that he might ſail an Engliſh ſhip in them, which he found now an opportunity of attempting, the queen's permiſſion furniſhing him with the means, and his own fame quickly drawing to him a force ſufficient [a].

The ſquadron with which he ſailed on this extraordinary undertaking, conſiſted of the following ſhips; the Pelican, commanded by himſelf, of the burden of one hundred tons; the Eliſabeth, vice-admiral, eighty tons, under Captain John Winter; the Marygold, a bark of thirty tons, commanded by Captain John Thomas; the Swan, a fly-boat of fifty tons, under Captain John Cheſter; and the Chriſtopher, a pinnace of fifteen tons, under Captain Thomas Moon [b]. In this fleet were embarked no more than one hundred ſixty-four able men, and all the neceſſary proviſions for ſo long and dangerous a voyage; the intent of which, however, was not openly declared, but given out to be for Alexandria, though all men ſuſpected, and many knew he intended for America. Thus equipped, on the 15th of November 1577, about three in the afternoon, he ſailed from Plymouth; but a heavy ſtorm taking him as ſoon as he was out of port, forced him in a very bad condition into Falmouth, to refit, which having expeditiouſly performed, he again put to ſea the

[y] Stowe's annals, p. 807. [z] Id. ibid. [a] Camdeni annales, p. 352. Stowe's annals, p. 689. Prince's worthies of Devon, p. 237. [b] Camdeni annales, p. 354. Hakluyt's voyages, p. 730, 748. Purchas's pilgrims, vol. i. p. 46.

13th of December following[c]. On the 25th of the ſame month he fell in with the coaſt of Barbary, and on the 29th with Cape Verd; the 13th of March he paſſed the equinoctial; the 5th of April he made the coaſt of Brazil in 30° N. L. and entered the river de la Plata, where he loſt the company of two of his ſhips; but meeting them again, and having taken out of them all the proviſions they had on board, he turned them a-drift. On the 29th of May he entered the port of St. Julian's, where he did the leaſt commendable action of his life, in beheading, July 2, 1578, Mr. John Doughty, a man next in authority to himſelf, in which, however, he preſerved a great appearance of juſtice[d].

On the 20th of Auguſt he entered the Streights of Magellan; on the 25th of September he paſſed them, having then only his own ſhip, which in the South-ſeas he new-named the Hind. It may not be amiſs to take notice here of a fact very little known, as appearing in no relation of this famous voyage. Sir Francis Drake himſelf reported to Sir Richard, ſon to Sir John Hawkins, that meeting with a violent tempeſt, in which his ſhip could bear no ſail, he found, when the ſtorm ſunk, he was driven through or round the Streights into the latitude of 50 degrees. Here, lying cloſe under an iſland, he went on ſhore, and, leaning his body over a promontory as far as he could ſafely, told his people, when he came on board, he had been farther ſouth than any man living. This we find confirmed by one of our old chronicle-writers, who farther informs us, that he beſtowed on this iſland the name of ELISABETHA in honour of his royal miſtreſs. On the 25th of November he came to Machao in the latitude of 30 degrees, where he had appointed a rendezvous in caſe his ſhips ſeparated; but Captain Winter, having repaſſed the Streights, was returned to England. Thence he continued his voyage along the coaſts of Chili and Peru, taking all opportunities of ſeizing Spaniſh ſhips, or of landing and attacking them on ſhore, till his crew were fated with plunder; and then coaſting North-America to the height of 48 degrees, he endeavoured to find a paſſage back into our ſeas on that ſide, which is the ſtrongeſt proof of

[c] Camdeni annales, p. 354. The world encompaſſed by Sir Francis Drake, London, 1652, 4to, p. 3. [d] See the relation in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 733. all which is omitted in the reviſed account in Purchas before referred to. See alſo the World encompaſſed by Sir F. Drake, p. 29—33.

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his conſummate ſkill, and invincible courage; for, if ever ſuch a paſſage be found to the northward, this in all probability will be the method; and we can ſcarce conceive a clearer teſtimony of an undaunted ſpirit, than attempting diſcoveries after ſo long, ſo hazardous, and ſo fatiguing a voyage[e]. Here, being diſappointed of what he ſought, he landed, and called the country New Albion, taking poſſeſſion of it in the name, and for the uſe of Queen Eliſabeth; and, having trimmed his ſhip, ſet ſail from thence, on the twenty-ninth of September 1579, for the Moluccas.

The reaſon of Captain Drake's chuſing this paſſage round, rather than returning by the Streights of Magellan, was partly the danger of being attacked at a great diſadvantage by the Spaniards, and partly the lateneſs of the ſeaſon, whence dangerous ſtorms and hurricanes were to be apprehended[f]. On the thirteenth of October he fell in with certain iſlands, inhabited by the moſt barbarous people he had met with in all his voyage. On the fourth of November he had ſight of the Moluccas, and coming to Ternate was extremely well received by the king thereof, who appears, from the moſt authentic relations of this voyage, to have been a wiſe and polite prince. On the tenth of December he made Celebes, where his ſhip unfortunately ran on a rock the ninth of January following, whence, beyond all expectation, and in a manner miraculouſly, they got off, and continued their courſe. On the ſixteenth of March he arrived at Java Major, thence he intended to have proceeded for Malacca, but found himſelf obliged to alter his purpoſe, and think of returning directly home[g].

On the twenty-fifth of March, 1580, he put this deſign in execution, and on the fifteenth of June he doubled the Cape of Good-Hope, having then on board his ſhip fifty-ſeven men,

[e] Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 400. See alſo ſome remarks on this paſſage in Dampier's voyages, vol. iv. p. 101, edit. 1729. Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 1568. Sir Richard Hawkins's obſervations, *etc.* p. 95.

[f] See all the relations before cited for the confirmation of this circumſtance; but perhaps Captain Drake might be deterred by the confident, though falſe report of the Spaniards, that the Streights could not be repaſſed.

[g] Hakluyt's voyages, vol. iii. p. 742. Camdeni annales, p. 358. Holingſhed's chronicle, vol. ii. p. 1568.

and but three caſks of water. On the twelfth of July he paſſed the line, reached the coaſt of Guinea on the ſixteenth, and there watered. On the eleventh of September he made the iſland of Tercera, and on the twenty-fifth of the ſame month entered the harbour of Plymouth. It is not a little ſtrange there ſhould be ſuch variation as we find amongſt the beſt writers, and thoſe too his contemporaries, as to the day of his arrival. Sir William Monſon fixes the twenty-fifth of September. Holingſhed ſays the twenty-ſixth. In Mr. Hakluyt's relation it is the third of November, which is followed by Camden and many others. But Stowe, and ſeveral that might be mentioned, content themſelves with ſaying, he returned towards the cloſe of the year; by which it is evident, that, at this diſtance, the exact time of his coming cannot be certainly determined.

In this voyage he completely ſurrounded the globe, which no commander in chief had ever done before[h]. His ſucceſs in this enterpriſe, and the immenſe maſs of wealth he brought home, raiſed much diſcourſe throughout the kingdom, ſome highly commending, and ſome as loudly decrying him. The former alledged, that his exploit was not only honourable to himſelf, but to his country; that it would eſtabliſh our reputation for maritime ſkill amongſt foreign nations, and raiſe a uſeful ſpirit of emulation at home; and that as to the money, our merchants having ſuffered deeply from the faithleſs practices of the Spaniards, there was nothing more juſt than that the nation ſhould receive the benefit of Drake's repriſals. The other party alledged, that in fact he was no better than a pirate; that, of all others, it leaſt became a trading nation to encourage ſuch practices; that it was not only a direct breach of all our late treaties with Spain, but likewiſe of our old leagues with the houſe of Burgundy; and that the conſequences of owning his proceedings, would be much more fatal than the benefits reaped from it could be advantageous. Things continued in this uncertainty during the remainder of that, and the ſpring of the ſucceeding year.

[h] Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 742. Purchas, vol. i. p. 46—57. The world encompaſſed, &c. p. 108. Speed, p. 852.

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At length they took a better turn; for on the fourth of April 1581, her Majeſty dining at Deptford in Kent, went on board Captain Drake's ſhip, where ſhe conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and declared her abſolute approbation of all that he had done, to the confuſion of his enemies, and to the great joy of his friends [l]. She likewiſe gave directions for the preſervation of his ſhip, that it might remain a monument of his own and his country's glory. In proceſs of time the veſſel decaying, it was broken up; but a chair made of the planks was preſented to the Univerſity of Oxford, and is ſtill preſerved [k].

In 1585, he concerted a ſcheme of a Weſt-Indian expedition with the celebrated Sir Philip Sidney. It was to be partly maritime, and partly in the ſtyle of invaſion. The ſea force was to be commanded abſolutely by Sir Francis, the lands troops by Sir Philip Sidney. The queen having required the latter to deſiſt from his ſcheme, he ſailed notwithſtanding to the Weſt Indies, having under his command Captain Chriſtopher Carliſle, Captain Martin Frobiſher, Captain Francis Knollys, and many other officers of great reputation. In that expedition he took the cities of St. Jago, St. Domingo, Carthagena, and St. Auguſtine, exceeding even the expectation of his friends, and the hopes of the common people, though both were ſanguine to the laſt degree [l]. Yet the profits of this expedition were but moderate, the deſign of Sir Francis being rather to weaken the enemy, than to enrich himſelf [m]. It was, to do him juſtice, a maxim from which he never varied, to regard the ſervice of his country firſt, next the profit of his proprietors, and his own intereſt (of which, however, he was far from being careleſs) he regarded laſt. Hence, though rich in wealth, he was richer ſtill in reputation.

[l] Camdeni annales, p. 359. Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 400. Stowe's annals, p. 689. Holingſhed, Speed. [k] See Mr. Cowley's poems, edit. 1680, p. 8, 42. A certain knight propoſed to place it upon the top of St. Paul's. [l] A ſummary and true diſcourſe of Sir Francis Drake's Weſt-Indian voyage, accompanied with Chriſtopher Carliſle, Martin Forbiſher, Francis Knollys, with many other captains and gentlemen, wherein were taken the towns of St. Jago, St. Domingo, Carthagena, and St. Auguſtine; London, 1552, 4to. [m] Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 354. Sir W. Monſon's naval tracts, p. 169. Camden, p. 353. Stowe, p. 709.

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In 1578, he proceeded to Liſbon with a fleet of thirty ſail, and having intelligence of a numerous fleet aſſembled in the bay of Cadiz, which was to have made part of the armada, he, with great courage, entered that port, and burnt there upwards of ten thouſand tons of ſhipping, and after having performed all the ſervice that the ſtate could expect, he reſolved to do his utmoſt to content the merchants of London, who had contributed, by a voluntary ſubſcription, to the fitting out of his fleet. With this view, having intelligence of a large carrack expected at Tercera from the Eaſt-Indies, thither he ſailed; and though his men were ſeverely pinched through want of victuals, yet by fair words and large promiſes, he prevailed upon them to endure theſe hardſhips for a few days; within this ſpace the Eaſt-India ſhip arrived, which he took and carried home in triumph; ſo that throughout the whole war, there was no expedition ſo happily conducted as this, with reſpect to reputation or profit [n]; and therefore we need not wonder, that upon his return the mighty applauſe he received might render him ſomewhat elate, as his enemies report it did; but certain it is, that no man's pride had ever a happier turn, ſince it always vented itſelf in ſervice to the public.

Thus at this time he undertook to bring water into the town of Plymouth, through the want of which till then it had been grievouſly diſtreſſed; and he performed it by conducting thither a ſtream from ſprings at eight miles diſtance, that is to ſay, in a ſtraight line; for in the manner by which he brought it, the courſe it runs is upwards of twenty miles [o]. It was in conſequence of the journals, charts and papers taken on board his Eaſt-India prize, that it was judged practicable for us to enter into that trade; for promoting which, the queen by letters patent, in the forty-third year of her reign, erected our firſt India company. To this we may alſo add, he firſt brought in tobacco, the uſe of which was much promoted by the practice of Sir Walter Raleigh. How much this nation has gained by

[n] See an original letter of Sir Francis Drake, dated the 27th of April 1587, to the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh, acquainting him with his ſucceſs at Cadiz, in Strype's annals, vol. iii. p. 451. Camden, p. 551. Sir W. Monſon's naval tracts, p. 170. Riſdon's ſurvey of Devon. vol. iii. p. 261.

[o] Weſtcot's ſurvey of Devonſhire, MS. Stowe's annals, p. 808. Riſdon's ſurvey of Devon. vol. i. p. 69, 70.

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theſe branches of commerce, of which he was properly the author, I leave to the intelligent reader's conſideration [p].

In 1558, Sir Francis Drake was appointed vice-admiral, under Charles Lord Howard of Effingham, high-admiral of England; here his fortune favoured him as remarkable as ever; for he made prize of a large galleon, commanded by Don Pedro de Valdez, who yielded on the bare mention of his name. In this veſſel fifty thouſand ducats were diſtributed among the ſeamen and ſoldiers, which preſerved that love they had always borne to this their valiant commander. It muſt not, however, be diſſembled, that through an overſight of his, the admiral ran the utmoſt hazard of being taken by the enemy; for Drake being appointed, the firſt night of the engagement, to carry lights for the direction of the Engliſh fleet, he being in full purſuit of ſome hulks, belonging to the Hanſe-towns, neglected it; which occaſioned the admiral's following the Spaniſh lights, and remaining almoſt in the centre of their fleet till morning. However, his ſucceeding ſervices ſufficiently effaced the memory of this miſtake, the greateſt execution done on the flying Spaniards being performed by that ſquadron under his command [q].

The next year he was employed as admiral at ſea, over the fleet ſent to reſtore Don Antonio, king of Portugal; the command of the land-forces being given to Sir John Norris. They were hardly got out to ſea before theſe commanders differed; though it is on all hands agreed, that there never was an admiral better diſpoſed with reſpect to ſoldiers, than Sir Francis Drake. The ground of their difference was this; the general was bent on landing at the Groyne, whereas Sir Francis and the ſea-officers were for ſailing to Liſbon directly; in which, if their advice had been taken, without queſtion their enterprize would have ſucceeded, and Don Antonio had been reſtored. For it afterwards appeared, on their invading Portugal, that the enemy had made uſe of the time they gave them, to ſo good purpoſe, that it was not poſſible to make any impreſſion. Sir

[p] Camdeni annales, p. 445, 551. R. Johnſtoni rerum Britannicarum, hiſt. lib. iv. p. 126. Winſtanley's Britiſh worthies, p. 211. [q] Camdeni annales, p. 565, 573. Hakluyt's voyages, vol. i. p. 602. Sir W. Monſon's naval tracts, p. 172. Stowe, p. 747. Speed, p. 860. Strype's annals, vol. iii.

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John Norris indeed marched by land to Liſbon, and Sir Francis Drake very imprudently promiſed to ſail up the river with his whole fleet; but, when he ſaw the conſequences which would have attended the keeping of his word, he choſe rather to break his promiſe than to hazard the queen's navy; for which he was grievouſly reproached by Norris, and the miſcarriage of the whole affair was imputed to his failure in performing what he had undertaken. Yet Sir Francis fully juſtified himſelf on his return; for he made it manifeſt to the queen and council, that all the ſervice that was done was performed by him, and that his ſailing up the river of Liſbon would have ſignified nothing to the taking the caſtle, which was two miles off; and, without reducing that, there was no taking the town[r].

His next ſervice was the fatal undertaking in conjunction with Sir John Hawkins, in 1594, for the deſtroying Nombre de Dios, of which I have already given an account, to the death of the laſt-mentioned commander, which, as we have ſhewn, was the day before Sir Francis made his deſperate attack on the ſhipping in the harbour of Porto-Rico. This was performed, with all the courage imaginable, on the 13th of November, 1595, and attended with great loſs to the Spaniards, yet with very little advantage to the Engliſh, who, meeting with a more reſolute reſiſtance and much better fortifications than they expected, were obliged to ſheer off. The admiral then ſteered for the main, where he took the town of Rio de la Hacha, which he burnt to the ground, a church and a ſingle houſe belonging to a lady only excepted. After this he deſtroyed ſome other villages, and then proceeded to Santa Martha, which he likewiſe burned. The like fate had the famous town of Nombre de Dios, the Spaniards refuſing to ranſom any of theſe places, and the booty taken in them being very inconſiderable. On the 29th of December Sir Thomas Baſkerville marched with ſeven hundred and fifty men towards Panama, but returned on the ſecond of January, finding the deſign of reducing that place to be wholly impracticable. This

[r] Camdeni annales, p. 601——606. Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 174. Stowe's annals, p. 755. See Captain William Fenner's relation of this MISERABLE ACTION, (as he ſtyles it), preſerved in Dr. Birch's memoirs of that reign, vol. i. p. 58.

diſappointment made ſuch an impreſſion on the admiral's mind, that it threw him into a lingering fever, attended with a flux, of which he died on the 28th, about four in the morning, though Sir William Monſon hints, that there were great doubts whether it was barely his ſickneſs that killed him. Such was the end of this great man, when he had lived about fifty years [s]; but his memory will ſurvive as long as that world laſts which he firſt ſurrounded. Hitherto we have ſpoken of his public actions; let us now, as we have ample and excellent materials, diſcourſe ſomewhat of his perſon and character.

He was low of ſtature, but well ſet; had a broad open cheſt, a very round head, his hair of a fine brown, his beard full and comely, his eyes large and clear, of a fair complexion, with a freſh, cheerful, and very engaging countenance [t]. As navigation had been his whole ſtudy, ſo he underſtood it thoroughly, and was a perfect maſter in every branch, eſpecially in aſtronomy, and in the application thereof to the nautic art. As all men have enemies, and all eminent men abundance of them, we need not wonder that Sir Francis Drake, who performed ſo many great things, ſhould have as much ill ſpoken of him, as there was of any man of the age in which he lived. Thoſe who diſliked him alledged, that he was a man of low birth, haughty in his temper, oſtentatious, ſelf-ſufficient, an immoderate ſpeaker, and, though indiſputably a good ſeaman, no great general; in proof of which they took notice of his neglecting to furniſh his fleet thoroughly in 1585; his not keeping either St. Domingo or Carthagena after he had taken them; the ſlender proviſion he made in his expedition to Portugal; his breaking his word to Sir John Norris, and the errors he committed in his laſt undertaking [u].

[s] Relation of a voyage into the Weſt Indies, made by Sir Francis Drake, accompanied with Sir John Hawkins, Sir Thomas Baſkerville, Sir Nicholas Clifford, and others, who ſet forth from Plymouth on the 28th of Auguſt, 1595; London, 1652, 4to. Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 583. Camden, p. 700. Roberti Johnſtoni rerum Britannicarum hiſtoriæ, lib. viii. p. 208. Engliſh hero, p. 206.

[t] Stowe, p. 808. Fuller's holy ſtate, p. 130. See the relation, *etc.* juſt cited, p. 58.

[u] Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 399. Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. vi. p. 1185. Stowe, p. 808. See his character, and a brief relation of ſome of the memorable actions of this worthy perſon, publiſhed in his lifetime, in Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 1567, 1568.

In excuſe of theſe it is ſaid, that the glory of what he did might very well remove the imputation of his mean deſcent; what was thought haughtineſs in him might be no more than a juſt concern for the ſupport of his authority; his diſplay of his great ſervices a thing incident to his profeſſion; and his love of ſpeaking, qualified by his wiſdom and eloquence, which hindered him from ever dropping a weak or an ungraceful expreſſion. In equipping his fleet, he was not ſo much in fault as thoſe whom he truſted; ſickneſs hindered his keeping the places he took in the Weſt Indies; his councils were continually croſſed by the land-officers in his voyage to Portugal; and, as to his laſt attempt, the Spaniards were certainly well acquainted with his deſign, at leaſt as ſoon as he left England, if not before. His voyage round the world, however, remains an inconteſtible proof of his courage, capacity, patience, quick-ſightedneſs, and public ſpirit, ſince therein he did every thing that could be expected from a man who preferred the honour and profit of his country to his own reputation or private gain [w].

The only act of his whole life that laid him open to juſt cenſure was his ſeverity towards Mr. John Doughty, which I have touched before, and which many reaſons incline me to mention again. The cauſe, he alledged, was Doughty's attempting to raiſe ſome diſturbance in the fleet, which, they ſay, was partly proved from his own confeſſion, and partly from papers found in his cuſtody [x]. But in thoſe days it was ſhrewdly ſuſpected, that Doughty was ſent abroad for no other purpoſe than to meet with his end, and this becauſe he had charged the great earl of Leiceſter with poiſoning the earl of Eſſex [y]: a fact generally believed at that time, on account of the earl's marrying in a ſhort ſpace Lettice, counteſs of Eſſex, with whom the

w Camdeni annales, p. 351. The world encompaſſed, p. 108. Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 399. Engliſh hero, p. 206. Riſdon's ſurvey of Devonſhire, vol. ii. p. 260—262.

x This ſtory is plainly and circumſtantially told in the relation we have in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 733. and is alſo mentioned in Mr. Winter's account of his voyage, p. 732; but in the relation printed in Purchas's pilgrims, vol. i. p. 46. it is ſlipt over in one line.

y Winſtanley's Engliſh worthies in the life of Sir Francis Drake.

world

world held him to be too familiar before, and this to have made that lord's death neceſſary.

The fulleſt account I know of this matter is to be found in a poem called Leiceſter's Ghoſt, wherein there is a great deal of true, and I doubt not a little falſe hiſtory. The ſtanzas relating to this matter are as follow[2]:

I doubted, leſt that Doughtie would bewray
My counſel, and with other party take;
Wherefore, the ſooner him to rid away,
I ſent him forth to ſea with Captain Drake,
Who knew how t' entertaine him for my ſake.
Before he went, his lot by me was caſt;
His death was plotted, and perform'd in haſte.

He hoped well; but I did ſo diſpoſe,
That he at port St. Gillian loſt his head;
Having no time permitted to diſcloſe
The inward griefs that in his heart were bred;
We need not fear the biting of the dead.
Now let him go, tranſported to the ſeas,
And tell my ſecrets to th' Antipodes.

Yet it may be offered in defence of Sir Francis Drake, that this man was openly put to death after as fair a trial, by a jury of twelve men, as the circumſtances of time and place would permit; that he ſubmitted patiently to his ſentence, and received the ſacrament with Drake, whom he embraced immediately before his execution. Beſides theſe, there are two points which deſerve particular conſideration: firſt, That in ſuch expeditions ſtrict diſcipline and legal ſeverity are often abſolutely neceſſary: ſecondly, That as to the earl of Eſſex, for whoſe death Doughty had expreſſed concern, he was Drake's firſt patron; and it is therefore very improbable he ſhould deſtroy a man for endeavouring to detect his murder. Camden

[2] P. 22, 23. This is a quarto pamphlet, printed in 1641, and moſt of the facts contained in it are taken from Leiceſter's commonwealth, written by Father Perſons, as the reader may perceive, by comparing theſe ſtanzas with what is ſaid of Doughty's death in that book, p. 49.

and Johnſon mention the fact and the report[a], but in ſuch a manner as ſeems to juſtify Drake: and indeed, on the ſtricteſt review of the evidence, I can ſee no probable ground to condemn him.

It was the felicity of our admiral to live under the reign of a princeſs, who never failed to diſtinguiſh merit, or to beſtow her favours where ſhe ſaw deſert. Sir Francis Drake was always her favourite, and ſhe gave a very lucky proof of it in reſpect to a quarrel he had with his countryman, afterwards Sir Bernard Drake, whoſe arms Sir Francis had aſſumed; which ſo provoked the other, who was a ſeaman, and an enterpriſing ſeaman likewiſe, that he gave him a box on the ear. The queen took up the quarrel, and gave Sir Francis a new coat; which is thus blazoned: Sable a feſs wavy between two pole-ſtars argent: for his creſt, A ſhip on a globe under ruff, held by a cable with a hand out of the clouds; over it this motto, AUXILIO DIVINO; underneath, SIC PARVIS MAGNA; in the rigging whereof is hung up by the heels a wivern, gules, which was the arms of Sir Bernard Drake[b]. Her majeſty's kindneſs, however, did not extend beyond the grave; for ſhe ſuffered his brother Thomas Drake, the companion of his dangers, whom he made his heir, to be proſecuted for a pretended debt to the crown, which not a little diminiſhed the advantages he would otherwiſe have reaped from his brother's ſucceſſion[c].

It would ſwell this work beyond its intended bulk, if we ſhould enter particularly into the hiſtory of all the remarkable commanders who flouriſhed in the reign of Queen Eliſabeth, and therefore we ſhall be more conciſe in our accounts of ſuch heroes as are yet to mention, and whoſe actions it would be, however, injurious to the reader to paſs over in abſolute ſilence.

SIR MARTIN FROBISHER, or, as in many writers he is called, FORBISHER, was a native of Yorkſhire, born near Doncaſter

[a] Camdeni annales, vol. ii. p. 355. Johnſtoni rerum Britannicarum hiſt. lib. ii. p. 67. Dr. Thomas Fuller had a MS. of Mr. George Forteſcue, who went the voyage with Drake; but he ſays nothing of Captain Doughty.

[b] This ſtory is related by Prince from the mouth of Sir John Drake, bart. a direct deſcendant from Sir Bernard. The glory of generoſity by John Ferne; London, 1586, 4to, p. 144, 145.

[c] Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 400.

of

of mean parents, who bred him to the ſea [d]. We have very little account of his junior years, or the manner in which they were ſpent. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf firſt by undertaking the diſcovery of the north-weſt paſſage in 1576, and made a voyage that year, wherein though he had no ſucceſs, yet it gained him great reputation. In the year 1577, he undertook a ſecond expedition, and in 1578, a third, in all which he gave the higheſt proofs of his courage and conduct in providing for the ſafety of his men, and yet puſhing the diſcovery he went upon as far as it was poſſible [e]; ſo that, notwithſtanding his diſappointment, he ſtill preſerved his credit, and this in ſpite of a little accident, which would certainly have overturned the good opinion entertained of a leſs eſteemed commander. He brought from the ſtraits, which he diſcovered, and which are ſtill known by his name, a large quantity of black, ſoft ſtone, full of yellow ſhining grains, which he ſuppoſed to be gold ore; but after numberleſs trials it was reported to be worth nothing; and ſo thrown away [f]. On this occaſion I cannot help taking notice of an accident of the like nature which happened to the mate of a veſſel belonging to the Greenland company, ſent to make diſcoveries to the north-weſt. He brought home likewiſe a quantity of ſhining ſand, which he apprehended contained gold, but upon trial it was judged to be of no value, and the ill uſage, which on account of this ſuppoſed miſtake the poor man met with, broke his heart. Many years afterwards the chancellor of Denmark ſhewed a ſmall parcel of this kind of ſand from Norway to an intelligent chymiſt, (the reſt by his expreſs orders having been all thrown into the ſea); and this extracted a quantity of pure gold out of that ſand [g], in which alſo the Copenhagen artiſt could find none.

But to return to Frobiſher; he commanded her majeſty's ſhip the Triumph in the famous ſea-fight with the Spaniſh armada, and therein did ſuch excellent ſervice, that he was among the number of the few knights made by the lord high-admiral on

[d] Stowe's annals, p. 808. [e] A very full account of his voyages above mentioned may be found in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 26—96. [f] Stowe's annals, p. 680, 681, 685. Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 1262, 1270, 1271. Speed, p. 852.

[g] La Peyrere, relation du Groenland, a M. la Mothe le Vayer, p. 67. Churchill's voyages, (where this is tranſlated), vol. i. p. 558. Egede's natural hiſtory of Groenland, chap. ii. p. 27, 32. chap. iii. p. 47, 48, 49.

that

that ſignal occaſion [h]. In 1590, he commanded a ſquadron on the coaſt of Spain, which hindered the coming home of the plate-fleet [i]. In 1592, Sir Martin Frobiſher took the charge of a fleet fitted out by Sir Walter Raleigh, which went to the coaſt of Spain; and though he had but three ſhips, yet he made a ſhift to burn one rich galleon and bring home another [k]. In 1594, he ſailed to the coaſt of France to aſſiſt in retaking Breſt, which was regularly attacked on the land-ſide by Sir John Norris with three thouſand Engliſh forces, at the ſame time that our admiral blocked up the port. The garriſon defended themſelves bravely, till ſuch time as Sir Martin landed his ſailors, and, deſperately ſtorming the place, carried it at once, but with the loſs of ſeveral captains, Sir Martin himſelf receiving a ſhot in his ſide; and this, through want of ſkill in his ſurgeon, proved the cauſe of his death, which happened at Plymouth within a few days after his return [l]. He was one of the moſt able ſeamen of his time; of undaunted courage, great preſence of mind, and equal to almoſt any undertaking; yet in his carriage blunt, and a very ſtrict obſerver of diſcipline, even to a degree of ſeverity which hindered his being beloved [m].

THOMAS CAVENDISH of Trimley, in the county of Suffolk, Eſq; was a gentleman (in my conception) of the original houſe of that great name, though moſt writers ſay, deſcended from a noble family of the ſame name in Devonſhire, but certainly poſſeſſed of a very plentiful eſtate, which he, being a man of wit and great good humour, hurt pretty deeply by his expences at court. Upon this he took it in his head to repair his ſhattered fortunes (according to the mode of thoſe times) at the expence of the Spaniards [n].

With which view he built two ſhips from the ſtocks, one of a hundred and twenty, the other of threeſcore tons; and with

h Camdeni annales, p. 576. i Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 177.
k Life of Sir Walter Raleigh by Mr. Oldys, p. 63—65. l Camdeni annales, p. 680. Stowe, p. 809. Fuller's worthies in Yorkſhire, p. 203. m Stowe's annals, p. 808. Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 182. R. Johnſtoni rerum Britannicarum hiſt. p. 203. The memorable ſervice of Sir John Norris at Breſt in Bretagne, by Thomas Churchyard; London, 1602, 4to, p. 135—141. Fuller's worthies in Yorkſhire, p. 202, 203. n Camdeni annales, p. 552. Stowe's annals, p. 808. Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 401.

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theſe, and a bark of forty tons, he ſailed from Plymouth on the 21ſt of July, 1586. He firſt made the coaſt of Barbary, then ſteered for Brazil, and entered the Streights of Magellan the 5th of January, 1587, and paſſed them very happily; then, coaſting along Chili and Peru, he took abundance of rich prizes; continuing his courſe as high as California, he there took the St. Anne, which Mr. Cavendiſh, in a letter to my Lord Hunſdon, rightly calls an Acapulco ſhip, though in moſt of the relations of his voyage ſhe is ſtyled the Admiral of the South-ſeas. Her cargo was of immenſe value, which his ſhips being too ſmall to carry, he was forced to burn, taking out of her however as much gold as was worth ſixty thouſand pounds. He then ſteered for the Philippine iſlands, where he ſafely arrived, and proceeded from them to Java Major, which he reached the firſt of March, 1588. He doubled the Cape of Good Hope the firſt of June, and ſo without any remarkable accident returned ſafe to Plymouth the ninth of September in the ſame year, having ſailed completely round the globe, and brought home what was in that age conſidered as an amazing fortune [o].

This, however, as his patrimony before, he quickly waſted, and, in the year 1591, was compelled to think of another voyage, which was far from being ſo ſucceſsful as the former. He left Plymouth the 26th of Auguſt, 1591, with three ſtout ſhips and two barks. On the eighth of April, 1592, he fell in with the Streights of Magellan, and continued in them to the fifteenth of May, when, on account of the badneſs of the weather, he determined to return, which accordingly he did to the coaſt of Brazil, and there died of grief. One of his ſhips, the Deſire, under the command of Mr. John Davis, actually paſſed the Streights [p].

ANOTHER great adventurer by ſea was Mr. EDWARD FENTON, a gentleman who diſtinguiſhed himſelf by ſeveral gallant exploits in this active and buſy reign. He was deſcended from

[o] Hakluyt's voyages, vol. iii. p. 803. Purchas's pilgrims, vol. i. p. 57. Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 401. Camdeni annales, p. 552. where he refers his reader to Hakluyt. Roberti Johnſtoni rerum Britannicarum hiſt. lib. iv. p. 126. [p] Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 842. Purchas's pilgrims, vol. iv. p. 1182.

a very

a very worthy family in Nottinghamſhire [q], in which county he poſſeſſed a ſmall eſtate, of which himſelf and his younger brother diſpoſed, inclining rather to truſt to their own abilities than to that ſlender proviſion, which devolved to them by deſcent from their anceſtors; and they are among the very few of thoſe who did not live afterwards to repent ſo extraordinary a procedure. Being naturally inclined to a military life, he courted the favour of Robert earl of Leiceſter [r], and his brother Ambroſe, earl of Warwick, and was ſo happy as to obtain their protection and countenance. In 1577 he engaged with Sir Martin Frobiſher [r], in his deſign of diſcovering a north-weſt paſſage into the South-ſeas, having before ſerved ſome time in Ireland with reputation. In this expedition he was captain of the Gabriel, a little bark of twenty-five tons, and accompanied that famous ſeaman in his voyage to the Streights, (which bear his name), in the ſummer of this year, though, in their return, he was unluckily ſeparated from him in a ſtorm; notwithſtanding which he had the good fortune to arrive in ſafety at Briſtol.

In 1578 he commanded the Judith, one of the fifteen ſail of which Sir Martin's ſquadron was compoſed, in a third expedition [s] ſet on foot for the like purpoſe, with the title of rear-admiral; ſailing from Harwich on the thirty-firſt of May, and returning to England the firſt of October following. This, like the two former attempts, proved wholly unſucceſsful: Captain Fenton, however, remained firmly perſuaded that ſuch a deſign was certainly practicable, and was continually ſuggeſting of what prodigious importance the diſcovery of a paſſage to the north-weſt muſt be to the commerce and navigation of this kingdom, and which might, notwithſtanding the repeated diſappointments it had been hitherto attended with, be again reſumed with the higheſt probability of ſucceſs. His frequent ſolicitations on this head, joined to the powerful intereſt of the earl of Leiceſter, at length procured him another opportunity of trying his fortune, and that in a way, and with ſuch a force, as could not fail of gratifying his ambition to the utmoſt.

[q] Thoroton's hiſtory of Nottinghamſhire, p. 415. Fuller's worthies in that county, p. 318. [r] See the inſtructions given him, on undertaking his laſt voyage, in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 755.

[s] Stowe's annals, p. 681. [s] Holingſhed's chronicle, vol. ii. p. 1271.

Of this voyage, which was chiefly ſet forth at the expence of the earl of Cumberland, we have ſeveral authentic accounts, and yet is not eaſy to apprehend the true deſign of it. The inſtructions given by the privy-council to Mr. Fenton, and which are ſtill preſerved, ſay expreſly, that he ſhould endeavour the diſcovery of a north-weſt paſſage, but by a new route, which is laid down to him, *viz.* he was to go by the Cape of Good Hope to the Eaſt-Indies, and being arrived at the Moluccas, he was to go from thence to the South-ſeas, and to attempt his return by the ſo-long-ſought north-weſt paſſage, and not by any means to think of paſſing the Streights of Magellan, except in caſe of abſolute neceſſity [t]. Notwithſtanding theſe inſtructions, Sir William Monſon tells us plainly, that Mr. Fenton was ſent to try his fortune in the South-ſeas [u]; and ſo, moſt certainly, himſelf underſtood it. In the month of May, 1582, Mr. Fenton left the Engliſh coaſt, with three ſtout ſhips and a bark. With theſe he ſailed, firſt to the coaſt of Africa, and then for that of Brazil directly, from whence he intended to have ſailed for the Streights of Magellan; but hearing there that the king of Spain, who had better intelligence, it ſeems, of his project and of his real intentions, than he would have obtained if he had read his inſtructions, had ſent Don Diego Flores de Valdez with a ſtrong fleet into the Streights to intercept him, he, upon mature deliberation, reſolved to return. Putting into a Portugueſe ſettlement to refit, he there met with three of the Spaniſh ſquadron, one of which was their vice-admiral, which he ſunk, after a very briſk engagement, and then put to ſea, in order to come home. His vice-admiral, Captain Luke Ward, after a long and dangerous voyage, arrived ſafely in England, on the thirty-firſt of May, 1583 [w].

Captain Fenton likewiſe returned ſafely to England, and, for any thing that appears, preſerved his credit, though he had the mortification not to accompliſh his purpoſe; and this is the more probable, as we find him again at ſea in 1588, and entruſted with the command of one of the queen's ſhips, the Antelope,

[t] Hakluyt's voyages, vol. iii. p. 704. [u] Naval tracts, p. 402. [w] We have an account of this voyage, written by this Captain Luke Ward, in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 757. Sir Richard Hawkins, in his obſervations, § xxxv. p. 85. See alſo Dr. Birche's memoirs of Eliſabeth, vol. i. p. 38.

as ſome [x] write, though others [y] make him captain of the Mary Roſe; whichever ſhip it was, he is allowed on all hands to have behaved with a becoming ſpirit [z], and to have given very ſingular marks of courage, in that famous action. He paſſed the latter part of his life, at or near Deptford, deceaſing in the ſpring of the year 1603, and lies buried in the pariſh-church of that place, where a handſome monument was erected to his memory by the great earl of Corke, who married his niece, with a very elegant inſcription thereon [a].

Notwithſtanding the diſappointment which this gentleman met with, freſh attempts were made for the diſcovery of this ſo-much-deſired paſſage to the north-weſt, in which Captain John Davis, a moſt knowing and active ſeaman, was employed. The firſt was in 1585; a ſecond time he ſailed in 1586; but in both voyages atchieved nothing beyond raiſing of his own reputation, which continued to be very great for upwards of thirty years [b]. Sir William Monſon tells us, that he conferred with this Mr. Davis, as well as Sir Martin Frobiſher, on this ſubject, and that they were able to give him no more aſſurance, than thoſe who had never gone ſo far; though he confeſſes, they did offer him (which was all he could expect) ſome very plauſible reaſons to prove, that ſuch a paſſage there was. In his diſcourſe on this ſubject, he labours hard to repreſent the undertaking as, in its nature, impracticable; but, admitting it were not ſo, he pretends to ſhew, that no ſuch mighty advantages as are expected could be reaped from this diſcovery. He concludes his diſcourſe with hinting, that a more profitable, and at the ſame time a more probable attempt, might be made by ſailing due north directly under the pole, which he ſuppoſes would render the paſſage between us and China no more than fifteen hundred leagues [c].

[x] Stowe, Strype. [y] Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 171. [z] Camden, tome ii. p. 574. Ubaldino's diſcourſe of the Spaniſh fleet invading England, p. 26, 27. Biſhop Carleton's remembrancer, p. 154. [a] See the inſcription at large in Fuller; in which he is ſaid to have been eſquire of the body to Queen Eliſabeth. [b] We have an account of all the voyages in Hakluyt, as alſo of a voyage of his to the Eaſt Indies, in 1604. Purchas's pilgrims, vol. i. p. 132. [c] Naval tracts, p. 426.

AMONGST

AMONGST the naval heroes of this glorious reign, we muſt not forget GEORGE CLIFFORD, earl of Cumberland, who undertook many expeditions, both in Europe and the Weſt Indies, at his own expence, and in ſeveral hazarded his perſon, merely to ſerve his queen and country, and thereby acquire a juſt right to fame. In ſome of thoſe voyages Sir William Monſon aſſiſted, and has left us accounts of them, and of the reſt we have many relations extant. It does not appear, however, that the earl added any thing to his private fortune, by theſe teſtimonies of his public ſpirit: and therefore the queen, to ſhew how juſt a ſenſe ſhe had of his zeal and reſolution, honoured him, in the year 1592, with a garter, which, in her reign, was never beſtowed till it had been deſerved by ſignal ſervices to the public. This noble peer ſurvived the queen, and was in great favour, and in very high eſteem with her ſucceſſor. He deceaſed in 1605, and was the laſt heir male of his noble family[d].

Sir ROBERT DUDLEY, ſon to the great earl of Leiceſter, by the Lady Douglas Sheffield, daughter of William Lord Howard of Effingham, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his application to maritime affairs, by his great ſkill in them, and by his known encouragement to eminent ſeamen, as well as by his perſonal exploits, which were ſuch as deſerve to be remembered. He was born at Sheen in Surry, in 1573[e], and having received the firſt tincture of letters from one Mr. Owen Jones, at Offington in Suſſex, to whoſe care and diligence, in that reſpect, he had been committed by his father[f], he was ſent to Oxford in 1587, and entered of Chriſt-Church, being recommended to the inſpection of Mr. Chaloner, afterwards the learned Sir Thomas Chaloner, and tutor to Prince Henry, under whom he profited ſo well in his ſtudies, as to raiſe the higheſt expectations, and which he lived abundantly to fulfil. By the demiſe of his father, who breathed his laſt September the 4th, 1588[g], at his houſe at Cornbury, in Oxfordſhire, Sir Robert became entitled, on the

[d] Camden, Stowe, Speed, Holingſhed. [e] Hiſt. antiq. univerſ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 275. [f] Dugdale's antiquities of Warwickſhire, edit. 1656. p. 267. [g] The celebrated Lord Burleigh's diary of the queen's reign, in Murdin's collection of ſtate papers, p. 788. Stowe's annals, p. 750.

death of his uncle Ambroſe, earl of Warwick, to the princely caſtle of Kenilworth in Warwickſhire, and other large eſtates[h]. He was conſidered, at this time, as one of the moſt accompliſhed young gentlemen in the kingdom, having a very agreeable perſon, tall, finely ſhaped, an admirable complexion, his hair inclining to red; a very graceful air, and learned beyond his years, particularly in the mathematics; very expert in his exerciſes, ſuch as tilting, riding the great horſe, and other manly feats, in which he is reported to have excelled moſt of his rank[i]. Having, from his earlieſt youth, a particular turn to navigation, he took a reſolution, when he was ſcarce two and twenty years of age, of making a voyage into the South-ſeas, for which great preparations were made; but, before he could put it in execution, the queen and her miniſters interpoſing, the project was dropped[k].

In 1594 he fitted out a ſquadron of four ſail, at his own expence, and leaving Southampton on the ſixth of November, proceeded for the coaſt of Spain, where he loſt the company of the other three ſhips. This, however, did not hinder him from continuing his voyage to the Weſt Indies; and, in doing this, he took two large ſhips, though of no great value. After remaining ſome time about the iſland of Trinidada, he found himſelf under a neceſſity of returning home, in a much worſe condition than he went out; and yet, coming up, in his paſſage, with a Spaniſh ſhip of 600 tons, his own veſſel being of no greater burden than 200, he engaged her, fought two whole days, till his powder was quite exhauſted, and then left her, but in ſo torn and ſhattered a condition, that ſhe afterwards ſunk. This made the ninth ſhip which he had either taken, ſunk, or burnt, in his voyage[l].

He accompanied the earl of Eſſex and the lord high-admiral Howard in the beginning of June 1596 in the famous expedition to Cadiz, and received the honour of knighthood on the 8th of Auguſt following for the ſignal ſervices he there performed[m].

[h] See the laſt will of Robert earl of Leiceſter, in Mr. Collins's memoirs of the Sidneys prefixed to the firſt volume of the Sidney papers, p. 70. [i] Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. ii col. 127. [k] See the introduction to his voyage to the iſland of Trinidada, written by himſelf at the requeſt of Mr. Richard Hakluyt. [l] Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 574. [m] Stowe's annals, p. 771. Speed, p. 869.

Endeavouring

Endeavouring ſome years after to prove the legitimacy of his birth, he met with ſo many obſtacles in his attempt, that, conceiving himſelf highly injured thereby, he determined to quit England[n], and, embarking for Italy, fixed upon Florence for the place of his retreat, where he met with a moſt diſtinguiſhed reception from the then reigning grand duke of Tuſcany, and the Archdutcheſs Magdalen of Auſtria, ſiſter to the Emperor Ferdinand II.[o]

In this his delightful retirement he became ſo much admired, and gave ſuch ſhining proofs of his great abilities, particularly in deviſing ſeveral methods for the improvement of ſhipping, introducing various manufactures, inſtructing the natives how to enlarge their foreign commerce, and other affairs of like conſequence, that the emperor, at the requeſt of the archdutcheſs, to whom Sir Robert had ſome time before been appointed great chamberlain, was pleaſed by letters-patent, bearing date at Vienna March 9, 1620, to create him a duke and count of the empire, by the title of duke of Northumberland and earl of Warwick[p]; and in 1630 he was by his holineſs Pope Urban VIII. enrolled among the nobility of Rome[q]. It was during his reſidence in this country that he formed his great deſign of making Leghorn a free port, which has been of ſuch prodigious importance to the dukes of Tuſcany ever ſince[r]. In acknowledgment of ſuch infinite merit the grand duke aſſigned him a very liberal penſion, made him a preſent of the caſtle of Carbello, a moſt magnificent villa three miles from Florence, which he ſo adorned and beautified as to render it one of the faireſt and fineſt palaces in Italy, and in which he paid his laſt debt to nature in the month of September, 1649, in the 76th year of his age, having acquired a very extenſive reputation in the republic of letters by his learned writings, more eſpecially from the following curious work,

[n] Dugdale's antiquities of Warwickſhire, p. 166.

[o] Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 127.

[p] The letters-patent at large, under the golden ſeal of the empire, are prefixed to the firſt volume of that elaborate performance mentioned in the text.

[q] Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 127.

[r] Fuller's worthies in Surrey, p. 84. Biſhop Burnet's travels through Switzerland, letter v. Lloyd's ſtate worthies, p. 761.

which

which is exceeding rare, and of which there are very few copies in this kingdom [r].

The title runs thus: "Arcano del mare di D. Ruberto Dud-
"leo duca di Northumbria, e conte di Warvich. Diviſo in libri
"ſei. Nel primo de quali ſi tratta della longitudine practicabile
"in diverſi modi, d'invenzione dell' autore. Nel ſecondo, delle
"carte ſue generali e de portolani rettificati in longitudine, e la-
"titudine nel Terzo, della diſciplina ſua marittima e militare.
"Nel quarto, dell' architettura ſua nautica di vaſcelli da guerra.
"Nel quinta, della navigazione ſcientifica, e perfetta, cive ſpi-
"rale, o di gran Circoli. Nel ſeſto, delle carte ſue geografiche
"e particolari. Impreſſione ſeconda. Corretta et accreſciuta,
"ſecondo l'originale del medeſimo excellentiſſ. Signor Duca,
"che ſi conſerva nella libreria del convento di Firenze della
"Pace, de monaci di S. Bernardo dell' ordine Fulienſe. Con
"l'Indice de capitoli, e delle figure, et iſtruzione a librai per le-
"garle. Al ſereniſſimo Ferdinando Secondo granduca di Toſ-
"cana. In Fiorenza, 1661-2, tom. fol."

It is elegantly printed on very large imperial paper, enriched with upwards of ſix hundred fine plates, conſiſting of maps, charts, plans, and other authentic teſtimonies of the excellent genius of its illuſtrious author, admirably engraved. The chapters to the firſt five books, which compoſe the firſt volume, as well as thoſe of the ſixth, which comprehend the ſecond, are again ſubdivided into ſeveral ſections, and make in the whole 143 pages. Immediately after the title-page to the firſt volume appears a general index to the firſt five books; next the letters-patent of Ferdinand II.; then a ſhort advertiſement by the editor, addreſſed to the learned reader, ſetting forth the many advantages of this edition, with a brief index to the whole ſix books, which is followed by a proëmial diſcourſe or preface on the mathematical ſcience as far as relates to his ſubject, intended as an introduction to his great work, by the duke of Northumberland. The firſt edition appeared in 1630 and 1646, the two volumes coming out at different periods [s].

[r] Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 128. The copy at Oxford, Anthony Wood ſays, is kept as a rarity in the archives of the Bodleian library.

[s] There is a copy (preſented by Sir R. Moray) in the library of the royal ſociety.

Sir

SIR RICHARD HAWKINS, ſon to the famous Sir John Hawkins of whom we have before briefly ſpoken, was born at Plymouth in Devonſhire; and, as he was little inferior to his father in ſkill or courage, he reſembled him alſo but too much in his misfortunes[t]. In 1593 he fitted out two large ſhips and a pinnace at his own expence, and had the queen's commiſſion, empowering him to infeſt the Spaniards in South-America. His expedition was unlucky from his very firſt ſetting out; and yet, notwithſtanding a number of untoward accidents, he reſolutely perſiſted in his deſign of paſſing the Streights of Magellan, and ſurrounding the globe, as Drake and Cavendiſh had done. He ſhared, however, in none of their ſucceſs, though he met with moſt of their difficulties. One Captain Tharlton, who had been very culpable in diſtreſſing Mr. Cavendiſh in his laſt voyage, was guilty of the like baſeneſs towards Sir Richard Hawkins; for, though he knew his pinnace was burnt, he deſerted him at the river of Plate, and returned home, leaving Sir Richard to purſue his voyage through the Streights of Magellan with one ſhip only, which, with equal prudence and reſolution, he performed in the ſpring of the year 1594, and, entering into the South-ſeas, took ſeveral prizes, one of which was of conſiderable value. On the coaſts of Peru he was attacked by Don Bertrand de Caſtro, who had with him a ſquadron of eight ſail, and two thouſand choice men on board; yet Hawkins made a ſhift to diſengage himſelf, after he had done the Spaniards incredible damage: but ſtaying too long in the South-ſeas, in order to take more prizes, he was attacked a ſecond time by Admiral de Caſtro, who was now ſtronger than before; yet Hawkins defended himſelf gallantly, for three days and three nights, and then, moſt of his men being killed, his ſhip in a manner ſinking under him, and himſelf dangerouſly wounded, he was prevailed on to ſurrender upon very honourable terms, *viz.* that himſelf and all on board ſhould have a free paſſage to England as ſoon as might be.

After he was in the enemies hands, Don Bertrand de Caſtro ſhewed him a letter from the king of Spain to the viceroy of Peru, wherein was contained a very exact account of Hawkins's expedition, the number of his ſhips, their burden, men, guns,

[t] Prince's worthies of Devon. p. 391.

ammunition,

ammunition, &c. which demonſtrated how cloſe a correſpondence his Catholic majeſty entertained with ſome who were too well acquainted with Queen Eliſabeth's councils[u]. He continued a long time priſoner in America, where he was treated with great humanity by admiral de Caſtro; but in the end, by order of the court of Spain, he was ſent thither, inſtead of returning to England, and remained for ſeveral years a priſoner in Seville and Madrid. At length he was releaſed, and returned to his native country, where he ſpent the latter part of his life in peace, leaving behind him a large account of his adventures to the time of his being taken by the Spaniards[w], and intended to have written a ſecond part, in which he was prevented by a ſudden death; for, having ſome buſineſs which called him to attend the privy-council, he was ſtruck with an apoplexy in one of the outer rooms. Mr. Weſtcot, ſpeaking of this accident, ſays very juſtly of this gentleman and his father[x], "That if fortune had been "as propitious to them both, as they were eminent for virtue, "valour, and knowledge, they might have vied with the heroes "of any age." Some of his deſcendants are ſtill remaining in Devonſhire, but in an obſcure condition[y].

Captain James (by many called John) Lancaster was fitted out by ſome merchants of London to cruize on the coaſt of Brazil, then in the hands of the Spaniards. He ſailed from Dartmouth the 30th of November, 1594, with three ſhips, one of 140, another of 170, and the third of 60 tons: on board theſe were 275 men and boys. In the ſpace of a few weeks they took thirty-nine Spaniſh ſhips, four of which they kept, and plundered the reſt; and then, joining with Captain Venner at the iſle of May, they ſteered for the coaſt of Brazil, where they took the city of Fernambuco, on the 20th of March, 1595, in a manner ſcarce to be paralleled in hiſtory; for Captain Lancaſter

u Obſervations of Sir Richard Hawkins, p. 122, 143, 154, 169.

w This book was put to the preſs in his lifetime, but was publiſhed by a friend, after his decaſe, in 1562, in folio, under the title of "The obſervations of Sir "Richard Hawkins, knight, in his voyage to the South-ſea, A. D. 1593, "printed for John Jaggard at the hand and ſtar in Fleet-ſtreet." See alſo Purchas's pilgrims, vol. iv. p. 1367. and Captain Ellis's account, p. 1415.

x Deſcription of Devonſhire, Art. Plymouth, MS.

y Prince's worthies of Devon. p. 392.

ordered his fine new pinnace, in which he landed his men, to be beat to pieces on the ſhore, and ſunk his boats, that his men might ſee, they muſt either die or conquer; the ſight of which ſo frighted the Spaniards and Portugueſe, that, after a very poor defence, they abandoned the lower town. This the Engliſh held for thirty days, in which ſpace they were attacked eleven times by the enemy [z]. The ſpoil was exceeding rich, and amounted to ſo great a quantity, that Captain Lancaſter hired three ſail of large Dutch ſhips, and four Frenchmen to carry it home; and, having thus increaſed his fleet to fifteen ſhips, he brought them ſafely into the Downs in the month of July, 1595. This was the moſt lucrative adventure, on a private account, throughout the whole war; and the courage and conduct of the commander appears ſo conſpicuouſly therein, that he deſerves to be ever remembered with honour [a], even ſuppoſing he had performed nothing more. But it appears from ſeveral circumſtances in the relations, that he was the ſame who opened the trade to the Indies.

We have already taken notice of the patent granted to the Eaſt-India Company by Queen Eliſabeth in the year 1600. Their firſt ſtock conſiſted of ſeventy-two thouſand pounds; and the firſt fleet they fitted out as a company conſiſted of four large ſhips which ſailed from London February 13, 1600, under the command of this Mr. James Lancaſter, who was afterwards knighted, and who performed his voyage to Achen very ſucceſſfully, and eſtabliſhed the Engliſh trade throughout the Indies as happily and prudently as could be wiſhed. In his return his ſhip, which was the Dragon, was in the utmoſt peril off the Cape of Good Hope, having loſt her rudder, and being otherwiſe much damaged; yet he refuſed to go on board the Hector, contenting himſelf with writing a ſhort letter to the Company, wherein he told them, they might be ſure he would do his utmoſt to ſave the ſhip and cargo, by thus venturing his own life and the lives of thoſe who were with him, adding this remarkable poſtſcript in the midſt of his confuſion:

"The paſſage to the Eaſt-Indies lies in 62 degrees 30 minutes,
"by the north-weſt, on the America ſide."

[z] Camdeni annales, p. 683.

[a] Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 708.

He had, however, the good fortune to get into the port of St. Helena, where he repaired his weather-beaten ſhip as well as he could, brought her ſafely into the Downs the 11th of September, 1603, and lived near thirty years afterwards in an honourable affluence, acquired chiefly by this ſucceſsful voyage[b].

CAPTAIN WILLIAM PARKER of Plymouth was fitted out by certain merchants, to cruize on the Spaniards in the Weſt-Indies, in 1601. His whole ſtrength conſiſted of two ſhips, one of 130 and the other of 60 tuns, with about 220 men[c]. He ſailed in the month of November, reduced St. Vincent, one of the Cape de Verd iſlands; then, ſteering for the coaſt of America, he took the town of La Rancheria in the iſland of Cubagua, where the pearl-fiſhery is, and plundered it. He proceeded next to Porto-Bello, which was then a very ſtrong, well-built town: entering the port by moon-light, he paſſed without reſiſtance, and attacked the place by ſurprize[d]. The governor Don Pedro Melendez made a gallant defence in the king's treaſury, to which he retreated; but at length that too was carried by aſſault, and the governor taken. The booty was far from being conſiderable, and the beſt part of it Captain Parker diſtributed amongſt his men. Notwithſtanding this diſappointment, our hero behaved moſt generouſly towards the enemy; he ſet Don Pedro at liberty, out of reſpect to his courage; he ſpared the place, becauſe it was well built, and burning it could do him no good; he ſet his priſoners at large, becauſe the money was really gone, and they had not wherewith to pay their ranſom. Having done all this, he paſſed the forts at the mouth of the harbour, by the fire of which the Spaniards ſuppoſed they ſhould infallibly have ſunk his veſſels, and returned with immortal glory to Plymouth-ſound the 6th of May, 1602[e]. The Spaniards themſelves mention his behaviour with honour and applauſe.

[b] Camdeni annales, p. 639. Purchas's pilgrims, vol. i. p. 147.
[c] Harris's collection of voyages, vol. i. p. 747.
[d] See the captain's relation in Purchas's pilgrims, vol. iv. p. 1243.
[e] Life of Captain Parker in a ſupplement to Prince's worthies of Devon.

THESE

THESE are the principal naval heroes who flouriſhed in that glorious reign, wherein the foundation was ſtrongly laid of the prodigious maritime power, and extenſive commerce, which the Engliſh nation have ſince enjoyed. I ſhall conclude with wiſhing, that the ſame generous ſpirit may again ariſe with a force that may excite us to emulate the wiſdom, courage, induſtry, and zeal for the public good, which animated our anceſtors, and enabled them to ſurmount all difficulties, and to ſpread the reputation of their arms and virtues through the whole habitable world.

LIVES OF THE ADMIRALS:

INCLUDING A NEW AND ACCURATE NAVAL HISTORY.

CHAP. XIII.

The Naval Hiſtory of Great Britain under the reign of King James I. including alſo an account of the progreſs of our trade, and the growth of our plantations; together with memoirs of the moſt eminent ſeamen who flouriſhed in that ſpace of time.

THERE were many accidents that contributed to the peaceable acceſſion of the king of Scots to the Engliſh throne, notwithſtanding what had happened to his mother, and the known averſion of the nation to the dominion of ſtrangers[a]. On the one hand, the famous ſecretary Cecil and all his friends, who were in the principal poſts of the government, had been for a long time ſecretly in King James's intereſt, though, to avoid the ſuſpicion of their miſtreſs, they had ſome-

[a] Johnſtoni hiſtoriarum rerum Britannicarum, lib. x. p. 358. Spotſwood's hiſtory of the church of Scotland, b. vi. p. 471. Stowe's chronicle continued, by Howes, p. 812, 817. Earl of Monmouth's memoirs, p. 175, 185. Camdeni annal. Eliſ. p. 912.

times

times pretended an inclination to the infanta's title[b]; which I ſuſpect to have been the cauſe why ſome perſons of great quality, who ſided with the Cecils againſt Eſſex, came afterwards to fall into intrigues with the court of Spain. On the other hand, the potent family of the Howards, with all ſuch of the nobility and gentry as were inclined to the old religion, had an unfeigned affection for the king of Scots. The bulk of the people too were inclined to wiſh him for their king, out of reſpect for the memory of Eſſex, who was held to be his martyr, as well as out of diſlike to ſome of Queen Eliſabeth's miniſtry, who they believed would be inſtantly diſcarded, when he ſhould be once ſeated on the throne. Yet there wanted not many powerful, though few open enemies to this ſucceſſion, both abroad and at home. The Spaniards had views for themſelves[c]; the French king had an averſion mixed with contempt for King James; and the Pope had many projects for reſtoring his power here, by bringing in ſome prince of his own religion[d]. There were, beſides, ſome Engliſh pretenders, *viz.* ſuch as claimed under the houſe of Suffolk, and had been competitors againſt Queen Mary[e]; and ſome again, as the Baſſets, who affected to derive themſelves from the houſe of Plantagenet[f]; ſo that no

[b] State trials, vol. i. p. 205. The earl of Eſſex on his trial affirmed, that Sir Robert Cecil (afterwards earl of Saliſbury) had declared, no body but the infanta had a title to the crown of England.

[c] Camdeni annal. Eliſabethæ, p. 673. Winwood's memorials, vol. i. p. 52. Oſborne's traditional memoirs of Queen Eliſabeth in his works, vol. ii. p. 59.

[d] Lettres du Cardinal d'Oſſat, tome v. p. 51, 55, 59. Memoirs de Sully, tome iv. liv. xiv. Birch's memoirs of the reign of Eliſabeth, vol. ii. p. 506, 507.

[e] In order to have a juſt notion of theſe jarring claims, the reader may conſult the famous treatiſe on ſucceſſions, or, as the title runs in many editions, A conference about the next ſucceſſion to the crown of England. This was publiſhed in 1594 by Father Robert Parſons, a Jeſuit; the moſt peſtilent and pernicious book that was ever penned. His deſign was to weaken the title of King James, to expoſe the earls of Huntingdon, Derby, Hertford, *&c.* to the jealouſy both of Queen Eliſabeth and King James, and to cry up the title of the infanta. He moſt inſidiouſly dedicated it to the earl of Eſſex to draw ſuſpicion upon him, and aſſumed the name of R. Doleman, an inoffenſive ſecular prieſt, whom he hated, and whom he would gladly have ſeen hanged for this production of his own, which it was made treaſon in Queen Eliſabeth's reign for any one to have in his cuſtody.

[f] Riſdon's deſcription of Devonſhire, vol. i. p. 99, 101. Prince's worthies of Devonſhire, p. 213, 214. Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. i. col. 366.

ſmall

ſmall precaution was neceſſary to prevent any diſturbance on the death of Eliſabeth, or oppoſition to the deſign the miniſtry had formed of immediately proclaiming King James, and bringing him with all convenient ſpeed to London.

In the methods made uſe of for this purpoſe, the wiſdom of the great men by whom they were concerted was very conſpicuous: for, in the firſt place, care was taken that the lieutenants in the northern counties, and all who had any authority in thoſe parts, were ſuch as were either well affected to King James, or abſolute dependants on the then adminiſtration[g]. As to the fleet, which was of mighty conſequence at ſuch a juncture, proviſion was made for its ſecurity without the leaſt jealouſy given that this was the council's intention: for, it having been found of great benefit to the nation to have a ſtrong ſquadron of ſhips on the Spaniſh coaſt from February to November, there could be no umbrage taken at the increaſing of theſe in the ſpring of the year 1602, becauſe the war with Spain ſtill continued; and though the lords had little confidence in Sir Richard Leveſon, who for ſome years had been intruſted with this ſquadron, yet they would not remove him, but contented themſelves with appointing Sir William Monſon, on whom they could depend, his vice-admiral, giving him, however, the command of a better ſhip than the admiral himſelf had. They likewiſe intimated to Sir William, when he went to this ſervice, (the queen being then ſo low that her recovery was not expected), that, in caſe of any ſtir, Lord Thomas Howard ſhould immediately come and take charge of the fleet, by entering Sir William Monſon's ſhip, and Sir William go on board Sir Richard Leveſon's, with a ſuperſedeas to his commiſſion[h]. But, as it fell out, there was no occaſion for executing this project: the queen died, King James came in peaceably, was proclaimed the twenty-fourth of March, 1602, and crowned on the twenty-fifth of July following; the fleet in the mean time keeping ſometimes on the Engliſh, ſometimes on the French coaſt, and

[g] Howe's continuation of Stowe's chronicle, p. 817. Speed, p. 844. Mr. Camden's annals of the reign of James I. See the letter, at length, of the lords of the council, on whom the adminiſtration devolved by the death of the queen, to that monarch, dated London, the 24th of March, 1603, in Spotſwood, p. 473—475.

[h] Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 510.

thereby

thereby preventing any trouble from abroad, if any ſuch had really been intended [i].

King James, at his acceſſion to the Engliſh throne, was about thirty-ſix years of age, and, if he had been a private perſon, would not have rendered himſelf very remarkable either by his virtues or his vices. Sober and religious he certainly was; and as to learning, he had enough, if he had known better how to uſe it. The greateſt of his failings were timidity, diſſimulation, and a high opinion of his own wiſdom; which, however, were more excuſeable than modern writers are willing to allow, if we conſider the accident that happened to his mother before his birth, the ſtrange treatment he met with in Scotland from the ſeveral factions prevailing in that kingdom during his junior years, and the exceſſive flatteries that were heaped on him, after he came hither, by all ranks of people. The nature of this work does not lead me to ſpeak of any part of his adminiſtration, except that which relates to maritime concerns, and therefore I ſhall content myſelf with obſerving, that, though it was impoſſible for him to have made himſelf much acquainted with ſuch matters while he continued in Scotland, yet it does not at all appear that he was negligent of naval concerns, after he was once ſeated on the Engliſh throne, unleſs his haſty concluſion of a peace with Spain (which, however, was done by the advice of his council) may be reckoned an error in this reſpect, or his too great fear of engaging in any war afterwards ſhould be thought liable to the like cenſure.

The acceſſion of King James gave a fair opportunity to the houſe of Auſtria to make an end of the long quarrel which had ſubſiſted with England, becauſe, during all that time, they had been in peace and amity with King James as king of Scots [k]. Immediately on his arrival at London the arch-duke ſent over a miniſter to the Engliſh court, and, in conſequence of his negotiations, a peace was ſoon after concluded with Spain [l]. Some

[i] Memoirs of the earl of Monmouth. Moyſes's memoirs of the affairs of Scotland, p. 310. Dr. Birch's memoirs of Eliſabeth, vol. ii. p. 507.

[k] Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 229. The duke de Sully in his admirable memoirs, tome iv. liv. xiv. and xv. where he diſcourſes very copiouſly of the political affairs of England at this period. Wilſon, p. 673.

[l] Stowe, p. 825. Speed, p. 884. Winwood's memorials, vol. ii. p. 3.

of

of the writers of thoſe times tell us, that it was chiefly brought about by the large bribes given to all the king's miniſters and favourites, eſpecially to the counteſs of Suffolk, for her huſband's intereſt, to the earl of Northumberland for his own; which gratuities, they would further perſuade us, enabled them to build the two famous ſtructures of Audley-end in Eſſex, and Northumberland-houſe in the Strand[m]; and, among others ſuſpected as to this particular, there are thoſe who inſinuate, that the Lord High-admiral Nottingham came in for his ſhare on this occaſion. It ſeems, however, more reaſonable to conclude, that this peace was in reality the effect of the king's inclination, ſupported by the advice of his moſt eminent ſtateſmen, ſome of whom were known to have been for this meaſure in the queen's time[n]. There were two treaties, one of peace and alliance, the other of commerce, both ſigned at London the 18th of Auguſt, 1604[o], the conſtable of Caſtile, the greateſt ſubject in Spain, being ſent for that purpoſe. All the trading part of the nation were very well pleaſed with this proceeding, and would have been much more ſo, if the king had not taken a very ſtrange ſtep upon its concluſion. He erected a company of merchants, who were to carry on the Spaniſh commerce excluſively, which gave both an univerſal and very juſt offence; for as the whole nation had borne the expence of the war, and trade in general had ſuffered thereby, it was but reaſonable that the benefits of peace ſhould be as diffuſive. This evil, however, was of no long continuance; the parliament repreſented to the king ſo clearly the miſchiefs that would inevitably attend ſuch a monopoly, that his majeſty was content to diſſolve the new-erected company, and to leave the Spaniſh trade entirely open[p].

[m] Oſborne's traditional memoirs of the reign of King James, in his works, vol. ii. p. 105. Sir A. W. court and character of King James, p. 26, 27. See alſo an hiſtorical view of the negotiations between the courts of England, France, and Bruſſels, from the MS. ſtate papers of Sir T. Edmondes, by Dr. Birch, p. 222, 223, 224.

[n] See the life of Lord Burleigh, written by one of his domeſtics, in the firſt volume of Peck's deſiderata curioſa, p. 54.

[o] Rymer's fœdera, vol. xvi. p. 579—596. Stowe's annals, p. 346.

[p] Detection of the court and ſtate of England by Richard Coke, Eſq; p. 21. edit. 1696. See likewiſe the act 3 Ja. I. c. vi. which recites, among other things, that ſuch a monopoly tended to abate the prices of our wools and cloths, &c.

It muſt, however, be acknowledged, that there was a very ſtrong party againſt making this peace, and who did not ceaſe to publiſh their diſlike and apprehenſions concerning it, even after it was concluded [q]. The point was certainly of high importance, otherwiſe it would not have been ſo warmly canvaſſed in thoſe days; and it muſt alſo have been pretty difficult, ſince the diſpute has reached even to our days, modern writers differing as much about the wiſdom of King James in this article, as thoſe who lived in his time. To diſcuſs the matter here, would require more room than we have to ſpare; to paſs it entirely over would be amiſs, conſidering the near relation it has to the ſubject of this work. I will therefore content myſelf with ſtating the beſt reaſons that have been offered againſt the peace, as they were drawn up by the maſterly hand of Sir Walter Raleigh, and the anſwers given to them; both which I ſhall leave to the reader's conſideration, without fatiguing him with any comment of my own [r]. Sir Walter's reaſons were five, turning chiefly on the inability of the king of Spain to continue the war, and the mighty profits he was likely to reap from the concluſion of the peace. 1. He alledged, "That his Catholic majeſty had "ſo exhauſted his treaſure, that he was no longer able to main-"tain the arch-duke's army in Flanders." To this it was anſwered, That the fact was very doubtful, eſpecially if the king of Spain was in a condition to beſtow thoſe mighty bribes that were ſaid to be diſtributed at the time this peace was made. 2. "The interruption of his trade, and the loſſes of his mer-"chants were ſo great, as to break both his banks at Seville." It is granted, that the ſubjects of the king of Spain ſuffered exceſſively by the continuance of this war; but it does not follow that we gained in proportion, neither is it clear, that, if his Catholic majeſty had been undone, the king of Great-Britain or his ſubjects would have been gainers. 3. "He was afraid that "the Engliſh and Netherlanders would plant in the Weſt-

[q] See Winwood's memorials, vol. ii. p. 75, 93, 101. Wilſon, Oſborn, and all the memoir-writers of thoſe times.

[r] Theſe, which were poſſibly the very points of his memorial to the king againſt the treaty, are to be found in Sir Walter's dialogue between a recuſant and a Jeſuit, among the genuine remains publiſhed at the end of an abridgment of his hiſtory of the world by Philip Raleigh, Eſq; 8vo, 1700.

"Indies." If this fear drove him to grant us better terms, it was our advantage; if not, we could have obtained little by ſettling in thoſe parts of America which are claimed by Spain; and it was never pretended, that we made this war to extend the trade, or to procure countries for the Dutch. 4. "The "king of Spain makes this peace to recruit his coffers, and en- "able himſelf to break into war again." To judge by what was paſt, this could not well be the motive; for it could hardly be ſuppoſed that Spain would ſoon recover as great ſtrength as ſhe had at the commencement of the war, when yet ſhe was unable to execute her own projects, or to defend herſelf againſt us. 5. "The king of Spain took this ſtep, that the Engliſh "might decline and forget the paſſages and pilotage to the "Weſt-Indies, and their ſea-officers be worn out; for, except "a little trade for tobacco, there is not a ſhip that ſails that "way; and ſeeing the Spaniards may hang up the Engliſh, or "put them to death by torments, as they do, and that the "Engliſh dare not offend the Spaniards in thoſe parts, a moſt "notable advantage gotten in the concluſion of the peace! it is "certain that the Engliſh will give over that navigation, to the "infinite advantage of the Spaniſh king, both preſent and fu- "ture." Experience ſhewed, that, though this was a plauſible, yet it was not a true deduction; for, in conſequence of this peace, many plantations were ſettled by us, and our trade to America in particular, as well as our commerce in general, flouriſhed beyond the example of former times. Inſtead of objections, which are eaſily framed againſt the beſt meaſures by men of quick parts and much political knowledge, it would have been more to the purpoſe, to have ſhewn what advantages we were to reap from the continuance of the war, and how it might have been better ended at laſt, than by ſuch a peace as was now made.

But if this treaty gave ſome diſſatisfaction at home, it raiſed no leſs diſcontent abroad[s]. The Hollanders, who were left to

[s] View of the negociations between England, France, and Bruſſels, by Dr. Birch, p. 287. Winwood's memorials, vol. ii. p. 453, 454. By comparing theſe books the reader will ſee, that King James was not ſo puſillanimous a prince, in reſpect to foreign affairs, as he is generally repreſented, but had ſpirit enough to demand ſatisfaction for an inſinuation of this ſort by Prince Maurice to the States, and ſteadineſs enough to inſiſt upon and to obtain it.

ſhift for themſelves, and who had reaped ſo great advantages from the favour of Queen Eliſabeth, were exceedingly exaſperated at a ſtep ſo much to their immediate diſadvantage. But as they found themſelves ſtill ſtrong enough not only to cope with the Spaniards, but alſo to make a greater figure than moſt other nations at ſea, they loſt that reſpect which was due to the Engliſh flag, and began to aſſume to themſelves a kind of equality even in the narrow ſeas. This was quickly repreſented to the king as an indignity not to be borne, and thereupon he directed a fleet to be fitted out, the command of which was given to Sir William Monſon, with inſtructions to maintain the honour of the Engliſh flag, and that ſuperiority which was derived to him from his anceſtors in the Britiſh ſeas[t]. This fleet put to ſea in the ſpring of 1604, and was continued annually under the ſame admiral, who appears to have been a man of great ſpirit and much experience; for, as he tells us in his own memoirs, he ſerved in the firſt ſhip of war fitted out in the reign of Queen Eliſabeth, and was an admiral in the laſt fleet ſhe ever ſent to ſea. Yet he found it a very difficult matter to execute his commiſſion; the Dutch, whenever he conferred with any of their chief officers, gave him fine language and fair promiſes; but they minded them very little, taking our ſhips on every frivolous pretences, and treating thoſe they found on board them with great ſeverity, till ſuch time as it appeared the admiral would not bear ſuch uſage, and began to make repriſals, threatening to hang as pirates people who ſhewed themſelves very little better in their actions. There were alſo high conteſts about the flag, which began through ſome accidental civilities ſhewn to the Hollanders in the late reign, when they ſailed under the command of Engliſh admirals, upon joint expeditions, and were on that account treated as if they had been her majeſty's own ſubjects; which favours they now pretended to claim as prerogatives due to them in quality of an independent ſtate[u]. We have no matters of very great importance to treat in this reign, and therefore I think it will not be amiſs to give

[t] Winwood's memorials, vol. ii. p. 27, 34, 36, 55. Sir Anthony Weldon's court and character of King James, p. 48, 49. Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 237. Rapin, vol. ii. p. 170.

[u] See this matter ſtated in Seldeni mare clauſum, lib. ii. cap. 26. Molloy de jure maritimo, tit. FLAG.

the reader an account, in Sir William Monſon's own words, of the ſpirit with which he inſiſted on ſatisfaction from the Dutch on this head, whereby the right of the Engliſh flag, which has been ſo much ſtood upon ſince, was eſtabliſhed with regard to this republic; the rather, becauſe I know there are many who will ſcarce believe, that matters of this nature were carried ſo far, (perhaps as far as they were ever carried), under ſo pacific a prince.

"In my return from Calais," ſays Sir William, "the firſt of "July 1605, with the emperor's ambaſſador, as I approached "near Dover road, I perceived an increaſe of ſix ſhips to thoſe "I left there three days before, one of them being the admi- "ral; their coming in ſhew was to beleaguer the Spaniards, "who were then at Dover.

"As I drew near them the admiral ſtruck his flag thrice, "and advanced it again. His coming from the other coaſt at "ſuch a time, cauſed me to make another conſtruction than "he pretended; and indeed it ſo fell out, for I conceived his "arrival at that time was for no other end than to ſhew the "ambaſſador, who he knew would ſpread it abroad through- "out all Europe, as alſo the Spaniards, that they might have "the leſs eſteem of his majeſty's prerogative in the narrow "ſeas, that, by their wearing their flag, they might be reputed "kings of the ſea, as well as his majeſty. I haſtened the "ambaſſador aſhore, and deſpatched a gentleman to the ad- "miral, to entreat his company the next day to dinner, which "he willingly promiſed.

"The gentleman told him, I required him to take in his "flag, as a duty due to his majeſty's ſhips: he anſwered, that "he had ſtruck it thrice, which he thought to be a very ſuffi- "cient acknowledgment, and it was more than former admi- "rals of the narrow ſeas had required at his hands.

"The gentleman replied, that he expected ſuch an anſwer "from him, and therefore he was prepared with what to ſay "to that point. He told him, the times were altered; for "when no more but ſtriking the flag was required, England "and Holland were both of them in hoſtility with Spain, "which cauſed her majeſty to tolerate divers things in them; "as, for inſtance, the admiral's wearing his flag in the expe-

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"dition to Cadiz, and the iſlands, where the lord-admiral of "England and the lord of Eſſex went as generals, and that "courteſy they could not challenge by right, but by permiſ-"ſion; and the wars being now ceaſed, his majeſty did require "by me, his miniſter, ſuch rights and duties as have formerly "belonged to his progenitors.

"The admiral refuſed to obey my command, ſaying, he ex-"pected more favour from me than from other admirals, in "reſpect of our long and loving acquaintance; but he was "anſwered, that all obligations of private friendſhip muſt be "laid aſide, when the honour of one's king and country is at "ſtake. The gentleman adviſed him in a friendly manner to "yield to my demand; if not, he had commiſſion to tell him, "I meant to weigh anchor, and come near him, and that the "force of our ſhips ſhould determine the queſtion; for, ra-"ther than I would ſuffer his flag to be worn in view of ſo "many nations as were to behold it, I reſolved to bury myſelf "in the ſea.

"The admiral, it ſeems, upon better advice, took in his "flag, and ſtood immediately off to ſea, firing a gun for the "reſt of the fleet to follow him. And thus I loſt my gueſt "the next day at dinner, as he had promiſed.

"This paſſage betwixt the admiral and me was obſerved "from the ſhore, people beholding us to ſee the event. Upon "my landing I met with Sciriago, the general of the Spaniards, "who in the time of Queen Eliſabeth was employed under "Mendoza, the ambaſſador of Spain. He told me, that if "the Hollanders had worn their flag, times had been ſtrangely "altered in England, ſince his old maſter King Philip the ſe-"cond was ſhot at by the lord-admiral of England, for wear-"ing his flag in the narrow ſeas, when he came to marry "Queen Mary [w]."

Theſe diſputes continued for many years; and though, through the vigilance of admiral Monſon, the Dutch were defeated in all their pretenſions, and the prerogatives of the Britiſh ſovereignty at ſea were thoroughly maintained; yet the republic of Holland ſtill kept up a ſpirit of reſentment, which

[w] Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 242, 243.

broke

broke out in ſuch acts of violence, as would not have been paſt by in the days of Queen Eliſabeth; yet our admiral does not ſeem to charge the king or his miniſtry in general with want of inclination to do themſelves juſtice; but lays it expreſly at the door of ſecretary Cecil, afterwards earl of Saliſbury; who thought it, he ſays, good policy to paſs by ſuch kind of offences [x], but he does not report any reaſons upon which that kind of policy was grounded; yet it did not abſolutely or conſtantly prevail, even in the councils of King James; for upon ſome ſurmiſes that foreigners took unreaſonable liberties in fiſhing in our ſeas, a proclamation was publiſhed in the year 1608, roundly aſſerting the king's ſovereignty in that point, and prohibiting all foreign nations to fiſh on the Britiſh coaſt; this, though general in appearance, had yet a more particular relation to the Dutch, who found themſelves ſo far affected thereby, eſpecially when the king appointed commiſſioners at London for granting licences to ſuch foreigners as would fiſh on the Engliſh coaſt; and at Edinburgh, for granting licences of the like nature to ſuch as would fiſh in the northern ſea; and to theſe regulations, though with great reluctance, they ſubmitted for the preſent; the reaſon of which ſeems to be, their having then affairs of great moment to manage with the court of Great Britain [y]. In theſe important concerns, notwithſtanding all that had paſſed, they ſucceeded, and two treaties were concluded on the twenty-ſixth of June, 1608, between the crown of Great-Britain, and the States-General; the one of peace and alliance, the other for ſtating and ſettling the debt due to King James [z]. One would have

[x] The reader may conſult the deſpatches of this great miniſter, in Winwood's memorials. The grand point upon which the Hollanders ſtood, was our old treaties with the houſe of Burgundy, which, they ſaid, ſhould be obſerved towards them. The reaſon, probably, of Saliſbury's countenancing them was this, that his father had adviſed Queen Eliſabeth to inſiſt on theſe treaties as ſufficient to juſtify her in aſſiſting the provinces, notwithſtanding her leagues with Spain. Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 244.

[y] Winwood's memorials, vol. ii. p. 358, 359. See a very ſcarce and curious tract, entitled, England's way to win wealth, *&c.* by Tobias Gentleman, London, 1614, 4to, dedicated to the earl of Northampton, where the injuries the Britiſh nation ſuffered by the Dutch fiſhing in our ſeas are deſcribed at large.

[z] Rymer's fœdera, tome xvi. p. 674, *et ſeq.*

imagined,

imagined, that the advantages obtained by theſe treaties ſhould have brought the republic to a better temper in reſpect to other matters; but it did not, for within a ſhort time after, they diſputed paying the aſſize-herring in Scotland, the licence-money in England; and, to protect their ſubjects from the penalties which might attend ſuch a refuſal, they ſent ſhips of force to eſcort their herring buſſes [a]. Theſe facts, as they are inconteſtible, I think myſelf obliged to relate, though without the leaſt prejudice againſt the Dutch, who are a people certainly to be commended for all ſuch inſtances of their public ſpirit, as appear to be conſiſtent with the right of their neighbours, and the law of nations [b].

But, at this time of day, miniſters were too much afraid of parliaments to run the hazard of loſing any of the nation's rights, for want of inſiſting upon them, and therefore they prevailed upon the king to republiſh his proclamation, (which follows), that a parliament, whenever they met, might ſee they had done their duty, and adviſe the king thereupon as they ſhould think fit.

The Proclamation concerning Fiſhing.

WHEREAS, we have been contented, ſince our coming to the crown, to tolerate an indifferent and promiſcuous kind of liberty, to all our friends whatſoever, to fiſh within our ſtreams, and upon any of our coaſts of Great-Britain, Ireland, and other adjacent iſlands, ſo far forth as the permiſſion, or uſe thereof, might not redound to the impeachment of our prerogative royal, or to the hurt and damage of our loving ſubjects, whoſe preſervation and flouriſhing eſtate we hold ourſelf principally bound to advance before all worldly reſpects: ſo finding, that our continuance therein, hath not only given occaſion of over-great encroachments upon our regalities, or rather queſtioning of our right, but hath been a means of daily wrongs to our own people, that exerciſe the trade of fiſhing,

[a] Seldeni mare clauſ. lib. ii. cap. 31. ex Rot. Parliament. 4 Jac. 6. cap. 60. & Rot. Parliament, 6 ejuſdem, cap. 86.

[b] The vouchers for theſe facts may all be found in the paper-office.

as (either by the multitude of ſtrangers, which do pre-occupy thoſe places, or by the injuries which they receive moſt commonly at their hands) our ſubjects are conſtrained to abandon their fiſhing, or at leaſt are become ſo diſcouraged in the ſame, as they hold it better for them to betake themſelves to ſome other courſe of living, whereby not only divers of our coaſt towns are much decayed, but the number of our mariners daily diminiſhed, which is a matter of great conſequence to our eſtate, conſidering how much the ſtrength thereof conſiſteth in the power of ſhipping and uſe of navigation; we have thought it now both juſt and neceſſary, in reſpect that we are now, by God's favours, lineally and lawfully poſſeſſed, as well of the iſland of Great Britain, as of Ireland, and the reſt of the iſles adjacent, to bethink ourſelves of good and lawful means to prevent thoſe inconveniencies, and many others depending on the ſame. In conſideration whereof, as we are deſirous that the world may take notice, that we have no intention to deny our neighbours and allies thoſe fruits and benefits of peace and friendſhip, which may be juſtly expected at our hands, in honour and reaſon, or are afforded by other princes mutually in the point of commerce, and exchange of thoſe things which may not prove prejudicial to them; ſo becauſe ſome ſuch convenient order may be taken in this matter, as may ſufficiently provide for all thoſe important conſiderations which depend thereupon, we have reſolved, firſt, to give notice to all the world, that our expreſs pleaſure is, that from the beginning of the month of Auguſt next coming, no perſon, of what nation or quality ſoever, being not our natural-born ſubjects, be permitted to fiſh upon any of our coaſts and ſeas of Great Britain, Ireland, and the reſt of the iſles adjacent, where moſt uſually heretofore any fiſhing hath been, until they have orderly demanded and obtained licences from us, or ſuch our commiſſioners as we have authoriſed in that behalf, *viz.* at London for our realms of England and Ireland, and at Edinburgh for our realm of Scotland, which licences our intention is, ſhall be yearly demanded for ſo many veſſels and ſhips, and the tonnage thereof, as ſhall intend to fiſh for that whole year, or any part thereof, upon any of our coaſts and ſeas, as aforeſaid, upon

pain of ſuch chaſtiſement as ſhall be fit to be inflicted upon ſuch as are wilful offenders.

Given at our palace of Weſtminſter, the 6th day of May, in the 7th year of our reign of Great-Britain, *anno Dom.* 1609.

There were alſo ſome ſtruggles in this reign with the French, about the ſame rights of fiſhery and the ſovereignty of the ſea, in which, through the vigorous meaſures taken by Sir William Monſon, the nation prevailed, and the French were obliged to deſiſt from their practices of diſturbing our fiſhermen, and otherwiſe injuring our navigation[c]. In 1614, the ſame admiral was ſent to ſcour the Scotch and Iriſh ſeas, which were much infeſted with pirates. We need not much wonder at this, if we conſider, that, till King James's acceſſion to the throne of England, there was little, indeed ſcarce any naval ſtrength in his own country; and that in Ireland the Spaniards, by frequently practiſing this piratical trade during the war, had given the barbarous inhabitants ſuch a reliſh of it, that they could not forſake it in time of peace. The noiſe, however, of their depredations far exceeded the damage; for when, on the firſt of June, Sir William Monſon made the coaſt of Caithneſs, the moſt northern part of Scotland, he found that, inſtead of twenty pirates, of whom he expected to have intelligence in thoſe parts, there were in fact but two, one of whom immediately ſurrendered, and the other was afterwards taken by the admiral on the coaſt of Ireland; where, by a proper mixture of clemency and ſeverity, he extirpated theſe rovers, and reclaimed the inhabitants of the ſea-coaſt from their ſcandalous way of living, by affording ſhelter and protection to pirates, furniſhing them with proviſions, and taking their plunder in exchange. This ſervice Sir William performed in three months[d].

[c] Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 243. Gentleman's England's way to win wealth, p. 34.

[d] Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 247, 251. The Dutch ambaſſador, by order of the States, had complained loudly of theſe pirates in 1611, and had even deſired the king's permiſſion to purſue them into the very haven of that kingdom, (Ireland). Winwood's memorials, vol. iii. p. 285, 286.

In 1617, Sir Walter Raleigh was releaſed from his impriſonment in the Tower, and had a commiſſion from the king to diſcover and take poſſeſſion of any countries in the ſouth of America which were inhabited by heathen nations, for the enlargement of commerce and the propagation of religion[e]; in the undertaking which expedition, his expences were borne by himſelf, his friends, and ſuch merchants as entertained a good opinion of the voyage. His deſign has been variouſly repreſented, and I ſhall be at liberty to examine it hereafter more at large, in its proper place. At preſent, I am to ſpeak of it only as a public concern, in which light it was juſtifiable beyond all queſtion, notwithſtanding the outcries that were made againſt it by the Spaniards. It is indeed pretty evident, that the complaints of their miniſter Don Diego Sarmiento d'Acuna, ſo well known afterwards by the title of Count Gondemar, were not ſo much grounded on any notions he himſelf had of the injuſtice of this deſign, as on a piece of Spaniſh policy, by raiſing a clamour on falſe pretences, to diſcover the true ſcope and intent of Sir Walter's voyage. In this he was but too ſucceſsful; for, upon his repreſentations, that excellent perſon was obliged to give a diſtinct account, as well of his preparations for executing, as of the deſign he was to execute: and this (by what means is not clear) was communicated to the Spaniards, who thereby gained an opportunity, firſt of diſappointing him in America, and then of taking off his head upon his return, to the laſting diſhonour of this reign, as well as the great detriment of the nation; for, without all doubt, this project of Sir Walter Raleigh's, for ſettling in Guiana, was not only well contrived, but well founded; and, if it had been followed, might have been as beneficial to Britain as Brazil is to Portugal[f].

The diſputes with the States of Holland[g], in reference to the right of fiſhing, broke out again, in the year 1618, from the

[e] Rymer's fœdera, vol. xvi. p. 789.

[f] See Oldys's life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 96.

[g] Mr. Camden, in his annals of the reign of this prince, ſays, that the deputies of the States, at their audience of the king, on the 31ſt of December, 1618, entreated, that nothing might be done in reſpect to the herring-fiſhing, as it was the great ſupport of their commonwealth, and the only ſuccour and relief of the common people, in regard to the troubles then amongſt them.

old

old cauſes, which were plainly a very high preſumption of their own maritime force, and an opinion they had entertained of the king's being much addicted to peace. It is not at all impoſſible, that they had a great opinion likewiſe of their miniſter's capacity, and that ſooner or later, if they could but keep up a long negociation, they might either prevail upon the king to drop his pretenſions, or repeat their own ill-founded excuſes ſo often till in the cloſe they gained credit. At this time, thoſe who hated the Engliſh miniſtry, treated theſe differences with that republic as rather criminal than honourable; but the ſame men living long enough to get the ſupreme power into their own hands, in the time of the long parliament, cauſed the letters of ſtate written at that juncture to be drawn out of the duſt and rubbiſh, and made them, without the ſmalleſt ſcruple, the foundation of that quarrel, which they proſecuted with force of arms. It is to be hoped, that no occaſion of the like nature will ever happen; but, nevertheleſs, as thoſe letters are very curious, and much to the purpoſe, a few extracts from them cannot but be acceptable, and may be uſeful.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from Secretary Naunton to Sir Dudley Carleton, ambaſſador to the Sates-General, dated the 21ſt of December, 1618.

"I MUST now let your lordſhip know, that the States commiſſioners and deputies both, having attended his majeſty at "Newmarket, and there preſented their letters of credence, "returned to London on Saturday was ſe'ennight, and, upon "Tueſday, had audience in the council-chamber, where, being "required to communicate the points of their commiſſion, they "delivered their meditated anſwer at length. The lords, upon "peruſal of it, appointed my Lord Bining and me to attend his "majeſty for directions what reply to return to this anſwer "of theirs, which we repreſented to their lordſhips yeſterday "to this effect: That his majeſty found it ſtrange, that they, "having been ſo often required by your lordſhip, his majeſty's "ambaſſador, as from himſelf, in their public aſſemblies, to "ſend over commiſſioners fully authoriſed to treat and con-"clude, not only of all differences grown between the ſubjects

" of both ſtates, touching the trade to the Eaſt-Indies, and the " whale-fiſhing, and to regulate and ſettle a joint and an even " traffic in thoſe quarters; but withal, to take order for a " more indifferent courſe of determining other queſtions, grow- " ing between our merchants and them, about their draperies " and the tare; and more eſpecially, to determine his majeſty's " right for the ſole fiſhing, upon all the coaſts of his three " kingdoms, into which they had of late times incroached far- " ther than of right they could; and, laſtly, for the reglement " and reducing of their coins, to ſuch a proportion and cor- " reſpondence with thoſe of his majeſty and other ſtates, that " their ſubjects might make no advantage to tranſport our mo- " nies by enhancing there valuation there. All which they con- " feſſed your lordſhip had inſtanced them for in his majeſty's " name; that after all this attent on his majeſty's part, and ſo " long deliberation on theirs, they were come at laſt with a " propoſition, to ſpeak only to the two firſt points, and in- " ſtructed thereunto with bare letters of credence only, which " his majeſty takes for an imperious faſhion of proceeding in " them, as if they were come hither to treat of what themſelves " pleaſed, and to give law to his majeſty in his own kingdom, " and to propoſe and admit of nothing but what ſhould tend " merely to their own ends.

" To the ſecond, whereas they would decline all debate of " the fiſhing upon his majeſty's coaſts firſt, by allegations of " their great loſſes, and the fear of an eſmeute of their people, " who are all intereſted in that queſtion, and would belike " break out into ſome combuſtion to the hazard of their ſtate, " which hath lately ſcaped naufrage, and is not yet altogether " calmed. What is this, but to raiſe an advantage to them- " ſelves out of their diſadvantage! But afterwards, they pro- " feſſed their lothneſs to call it into doubt or queſtion, claiming " an immemorial poſſeſſion, ſeconded by the law of nations: " to which his majeſty will have them told, that the kings of " Spain have ſought leave to fiſh there by treaty from this " crown, and that the king of France, a nearer neighbour to " our coaſts than they, to this day requeſts leave for a few " veſſels to fiſh for proviſion of his own houſhold; that they, " being a ſtate of ſo late date, ſhould be the firſt that would

" preſume

" preſume to queſtion his majeſty's ancient right, ſo many hun-
" dred years inviolably poſſeſſed by his progenitors, and ac-
" knowledged by all other ancient ſtates and princes. That
" themſelves, in their public letters of the laſt of June, ſent by
" your lordſhip, ſeemed then to confirm their immemorial poſ-
" ſeſſion, as they term it, with divers treaties, as are that of the
" year 1550, and another between his majeſty's predeceſſors
" and Charles V. as prince of thoſe provinces, and not by the
" law of nations. To which, their laſt plea, his majeſty would
" have them told, that he, being an iſlander prince, is not ig-
" norant of the laws and rights of his own kingdom, nor doth
" expect to be taught the law of nations by them, or their
" Grotius, whoſe ill thriving might rather teach others to diſ-
" avow his poſitions; and his honeſty, called in queſtion by
" themſelves, might render his learning as much ſuſpected to
" them as his perſon. This his majeſty takes for an high point
" of his ſovereignty, and will not have it ſlighted over in any
" faſhion whatſoever.

" Thus I have particulated unto you the manner of our
" proceeding with them. Let them adviſe to ſeek leave from
" his majeſty, and acknowledge in him his right, as other
" princes have done, and do, or it may well come to paſs, that
" they, that will needs bear all the world before them by their
" *mare liberum*, may ſoon come to have neither *terram & ſo-*
" *lum*, nor *rempublicam liberum*."

EXTRACT of a LETTER of the ſaid ambaſſador to Secretary Naunton, dated at the Hague, the thirtieth of December, 1618.

" WHETHER the final reſolution here will be according to
" his majeſty's deſire, in that point concerning the fiſhing upon
" the coaſts of his three kingdoms, I cannot ſay; and by ſome-
" what which fell from the prince of Orange, by way of diſ-
" courſe, when he took leave of me on Monday laſt, at his
" departure, I ſuſpect it will not, in regard the magiſtrates of
" theſe towns of Holland, being newly placed, and yet ſcarce
" faſt in their ſeats, who do authorize the deputies which come
" hither to the aſſembly of the States, in all things they are to

" treat

" treat and reſolve, will not adventure, for fear of the people, " to determine of a buſineſs on which the livelihood of fifty " thouſand of the inhabitants of this one ſingle province doth " depend. I told the prince, that howſoever his majeſty, both " in honour of his crown and perſon, and intereſt of his king- " doms, neither could nor would any longer deſiſt from having " his right acknowledged by this ſtate, as well as by all other " princes and commonwealths, eſpecially finding the ſame open- " ly oppugned, both by their ſtateſmen and men of war, as " the writings of Grotius, and the taking of John Brown the " laſt year, may teſtify; yet this acknowledgment of a right " and a due, was no excluſion of grace and favour, and that " the people of this country paying that ſmall tribute upon " every one of their buſſes, which is not ſo much as diſputed " by any other nation whatſoever, ſuch was his majeſty's " well-wiſhing to this ſtate, that I preſumed of his permiſſion " to ſuffer them to continue their courſe of fiſhing, which they " might uſe thereby with more freedom and leſs apprehenſion " of moleſtation and let than before, and likewiſe ſpare the " coſt of ſome of their men of war, which they yearly ſend " out to maintain that by force, which they may have of cour- " teſy.

" The prince anſwered, that for himſelf, at his return from " Utrecht, he would do his beſt endeavours to procure his ma- " jeſty's contentment; but he doubted the Hollanders would " apprehend the ſame effect in their payment for fiſhing as they " found in the paſſage of the Sound, where at firſt an eaſy mat- " ter was demanded by the king of Denmark, but now more " exacted than they can poſſibly bear; and touching their men " of war he ſaid, they muſt ſtill be at the ſame charge with " them, becauſe of the pirates. Withal he caſt out a queſtion " to me, whether this freedom of fiſhing might not be re- " deemed with a ſum of money. To which I anſwered, it was " a matter of royalty more than of utility, though princes were " not to neglect their profit [h]."

EXTRACT

[h] Yet, that we may perceive, whenever our court proceeded with due ſpirit, it had its effect, and brought even theſe ſubtile negotiators to make conceſſions, which in reality deſtroyed all their pretenſions at other times, will appear from an

EXTRACT of a LETTER from Secretary Naunton to the Lord Ambaſſador Carleton, dated the 21ſt of January, 1618.

" As I had dictated thus far, I received direction from his " majeſty to ſignify to the States commiſſioners here, That al- " beit their earneſt entreaty, and his gracious conſideration of " the preſent trouble of their church and ſtate, had moved " his majeſty to conſent to delay the treaty of the great fiſhing " till the time craved by the commiſſioners, yet underſtanding " by new and freſh complaints of his mariners and fiſhers upon " the coaſts of Scotland, that, within theſe four or five laſt " years, the Low-Country fiſhers have taken ſo great advan- " tages of his majeſty's toleration, that they have grown nearer " and nearer upon his majeſty's coaſts, year by year, than they " did in preceding times, without leaving any bounds for the " country-people and natives to fiſh upon their prince's coaſts; " and oppreſſed ſome of his ſubjects, of intent to continue their " pretended poſſeſſion, and driven ſome of their great veſſels " through their nets, to deter others, by fear of the like vio- " lence, from fiſhing near them, *&c.*: his majeſty cannot for- " bear to tell them, that he is ſo well perſuaded of the equity " of the States, and of the honourable reſpect they bear unto " him, and to his ſubjects for his ſake, that they will never al- " low ſo unjuſt and intolerable oppreſſions; for reſtraint where- " of, and to prevent the inconveniencies which muſt enſue " upon the continuance of the ſame, his majeſty hath by me " deſired them to write to their ſuperiors to cauſe proclamation " to be made, prohibiting any of their ſubjects to fiſh within " fourteen miles of his majeſty's coaſts this year, or in any time " hereafter, until orders be taken by commiſſioners, to be au-

an EXTRACT of a LETTER dated January the 14th, 1618, from the ſame ambaſſador to Secretary Naunton, in which he gives him to underſtand, " That " having been expoſtulated with, but in a friendly manner, by certain of the " States about his late propoſition as unſeaſonable and ſharp, they ſaid, they " acknowledged their commiſſioners went beyond their limits in their terms of " immemorial poſſeſſion, immutable *droit des gens*, for which they had no order; " that he then deſired them to conſider what a wrong it was to challenge that " upon right, which thoſe provinces had hitherto enjoyed either by connivance " or courteſy, and yet never without claim on his majeſty's ſide."

" thorized

" thorized on both ſides, for a final ſettling of the main buſi-
" neſs. His majeſty hath likewiſe directed me to command
" you, from him, to make the like declaration and inſtance to
" the States there, and to certify his majeſty of their anſwers
" with what convenient ſpeed you may."

What effect the ambaſſador's negotiation had with the States appears by a letter of his from the Hague, of the 6th of February, 1618, to King James himſelf.

" I find likewiſe in the manner of proceeding, that, treating
" by way of propoſition here, nothing can be expected but their
" wonted dilatory and evaſive anſwers, their manner being to
" refer ſuch propoſitions from the States-general to the States
" of Holland. The States of Holland take advice of a certain
" council reſiding at Delft, which they call the council of the
" fiſhery: from them ſuch an anſwer commonly comes as may
" be expected from ſuch an oracle. The way therefore (under
" correction) to effect your majeſty's intent, is to begin with
" fiſhers themſelves, by publiſhing, againſt the time of their
" going out, your reſolution at what diſtance you will permit
" them to fiſh, whereby they will be forced to have recourſe
" to their council of fiſhery, that council to the States of Hol-
" land, and thoſe of Holland to the States-general, who then,
" in place of being ſought unto, will, for contentment of their
" ſubjects, ſeek unto your majeſty."

THESE latters make it perfectly clear, that King James aſſerted his rights through the long courſe of this negociation as clearly and as explicitly as it was poſſible, and brought the States themſelves to acknowledge, that theſe rights had a juſt foundation. If it ſhould be inquired how it came to paſs, that after carrying things ſo far, and to ſuch a ſeeming height, they ſhould fall again into ſilence and oblivion, the beſt anſwer that can be given to this queſtion is, that in the midſt of this diſpute the prince of Orange aſked Sir Dudley Carleton a very ſhrewd queſtion, *viz.* Whether this claim about the fiſhery might not be quieted for a ſum of money? That gentleman, who was afterwards created Viſcount Dorcheſter, was certainly a man of honour, as fully appears from the advice given in the laſt letter we have cited; but whether ſome men in power might not find a method, by

agents of their own, to convey an anſwer to ſo plain a demand, is more than at this diſtance of time can be determined. Sir William Monſon tells us, that, in reference to the diſputes about the flag, the Dutch found a kind of protector in the great earl of Saliſbury; nor is it at all impoſſible that they might alſo find an advocate in this important buſineſs of the fiſhery; but, if they did, this muſt have been a miniſterial and not a national bargain, ſince we ſhall find, that in the next reign this claim was inſiſted upon as warmly, and with ſomewhat better effect, than in that of King James.

We ſhall, for the ſame reaſon, refer to another place the diſputes between us and the Dutch about the right of fiſhing for whales on the coaſts of Spitzbergen, as called by the Dutch, but by us at that time New-Greenland, of which both nations claimed to be the firſt diſcoverers; in virtue of that each of them pretended a right of excluding the other, in conſequence of which annual ſtruggles enſued, not without ſome bloodſhed. We ſhall alſo, for the ſame cauſe, refer the meaſures taken in this reign to ſupport the dominion of the ſea, by declaring in what manner the Spaniards and the Dutch were to proſecute their naval hoſtilities, without prejudice to the neutrality of Engliſh ports, or his majeſty's prerogative.

It may not be amiſs, however, to obſerve here, that, by whatever means things were ſettled and quieted at that time, in reſpect to the Dutch fiſhing, it could never affect the claim of right by the crown of Great-Britain; for as Sir Dudley Carleton very wiſely returned for anſwer to the queſtion before-mentioned, that it was a royalty, ſo, beyond all doubt, thoſe ancient and immemorial prerogatives of the crown are unalienable; and though treaties may be made for explaining, regulating and adjuſting them with our neighbours, yet this muſt be always underſtood as done with a view to the maintaining them. Theſe rights belong to the crown, and not to the king; who, though bound by the duty of his office to ſupport and vindicate them, yet is at the ſame time reſtrained by that duty from alienating them; and therefore, whatever tolerations, connivances, or forbearances, there may be in particular reigns, or from particular circumſtances, theſe can never be urged in prejudice to the inherent rights of the crown, which always ſubſiſt, though they may not al-

ways be inſiſted upon. This doctrine the reader has before ſeen was particularly urged and applied by Sir William Monſon in the caſe of the flag, when the Dutch were deſirous of availing themſelves of Queen Eliſabeth's waving her right in a caſe where indeed it could not well be inſiſted upon, that is, where a Dutch ſquadron ſerved as auxiliaries in a fleet commanded by an Engliſh admiral, and conſequently during that time were treated as Engliſh ſubjects.

We come now to the only naval expedition of conſequence, which was undertaken during the time this king ſat upon the throne, I mean the attempt upon Algiers. What the real grounds were of this romantic undertaking ſeems not eaſy to be diſcovered. The common ſtory is, that Count Gondemar, having gained an aſcendency over his majeſty's underſtanding, perſuaded him, contrary to his natural inclination, which ſeldom permitted him to act vigorouſly againſt his own enemies, to fit out a formidable fleet, in order to humble the foes of the king of Spain[j]. But we have it from other hands, that this was a project of much older ſtanding; that the earl of Nottingham had ſolicited the king to ſuch an expedition, before he laid down his charge of lord high-admiral; and that Sir Robert Manſel infuſed it into the head of his ſucceſſor Buckingham, that it would give a great reputation to his management of naval affairs, if ſuch a thing was entered upon in the dawn of his adminiſtration. As Buckingham eaſily brought the king to conſent to whatever himſelf approved, there is the utmoſt probability that it was by his influence this deſign was carried into execution; notwithſtanding that Sir William Monſon, who has been conſulted upon it, gave his judgment, ſupported by ſtrong and clear arguments, that it was raſh and ill-founded, and that, inſtead of raiſing the reputation of the Britiſh arms, it would only contribute to render them ridiculous, becauſe the whole world would take notice of the diſappointment, whereas only a few could judge of its real cauſes, and of the little reaſon there was to meaſure the naval ſtrength of Britain thereby[k].

j Ruſhworth's collections, vol. i. p. 34. Mr. Camden's annals of the reign of King James under the year 1620. Wilſon's hiſtory of King James, p. 726.

k Naval tracts, p. 253.

In

In the month of October, 1620, this fleet ſailed from Plymouth. It conſiſted of ſix men of war, and twelve ſtout ſhips hired from the merchants. Of theſe Sir Robert Manſel, then vice-admiral of England, had the command in chief, Sir Richard Hawkins was vice, and Sir Thomas Button rear-admiral; Sir Henry Palmer, Arthur Manwaring, Thomas Love, and Samuel Argall, Eſqrs; were appointed to be members of the council of war, and Edward Clarke, Eſq; was ſecretary. On the 27th of November they came to an anchor in Algier road, and ſaluted the town, but without receiving a ſingle gun in anſwer. On the 28th the admiral ſent a gentleman with a white flag to let the Turkiſh viceroy know the cauſe of his coming, who returned him an anſwer by four commiſſioners, that he had orders from the grand Seignior to uſe the Engliſh with the utmoſt reſpect, to ſuffer their men to come on ſhore, and to furniſh them with what proviſions they wanted. Upon this a negociation enſued, in which it is hard to ſay, whether the Turks or the admiral acted with greater chicanery. The former refuſed to diſmiſs the gentleman firſt ſent, unleſs an Engliſh conſul was left at Algiers; and the latter, to rid himſelf of this difficulty, prevailed upon a ſeaman to put on a ſuit of good clothes, and to paſs for a conſul: this cheat not being diſcovered by the Turks, they ſent forty Engliſh ſlaves on board the admiral, and promiſed to give him ſatisfaction as to his other demands; upon which he ſailed again for the Spaniſh coaſt, attended by ſix French men of war, the admiral of which ſquadron had ſtruck to the Engliſh fleet on his firſt joining it, which ſeems to have been the greateſt honour, and perhaps the greateſt advantage too, that attended this whole expedition [l].

It had been well if this enterpriſe had ended thus; but, after receiving a ſupply of proviſions from England, it was reſolved to make another attempt upon Algiers in the ſpring, and, if poſſible, to burn the ſhips in the mole [m]. Accordingly, in the

[l] Purchas's pilgrims, p. 881. See alſo an account of this expedition, publiſhed by authority, in 1621.

[m] See the relation of this expedition before referred to, which is almoſt the only authentic account we have of it; and yet it is an account only on one ſide, and was certainly written to juſtify the undertaking.

month of May the fleet left the coaſt of Majorca, and upon the twenty-firſt of the ſame month anchored before Algiers, and began to prepare for the execution of this deſign. Two ſhips taken from the Turks, one of an hundred, the other of ſixty tons, were fitted up for this purpoſe. They were filled with dry wood, oakum, pitch, roſin, tar, brimſtone, and other combuſtible matter, and provided with chains, grappling-irons, and boats to bring off the men; next followed the three brigantines, which the admiral bought at Alicant, with fire-balls, buckets of wild-fire, and fire-pikes to faſten their fire-works to the enemy's ſhips. They had alſo a gunlod, fitted up with fire-works, chains, and grappling-irons; the gunlod was to be fired in the midſt of the ſhips in the mole, having likewiſe a boat to bring off her men. Seven armed boats followed to ſuſtain thoſe of the fire-ſhips, in caſe they were purſued at their coming off. Theſe were likewiſe furniſhed with fire-works to deſtroy the ſhips without the mole.

The wind not being favourable, the attempt was put off till the twenty-fourth, and blowing then at S. S. W. the ſhips advanced with a briſk gale towards the mole; but when they were within leſs than a muſket-ſhot of the mole's head, the wind died away, and it grew ſo calm they could not enter. However, the boats and brigantines finding they were diſcovered by the brightneſs of the moon, which was then at full, and being informed by a Chriſtian ſlave, who ſwam from the town, that the Turks had left their ſhips unguarded, with only a man or two in each of them, they reſolved to proceed; which they did, but performed little or nothing, and then retired with the loſs of ſix men. After a day or two's ſtay they put to ſea, and in the month of June returned to England. This ill-concerted enterpriſe had no other effect, than that of expoſing our own commerce to the inſults of the Algerines, who did a great deal of miſchief, while we did them little or none; though two other fleets were afterwards ſent againſt them, one under the command of the Lord Willoughby, and the other under that of the earl of Denbigh; but both did ſo ſmall ſervice, that very few of our hiſtories take any notice of them,

them[n]. Sir William Monſon has made ſome ſevere but juſt obſervations upon theſe undertakings[o], and particularly remarks, that notwithſtanding the whole nation was grievouſly offended, as they will always be at ſuch miſcarriages, yet they never had any ſatisfaction given them; which irritated them exceedingly, and contributed not a little to raiſe that ſpirit which vented itſelf afterwards in a civil war.

In 1623 happened the bloody affair of Amboyna, of which I ſhall give a ſhort and fair account; becauſe it gave birth to our national hatred of the Dutch, which ſubſiſted ſo long, and had ſuch fatal effects. By a treaty concluded between Great-Britain and the United Provinces in 1619, it was ſtipulated amongſt other things, that, to prevent farther diſputes, the Dutch ſhould enjoy two-thirds of the trade at Amboyna, and the Engliſh one. In purſuance of this, a factory was erected in that iſland as well as other places; yet, in the ſhort ſpace of two years, the Dutch grew weary of their company, and, under pretence of a plot, ſeized the principal perſons in the factory, tortured them, and having extorted from them ſome confeſſions, put as many of them as they thought fit to death, and under a ſpecious ſhew of clemency diſcharged the reſt; ſeizing, however, not only on this, but all the other factories likewiſe which at that time the Engliſh had in the Spice-Iſlands, and thereby engroſſing that moſt valuable trade to themſelves. That this was really a contrivance, ſeems to be pretty plain, not to make uſe of a ſtronger word, from the following circumſtances, which are inconteſtible. The Engliſh had only a houſe wherein their factory reſided, whereas the Dutch were poſſeſſed of a very ſtrong fort; the number of the former did not exceed twenty, the latter had above two hundred garriſon ſoldiers in the caſtle, and eight ſtout ſhips riding in the port. The priſoners all denied it moſt ſolemnly at their deaths, and

[n] In the continuation of Stowe's chronicle by Howes, there is not a word of it, and in many other books of the ſame kind, we are barely told when this fleet ſailed, and when it came back.

[o] There are three diſcourſes of his upon this ſubject, one addreſſed to the privy-council, on the propereſt method for attempting the ruin of Algiers; another diſſuading from that enterpriſe; and the third on the miſtakes in this expedition, wherein he obſerves, that during all the time they were out, they were but twenty days out at ſea.

would

would have taken the ſacrament on the truth of what they ſaid, but that it was refuſed them by the Dutch [p]. That I may not be however ſuſpected of injuſtice towards them, I will tranſcribe their own account of this matter. "This iſland," ſays a writer who addreſſed his work to the States of Holland [q], "was a long time the ſubject of diſpute between the Dutch "and Engliſh. The Eaſt-India Company, who had made "themſelves maſters of it, entered into a treaty with the Eng-"liſh, for driving out the Portugueſe and Spaniards; and by "one of the articles of this treaty it was agreed, that they "ſhould furniſh ten men of war for this purpoſe. They neglect-"ing this armament, the Indians of Ternate taking advantage "of the weakneſs which this omiſſion of theirs had occaſion-"ed, agreed to a ſuſpenſion of arms with the Spaniards, and "having made an alliance with the king of Tidore, who was "an enemy to the Dutch, attacked ſeveral iſlands dependent on "Amboyna, and having made themſelves maſters of them, "reſolved to attack the citadel; and the Engliſh are ſaid to "have been concerned with them in this deſign, which was "diſcovered by a Japaneſe. The governor heard from all "ſides, that the Engliſh had taken his citadel. Aſtoniſhed at "theſe reports, though falſe, he put himſelf on his guard, and "ſeized the Japaneſe, whom he ſuſpected. This man con-"feſſed, that the Engliſh were engaged in a conſpiracy againſt "the governor; that, taking advantage of his abſence, the ci-"tadel was to be ſeized, and that the Japaneſe in the iſland "had engaged to execute this project. The governor, without "heſitation, arreſted all who were accuſed of having any hand "in this deſign. The Engliſh confeſſed, that their factor had "ſworn them upon the goſpel never to reveal the ſecret; which, "however, they did, and ſigned their confeſſions, ſome freely, "and the reſt conſtrained thereto by the violence of the tor-"ture. They were all executed; and this is what is com-"monly called the maſſacre of Amboyna. The Engliſh have

[p] See a pamphlet, entitled "A true relation of the unjuſt, cruel, and bar-"barous proceedings againſt the Engliſh at Amboyna, publiſhed by authority, "1624, 4to," and ſeveral other tracts.

[q] M. Baſnage in his annales des Provinces unies, vol i. p. 129. Coke's detection of the court and ſtate of England, p. 96, 97.

"always

" always maintained, that this crime was purely imaginary, and " only made uſe of as a pretext to ſacrifice their nation to the " vengeance of a governor; and therefore they continued to " demand ſatisfaction for this loſs from 1623 to 1672, when, " through the indifferent ſtate of their affairs, they were glad " to depart from it." This Dutch account, and indeed all the accounts I have ever ſeen of their drawing up, ſufficiently prove, that there was more of policy than of any thing elſe in this whole proceeding, and that what the Dutch in this black buſineſs chiefly aimed at, was the excluding us from the ſpice-trade, in which they effectually prevailed.

It is indeed ſtrange, that, conſidering the ſtrength of the nation at ſea at the time we received this inſult, and the quick ſenſe which the Engliſh always have of any national affront, no proper ſatisfaction was obtained, nor any vigorous meaſures entered into in order to exact it. But the wonder will in a great meaſure ceaſe, when we conſider the ſtate of the crown, and of the people, at that period. The king had been engaged for many years in a tedious, diſhonourable and diſtaſteful negociation, for the marriage of his ſon Prince Charles with the princeſs of Spain: to the chimerical advantages he propoſed from this, he ſacrificed the intereſt of his family, the glory of his government, and the affections of his people; and yet could never bring the thing to bear, but was at laſt forced to break off the treaty abruptly, and to think of entering upon a war, to which he had always been averſe, eſpecially at the cloſe of his life and reign. Such was the ſituation of things when this accident happened at Amboyna; and therefore, though it made a great noiſe, and occaſioned much expoſtulation with that republic, yet the attention of the crown to the propoſed war with Spain, and its concern for the recovery of the Palatinate, joined to the neceſſity there was of managing the Dutch at ſo critical a juncture, hindered our proceeding any farther than remonſtrances, while our competitors kept excluſively ſo very conſiderable a branch of trade. I have taken the more pains to ſettle and clear up this matter, becauſe it is a full proof of a truth we ought never to forget, *viz.* that domeſtic diſſentions are particularly fatal to us as a trading nation, and that it is impoſſible for us to maintain our commerce in a flouriſhing condition,

condition, if we do not at leaſt enjoy peace, and with it unanimity at home, whatever our circumſtances may be abroad.

I know of nothing relating to naval affairs in this reign of which I have not already ſpoken, except the ſending a fleet to bring home Prince Charles from Spain may be reckoned in that number. It conſiſted, however, of a few ſhips only, but in good order and well manned, ſo that the Spaniards are ſaid to have expreſſed great ſatisfaction at the ſight of it; which, however, true or falſe, is a matter of no great conſequence. This voyage, though a ſhort one, gave Prince Charles ſome idea of maritime affairs, which proved afterwards of benefit to the nation. The breaking the Spaniſh match made way for a war with that kingdom, much to the ſatisfaction of the Engliſh; but, in the midſt of the preparations that were making for it, the king ended his days at Theobald's, on the 27th of March, 1625, in the 59th year of his age, and in the 23d of his reign[r]. His pacific temper occaſioned our having but little to ſay in this part of our work; but, before we proceed to mention the eminent ſeamen who flouriſhed in his time, it will be proper to give the reader a conciſe view of the improvement of trade and navigation within this period, as well as a brief account of the colonies ſettled while this prince ſat upon the throne.

It has been already ſhewn, that, under the public-ſpirited adminiſtration of Queen Eliſabeth, this nation firſt came to have any thing like a competent notion of the benefits of an extenſive commerce, and began to think of managing their own trade themſelves, which down to that period had been almoſt entirely in the hands of foreigners. So long as the war continued with Spain, our merchants went on in a right way; by which I mean, that they proſcuted their private advantage in ſuch a manner, as that it proved likewiſe of public utility, by increaſing the number of ſeamen and of ſtout ſhips belonging to this kingdom: but after King James's acceſſion, and the taking place of that peace which they had ſo long and ſo earneſtly expected, things took a new and ſtrange turn. Our traders ſaw the manifeſt advantage of uſing large and ſtout ſhips, but, inſtead of building them, were content to freight thoſe of their neighbours, becauſe a little mo-

[r] Ruſhworth's collections, vol. i. p. 155. Stowe's chronicle continued by Stowe, p. 1036. Wilſon and other hiſtorians.

ney was to be ſaved by this method. In conſequence of this notion, our ſhipping decayed in proportion as our trade increaſed, till, in the year 1615, things were come to ſo ſtrange a paſs, that there were not ten ſhips of 200 tons belonging to the port of London. Upon this the Trinity-houſe petitioned the king, ſetting forth the matter of fact, and the dreadful conſequences it would have, with reſpect to our naval power, through the decay of ſeamen, and praying, that the king would put in execution ſome good old laws, which were calculated for the redreſs of this evil, ſuggeſting alſo the example of the ſtate of Venice, who on a like occaſion had prohibited their ſubjects to tranſport any goods in foreign bottoms. The merchants unanimouſly oppoſed the mariners in this diſpute, and, having at this juncture better intereſt at court, prevailed. Yet in a year's time the tables were turned, and the merchants, convinced of their own miſtake, joined with the mariners in a like application. An extraordinary accident produced this happy effect. Two ſhips, each of the burden of 300 tons, came into the river of Thames, laden with currants and cotton, the property of ſome Dutch merchants reſiding here. This immediately opened the eyes of all our traders; they ſaw now, that through their own error they were come back to the very point from which they ſet out, and that, if ſome bold and effectual remedy was not immediately applied, our commerce would be gradually driven again by foreigners on foreign bottoms. They inſtantly drew up a repreſentation of this, and laid it before the king and his council; upon which a proclamation was iſſued, forbidding any Engliſh ſubject to export or import goods in any but Engliſh bottoms[s].

When once people have entered into a courſe of induſtry, the benefits accruing from it will generally keep them in that road, and even the difficulties they meet with turn to their advantage. Thus, after the Engliſh merchants had built a few large ſhips in their own ports, and furniſhed them with artillery and other neceſſaries, they found themſelves in a condition to launch into many trades that were unthought of before; and, though for ſome time they ſuffered not a little by the Algerines and other pirates of Barbary, yet in the end they got more than they loſt

[s] Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 328.

by theſe accidents; for it put them upon building ſtill larger ſhips, as well as taking more care in providing and manning ſmall ones; which had ſuch an effect in the ſpace of ſeven years, that whereas ſhips of a hundred tons had been before eſteemed very large veſſels, and were generally built and brought from beyond the ſeas, now there were many merchantmen of three, four, and five hundred tons belonging to ſeveral ports, and upwards of a hundred veſſels, each of above 200 tons burden, belonging to Newcaſtle alone, all built at home, and better built than elſewhere; and, before the death of King James, our trade was ſo far increaſed, that, in the opinion of Sir William Monſon, we were little, if at all inferior in maritime force to the Dutch [r].

In reſpect to the encouragements given by the crown for promoting commerce and plantations in the Eaſt-Indies and America, they were as great under this reign as under any ſucceeding one. Several voyages were made on account of the Eaſt-India Company, and the king did not ſpare ſending an ambaſſador into thoſe parts for their ſervice. Virginia and New-England were in a great meaſure planted, Barbadoes poſſeſſed and ſettled, and Bermudas diſcovered in his time [s]. I do not know whether the attempts made for fixing colonies in Newfoundland, and Acadia or New-Scotland, deſerve any commendation, becauſe, as they were managed at that time, they could turn to little account; yet it muſt be allowed, that the government meant well by the encouragement given to theſe undertakings, which went ſo far as directing propoſals for ſettling Newfoundland to be read in churches, that all who had any mind to be concerned in ſuch attempts might have due notice [u]. Some benefits certainly accrued even from theſe abortive projects; they occaſioned building a great many good ſhips, increaſed the Newfoundland-fiſhery, added to the number of our ſailors, and kept alive that ſpirit of

[r] Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 329, 330. Stowe's annals, p. 994. and the ſame facts are alſo to be met with in ſeveral of the treatiſes on commerce, which will be hereafter mentioned. [s] See a declaration of the ſtate of the colony of Virginia by his Majeſty's council for Virginia, London, 1620, 4to Captain Smith's general hiſtory of Virginia, New England, and the Summer-iſlands, London, 1627, fol. Purchas's pilgrims and pilgrimage.

[u] Order of the king in council at Theobald's, April 12th, 1622, printed with other things, and directed to be read in churches, London, 1622, 4to.

diſcovering

diſcovering which is eſſential to a beneficial commerce, ſince, whenever a nation comes to think it has trade enough, their trade will quickly decline. Beſides, it engaged abundance of knowing and experienced perſons to write upon all branches of traffic; and their books, which yet remain, ſufficiently prove, that there were numbers in thoſe days, who thoroughly underſtood all the arts neceſſary to promote manufactures, navigation, and uſeful commerce [w].

As to the navy, which was more particularly the care of the crown, we find that it frequently engaged the attention of the king himſelf, as well as of his miniſters. In moſt of our naval hiſtories we have a liſt of nine ſhips added to the royal navy of England by this prince, which liſt is taken from Sir William Monſon, and ſtands thus [x];

SHIPS.	Men in harbour.	Men at ſea.
Reformation,	9	250
Happy Entrance,	7	160
Garland,	7	160
St. George,	9	250
Mary Roſe,	6	120
Triumph,	12	300
Swiftſure,	9	250
Bonaventure,	7	160
St. Andrew,	9	250

But that this liſt is very defective, we may conclude from hence, that there is no mention therein of the greateſt ſhip built in this king's reign, and built too by his expreſs direction; of which we have ſo exact, and at the ſame time ſo authentic an account, that it may not be amiſs to tranſcribe it.

[w] Such as, An eſſay of the means to make travel uſeful, profitable, and honourable, by Thomas Palmer, London, 1606, 4to. Virginia richly valued, by Richard Hakluyt, London, 1609, 4to. The planter's plea, or the grounds of plantations examined, and objections anſwered, London, 1620, 4to. A diſcourſe on the trade to the Eaſt-Indies, by Thomas Mun. The maintenance of free trade, by George Malynes, merchant, London, 1622, 8vo. The center of the circle of commerce, by the ſame hand, London, 1623, 4to.

[x] Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 277.

"This year, 1610, the king built a moſt goodly ſhip for "war, the keel whereof was 114 feet long, and the croſs "beam was forty-four feet in length; ſhe will carry ſixty-"four pieces of great ordnance, and is of the burden of "1400 tons. This royal ſhip is double built, and is moſt ſump-"tuouſly adorned, within and without, with all manner of cu-"rious carving, painting, and rich gilding, being in all reſpects "the greateſt and goodlieſt ſhip that ever was built in England; "and this glorious ſhip the king gave unto his ſon Henry prince "of Wales. The 24th of September the king, the queen, the "prince of Wales, the duke of York, and the Lady Eliſabeth, "with many great lords, went unto Woolwich to ſee it launch-"ed; but, becauſe of the narrowneſs of the dock, it could not "then be launched; whereupon the prince came the next "morning by three o'clock, and then, at the launching there-"of, the prince named it after his own dignity, and called it "the Prince. The great workmaſter in building this ſhip "was Mr. Phineas Pet, gentleman, ſome time maſter of arts "of Emmanuel college in Cambridge [y]."

In the ſame author we have an account of the king's going on board the great Eaſt-India ſhip of 1200 tons, which was built here, and ſeems to have been the firſt of that ſize launched in this kingdom. The king called it The Trade's Increaſe, and a pinnace of 250 tons, which was built at the ſame time, he called The Pepper-corn [z]. This ſhews that he was a favourer of navigation; and, though I cannot pretend to ſay exactly what additions he made to the Engliſh fleet, yet, from ſome authentic calculations I have ſeen, I think I may venture to affirm, that Queen Eliſabeth's ſhips of war, at the time of her death, might contain ſomewhat more than 16,000 tons, and that, in the days of King James, they amounted to upwards of 20,000 tons [a]. The king alſo granted a commiſſion of inquiry for reforming the abuſes in the navy, the proceedings upon which are ſtill preſerved in the Cotton library [b]. He was liberal likewiſe to ſeamen, and naturally inclined to do them honour; but as in other things, ſo in this he was too much governed by his favourites [c]. Buckin-

[y] Stowe's annals continued by Howes, p. 996. Mr. Camden's annals of the reign of King James under the year 1610.

[z] Ibid. p. 994.

[a] From ſome notes on Hakluyt, MS.

[b] Vitellius, E. 8.

[c] Wilſon, Baker, Kennet, Echard, and Rapin.

gham

gham managed the admiralty very indifferently, and, before his time, Gondamor had perſuaded King James, againſt reaſon, law, the inclinations of his people, nay, againſt his own ſenſe of things, to take off the head of the greateſt man who flouriſhed in his reign, and of whom I am now particularly to ſpeak.

MEMOIRS of SIR WALTER RALEIGH, Knt.

AS the fame of this gentleman's actions was ſufficient to have eſtabliſhed and given luſtre to any family, ſo his deſcent was honourable enough to exempt him from envy, even in the high poſts which he by his merit obtained. There were ſeveral families of the name of Raleigh in the weſt, and three particularly, which were ſeated in ſeveral parts of the country, and bore different arms. That from which this gentleman ſprung, may be, and indeed is, traced to the reign of King John, as the Raleighs in general are beyond the conqueſt[d]. His father was Walter Raleigh, Eſq; of Fardel in the county of Devon. This gentleman had three wives, and children by them all. The laſt was Catharine the daughter of Sir Philip Champernon of Modbury, and relict of Otho Gilbert of Compton in Devonſhire, Eſq. By this lady Mr. Raleigh had two ſons, Carew, who was afterwards knighted, and Walter, of whom we are treating, as alſo a daughter, Margaret, who was twice married. Thus it appears, that this gentleman was brother by the mother's ſide to thoſe famous knights, Sir John, Sir Humphry, and Sir Adrian Gilbert[e].

He was born in the year 1552, at a pleaſant farm called Hayes, ſeated in that part of Devonſhire which borders on the ſea; and, after laying the foundations of literature in his own country, was ſent to Oxford while a very young man, ſince, according to the beſt authority, he was there in 1568, and ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a proficiency in learning far beyond his age[f]. When he came to, and how long he ſtaid in Oriel col-

[d] See theſe points judiciouſly cleared by Mr. Oldys in his life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 4, 5, 6.

[e] Viſitation of Devonſhire by William Hervey, Eſq; clarencieux, MS. in the herald's office.

[f] Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. i. col. 435.

lege

lege is not very clear; neither is it well made out, though often and very confidently aſſerted, that he was afterwards of the Middle Temple. This we may conſider as ſure, that about 1569, he, in company with many young gentlemen of good families and martial diſpoſitions, went over into France, as well to inſtruct themſelves in the art of war as to aſſiſt the Proteſtants in that kingdom, then grievouſly oppreſſed [g]. He ſerved there ſome conſiderable time, and acquired both ſkill and reputation. The former is evident from many judicious obſervations on thoſe wars which we meet with ſcattered through his works, and the latter is atteſted by contemporary and credible authors. It appears from a compariſon of facts and dates, that he was ſomewhat more than five years thus employed, and having ſtill an earneſt deſire to improve his military ſkill, and an eager thirſt for glory, he paſſed next into the Netherlands, where he ſerved likewiſe ſome time againſt the Spaniards [h]. In theſe tranſactions he followed, as it was natural for a young man to do, the faſhion of the times. France and the Netherlands were in thoſe days the ſchools of Mars, to which all were obliged to reſort who addicted themſelves to the ſword, and were willing to find a way to reputation, by expoſing their perſons in the ſervice of their country. But whereas numbers were ruined by this courſe, ſuffering their minds to be corrupted by the licence of camps, and their behaviour to be infected with that fierce and boiſterous humour, which ſome take for a ſoldier-like freedom, Raleigh, on the contrary, made the true uſe of his ſervice in a foreign country, increaſed his ſtock of knowledge in all kinds, improved his ſkill as a ſoldier by experience, and ſo completely poliſhed his manner of addreſs, that at his return he was conſidered as one of the beſt-bred and moſt accompliſhed gentlemen in England, at a period when this was no ſingular character.

On Mr. Raleigh's coming back to his native ſoil, in 1578, he found his brother Sir Humphry Gilbert engaged in a deſign of making diſcoveries in North America, for which he had obtained a patent, and for the furtherance of which he had procured

[g] Camden's annals, A. D. 1569. Jac. Auguſt. Thuani hiſtoriarum ſui temporis, tome ii. fol. 1626. lib. 46. p. 601.

[h] Naunton's fragmenta regalia, p. 28.

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the aſſiſtance of many friends. Raleigh was much taken with the deſign, and embarked in it cordially. When it came to be executed, many who had been warmly concerned drew back. Mr. Raleigh, however, not only continued firm to his engagements, but reſolved to accompany his brother in perſon [i]. This after all proved an unfortunate undertaking, and would have frighted a man of leſs reſolution than Raleigh from venturing to ſea again; for they not only miſſed the great diſcoveries they thought to have made, but were attacked by the Spaniards in their return, and, though they made a very gallant defence, had no reaſon to boaſt of ſucceſs, loſing one of the beſt ſhips in their ſmall fleet, and in it a very gallant young gentleman, whoſe name was Miles Morgan [k]. From this unlucky adventure Mr. Raleigh arrived ſafe in England in the ſpring of the year 1579, and had ſoon after thoughts of ſerving his queen and country in Ireland, where his holineſs Pope Gregory VIII. and the Spaniards had ſent men, money, and bleſſings, to comfort and aſſiſt ſuch as, in breach of their oaths, would take arms againſt their lawful ſovereign, and cut the throats of the innocent Engliſh [l].

It is not very clear at what time our hero croſſed the ſeas; but it appears from indubitable authority, that in 1580 he had a captain's commiſſion under the preſident of Munſter, which was then a more honourable commiſſion than now, becauſe there were fewer ſoldiers; and conſequently more care was taken in diſtributing commiſſions [m]. The next year Captain Raleigh ſerved under the noble earl of Ormonde, then governor of Ulſter, a perſon conſpicuous by his illuſtrious birth, and near relation to Queen Eliſabeth, but ſtill more ſo by his virtues and ſteady adherence to his duty, in ſpite of greater temptations than any other man met with, and by whoſe directions Raleigh performed many ſignal ſervices. The Spaniſh ſuccours, under the command of an officer of their own, aſſiſted by a choice body of their Iriſh confederates, had raiſed and fortified a caſtle,

[i] Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 173. Holingſhed, vol. ii. p. 1369. Hooker's dedication of his tranſlation and continuation of the Iriſh chronicles.

[k] See Captain Hayes's relation in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 164.

[l] Hooker's ſupplement to the Iriſh chronicles, p. 154.

[m] Cox's hiſtory of Ireland, p. 366.

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which they called Del Ore, and which they intended ſhould ſerve them for a place of retreat whenever they found themſelves diſtreſſed, and prove alſo a key to admit freſh ſuccours from abroad, which they daily expected, and for which it was mighty well ſituated, as ſtanding upon the bay of Smerwick, or St. Mary Wick, in the county of Kerry. The then deputy of Ireland, Lord Grey, was a perſon of great courage and indefatigable induſtry, but withal of a very ſevere temper, and particularly prejudiced againſt the Iriſh, and who reſolved at all hazards to diſpoſſeſs them of this fort; which he accordingly beſieged with his ſmall army for ſome time. In this dangerous enterprize Captain Raleigh had his ſhare, commanding often in the trenches, and contributing greatly to the reduction of the place, which was at laſt forced to ſurrender at diſcretion, and the lord-deputy directed the greateſt part of the garriſon to be put to the ſword. This was accordingly executed, though with great regret, by the Captains Raleigh and Mackworth [n]. Many other ſervices he performed in Ireland, of a nature not neceſſary for me to relate, and theſe very juſtly recommended him to the notice of the government, who in 1581 honoured him with a joint commiſſion to be governor of Munſter. In this character he continued to do the ſtate many important ſervices, which were amply rewarded by the grant of a large eſtate in the county he had ſubdued [o].

Yet all his care and all his ſervices did not hinder his having many enemies, and amongſt them the Lord-deputy Grey; ſo that he ſeems to have been recalled in the latter end of the ſame year to England, where he was quickly introduced to the queen's notice, and by his own merits attained a large ſhare in her favour [p]; and as he was forward to diſtinguiſh himſelf in all public ſervices of reputation, ſo, on the return of the duke of Anjou into the Netherlands, he was one of thoſe who accompanied him out of England by the expreſs command of Queen Eliſabeth; and, on his coming to England in 1582, he

[n] Stowe, p. 688. Camden, p. 334—339. Hooker's ſupplement to the Iriſh chronicle, fol. 171. Spenſer's ſtate of Ireland in his works, vol. vi. p. 158. where, however, he vindicates the lord-deputy warmly, and ſpeaks as an eye and ear witneſs of all that paſſed. [o] Naunton's fragmenta regalia, p. 28, 29.

[p] Leiceſter's commonwealth, p. 37. Aulic. coquin. p. 90.

brought over the prince of Orange's letters to the queen[q]. Some months after this he reſided at court, and was honoured with the favour and protection even of contending ſtateſmen, who were proud of ſhewing the true judgment they made of merit, by becoming patrons to Raleigh[r]. In 1583, he was concerned in his brother Gilbert's ſecond attempt, and though he went not in perſon, yet he built a new ſhip, called the Bark Raleigh, and furniſhed it completely for the voyage; the unſucceſsful end of which it ſeemed to predict, by its untimely return in leſs than a week to Plymouth, through a contageous diſtemper which ſeized on the ſhip's crew[s]. Yet did not either this accident, or the unfortunate loſs of his brother Sir Humphry, which has been heretofore related, drive from Raleigh's thoughts a ſcheme ſo beneficial to his country, as theſe northern diſcoveries ſeemed to be. He therefore digeſted into writing an account of the advantages which he ſuppoſed might attend the proſecution of ſuch a deſign; and having laid his paper before the council, obtained her majeſty's letters-patent in favour of his project, dated the twenty-fifth of March, 1584[t]. By this ſeaſonable interpoſition, he kept alive that generous ſpirit of ſearching out and planting diſtant countries, which has been ever ſince of ſuch infinite ſervice to the trade and navigation of England.

It was not long before Mr. Raleigh carried his patent into execution; for having made choice of two worthy commanders, Captain Philip Amadas and Captain Arthur Barlow, he fitted out their veſſels with ſuch expedition, though entirely at his own expence, that, on the twenty-ſeventh of April following, they ſet ſail from the weſt of England for the coaſt of North America, where they ſafely arrived in the beginning of the month of July, and took poſſeſſion of that fine country, which has been ſince ſo famous by the name beſtowed on it by Queen Eliſabeth, and not given (as is generally furniſhed) by Sir Walter Raleigh, of Virginia[u].

[q] Sir Walter Raleigh's invention of ſhipping in his ſelect eſſays, p. 35.
[r] Shirley's life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 19. Lloyd's ſtate worthies, p. 427.
[s] Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 149. [t] Hiſtorical account of the voyages of Sir W. Raleigh, London, 1719, 8vo, p. 8. Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 243.
[u] Life of Sir W. Raleigh by Oldys, p. 25.

About this time he was choſen knight of the ſhire for the county of Devon[w], and making a conſiderable figure in parliament, he, upon ſome occaſion entering the royal preſence in his capacity as a member of the Houſe of Commons, received the honour of knighthood; but at what time is not exactly known. In 1585, Sir Walter Raleigh fitted out a ſecond fleet for Virginia, in which he had very good ſucceſs, his ſhips in their return taking a Spaniſh prize worth fifty thouſand pounds[x]. He was likewiſe concerned in Captain Davis's undertaking, for the diſcovery of the north-weſt paſſage; for which reaſon a promontory in Davis's Streights was called Mount Raleigh[y]. In reſpect to theſe public-ſpirited and very expenſive projects, the queen was pleaſed to make him ſome profitable grants; particularly two, the firſt of wine-licences[z], and the other of a ſeigniory in Ireland, conſiſting of twelve thouſand acres, which he planted at his own expence, and many years after ſold to Richard Boyle, the firſt earl of Corke[a]. Encouraged by theſe favours, he fitted out a third fleet for Virginia, and two barks, to cruize on the Spaniards near the Azores, which had ſuch ſucceſs, that they were obliged to leave many of their prizes behind them[b]. This good fortune of his abroad, was ſo improved by his own prudent behaviour at home, that the queen, in the latter part of the year 1586, made him ſeneſchal of the dutchies of Cornwall and Exeter, and lord-warden of the ſtannaries in Devonſhire and Cornwall, which preferments, though no more than his merit deſerved, yet expoſed him to the malice of ſuch as, having no deſerts of their own, deſpaired of attaining, by their intrigues, the like advantages[c].

In the year 1587, Sir Walter Raleigh fitted out a fourth fleet for Virginia, at his own expence, and in 1588 a fifth; but neither had any great ſucceſs, notwithſtanding all imaginable care was taken to provide them thoroughly in all reſpects, and to employ none in this ſervice but men of reſolution and repu-

[w] Willis's notitia parliamentaria, vol. ii. p. 254. [x] Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 251.
[y] Ibid. p. 101. [z] Oldys's life of Sir W. Raleigh, p. 26.
[a] Cox's hiſtory of Ireland, p. 389—391.
[b] Hakluyt, vol. ii. part ii. p. 120.
[c] See Hooker's dedication of his ſupplement to the Iriſh chronicles to Sir W. Raleigh.

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tation[d]. Theſe diſappointments, however, ſerved only to ſhew the conſtancy of our hero's temper, and the firmneſs with which he purſued whatever appeared to him conducive to the public good, how little ſoever it turned to his private advantage. With juſtice, therefore, was the wiſe Queen Eliſabeth liberal to ſuch a man, who, whatever he received from her bounty with one hand, beſtowed it immediately in acts glorious to the nation with the other. The fertile field thus refunds the ſuns golden beams in a beautiful and copious harveſt of golden ears.

When the nation was alarmed with the news of the king of Spain's famous armada, Sir Walter Raleigh was one of the council appointed to conſider of ways and means for repulſing thoſe invaders; and his application of his thoughts to this important queſtion, at that time, produced ſuch a ſcheme for defence, as may be of the greateſt uſe to this iſland, while it remains ſuch[e]. He did not, however, confine himſelf to this province of giving advice; but as he had often fitted out ſhips for his country's honour and his own, ſo he now did the like for its defence; and, not ſatisfied even with that, he expoſed alſo his perſon among the many noble volunteers who went to ſea upon that occaſion, and performed ſuch ſignal ſervices in the attack and deſtruction of that formidable fleet, as recommended him further to the queen's favour, who granted him ſome additional advantages in his wine-office, which he enjoyed throughout her whole reign, and was the principal ſource of that wealth which he employed ſo much to his honour in all public ſervices[f].

About this time he made an aſſignment of all his right, title, and intereſt in the colony of Virginia, to certain gentlemen and merchants of London, in hopes they might be able to carry on a ſettlement there more ſucceſsfully than he had done. He had already ſpent upwards of 40,000 pounds in his ſeveral attempts for that purpoſe; and yet it does not appear that he parted with his property, either out of a proſpect of gain,

[d] Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 108.
[e] See an extract of this piece in Oldys's life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 39.
[f] Townſhend's hiſtorical collections, p. 244.

or through an unwillingneſs to run any further hazard; for, inſtead of taking a conſideration, he gave them, at the time of making the aſſignment, an hundred pounds towards their firſt expences, neither did he make any reſerve, except the fifths of all gold and ſilver mines. All his view was to engage ſuch a number of joint adventurers, as by their concurring intereſts and induſtry might ſtrengthen his infant colony, and enable it to reach the end which he had deſigned. With the ſame view he continued to aſſiſt the company with his advice and protection, whenever they deſired it; and the difficulties they ſtruggled with, for twenty years after, ſufficiently ſhewed, that it was not through any fault of the original proprietor Virginia did not ſooner flouriſh, and that his wiſdom and prudence were no leſs to be admired in this diſpoſal of his concern therein, than his courage and conduct deſerved applauſe in firſt fixing upon ſo advantageous a ſpot, which has ſince proved itſelf worthy of all the care and expence employed in the ſupport of it[g].

When a propoſition was made by Don Antonio, king of Portugal, to Queen Eliſabeth, to aſſiſt him in the recovery of his dominions, the terms he offered appeared ſo reaſonable, that her majeſty was content to bear a conſiderable ſhare in that undertaking, and to encourage her public-ſpirited ſubjects to furniſh the reſt[h]. Her majeſty's quota conſiſted of ſix men of war, and threeſcore thouſand pounds; to which the adventurers added a hundred and twenty ſail of ſhips, and between fourteen and fifteen thouſand men, ſoldiers and ſailors. In the fitting out this fleet Sir Walter Raleigh was deeply concerned, and took a ſhare himſelf in the expedition, of which a large account has been given already[i], and therefore there is no need of repeating it here, eſpecially ſince we meet with no particulars, which perſonally reſpect Sir Walter, worth mentioning, except it be taking ſome hulks belonging to the Hanſe-towns, for which he, together with ſome other commanders,

[g] Hakluyt's voyages, firſt edit. p. 815.

[h] See Don Antonio's letter to the treaſurer in Strype's annals, vol. iii. p. 536.

[i] See the naval hiſtory of Queen Eliſabeth, p. 369.

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received, as a ſpecial mark of the queen's favour, a gold chain [k]. The next year he made a voyage to Ireland, and towards the latter end of it, formed a grand deſign of attacking the Spaniards in the Weſt Indies, taking the plate-fleet, and ſacking Panama [l].

This enterpriſe, like that of Portugal, was partly at the queen's charge, and partly at that of private perſons, among whom the principal were Sir Walter Raleigh, and Sir John Hawkins; the former intending to go in perſon as commander in chief of the fleet, which conſiſted of two of the queen's ſhips, and thirteen ſail beſides [m]. Many accidents happened, which detained theſe ſhips on the Engliſh coaſt for twelve weeks; but at laſt Sir Walter Raleigh ſailed on the 6th of May, 1592. The very next day Sir Martin Frobiſher followed, and overtook him with the queen's letter to recal him; but he, thinking his honour too deeply engaged, continued at ſea, till all hopes of ſucceſs, according to their intended ſcheme, was loſt; and then returned, leaving the command of the fleet to Sir Martin Frobiſher, and Sir John Burgh, (or Burrough), with orders to cruize on the coaſt of Spain, and the iſlands. In purſuance of theſe orders, Sir John Burgh happily made himſelf maſter of the Madre de Dios, or Mother of God, one of the greateſt ſhips belonging to the crown of Portugal, which he brought ſafely into Dartmouth, on the 7th of September, in the ſame year [n]. This is ſaid to have been the moſt conſiderable prize, till then, taken in this war, and therefore it may not be amiſs to give a particular account of it.

This carrack was in burden no leſs than ſixteen hundred tons, whereof nine hundred were merchandize; ſhe carried thirty-two pieces of braſs ordnance, and between ſix and ſeven hundred paſſengers; was built with decks, ſeven ſtory, one main orlope, three cloſe decks, one fore-caſtle, and a ſpare deck, of two floors a-piece. According to the obſervations of Mr. Robert Adams, an excellent geometrician, ſhe was in length, from

[k] Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, by Oldys, p. 50. [l] Hakluyt, vol. ii. part ii. p. 194. [m] Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 280.

[n] See a true report of the honourable ſervice by Sir John Burrough, lieutenant-general of the fleet, prepared by Sir Walter Raleigh, in Hakluyt, as before cited.

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the beak-head to the ſtern, 165 feet; in breadth, near 47 feet; the length of her keel, 100 feet; of the main-maſt, 121 feet; its circuit at the partners, near eleven feet; and her main-yard, 106 feet [o]. As to her lading, according to the catalogue taken at Leaden-hall, the 15th of September this year, the principal wares conſiſted of ſpices, drugs, ſilks, callicoes, carpets, quilts, cloth of the rind of trees, ivory, porcelane, or china-ware, ebony; beſides pearl, muſk, civet, and ambergris, with many other commodities of inferior value. The caragiſon freighted ten of our ſhips for London, and was, by moderate computation, valued at a hundred and fifty thouſand pounds ſterling [p]. When this veſſel was firſt taken, both Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir John Hawkins judged it to be worth four times that ſum [q]; and ſo in all probability ſhe was: but in ſpite of all the care Sir John Burgh could take, the ſeamen embezzled a vaſt quantity of valuable effects; neither were the proprietors in a much better ſituation, when ſhe was brought home. Sir William Monſon tells us the reaſon, and I chuſe to give it in his own words. "The queen's adventure," ſays he, "in this voyage, "was only two ſhips, one of which, and the leaſt of them "too, was at the taking the carrack; which title joined to "her royal authority, ſhe made ſuch uſe of, that the reſt "of the adventurers were forced to ſubmit themſelves to "her pleaſure, with whom ſhe dealt but indifferently [r]." Thus it appears, from unexceptionable authority, that the queen, and not Sir Walter, was moſt benefited by this capture; and there is reaſon to believe the like happened upon other occaſions, though Sir Walter was generally left to bear the blame.

While Sir Walter remained at home, his great genius diſplayed itſelf in all the employments worthy of a citizen, in a free ſtate. He ſhone in the ſenate as a patriot, and the remains we have of his ſpeeches, leave us in doubt which we ought moſt to admire, the beauty of his eloquence or the ſtrength of his underſtanding [s]. He was, beſides, the patron and protec-

o Ibid. p Affirmed in the cloſe of the ſaid account.

q This original is ſtill preſerved in the Harleian collection, Oldys's life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 65. r Naval tracts, p. 181. s Sir Simonds d'Ewes journal of Queen Eliſabeth's parliaments, p. 478, 484, 488, 490, &c. Hayward Townſhend's hiſtorical collections, fol. 65.

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tor of learned men, the great encourager of all public undertakings, and one of the queen's declared favourites at court[t]. It was here that Sir Walter Raleigh found himſelf at a loſs. In ſpite of all his wiſdom and prudence he became enamoured of Mrs. Throckmorton, one of the queen's ladies of honour, and the conſequences of this amour proved ſuch as could not be concealed. The queen, though ſhe had paſſed by errors of a like nature in Leiceſter and Eſſex, yet puniſhed this miſtake of Raleigh very ſeverely; but whether led thereto by the inſinuations of his enemies, or from a notion, that the greater a man's abilities the leſs his offences deſerved pardon, I pretend not to determine[w]. However, the queen's frowns wrought, in this reſpect, a proper reformation. Sir Walter meditated in his retirement a greater deſign[x] than hitherto he had undertaken while in the queen's favour, and that was the diſcovery of the rich and ſpacious empire of Guiana, a noble country in South America, which the Spaniards had then only viſited, and to this day have never conquered.

From the time he firſt entertained this notion, he made it his buſineſs to collect whatever informations might be had relating to this place, and the means of entering it. When he thought himſelf as much maſter of the ſubject as books could make him, he drew up inſtructions for Captain Whiddon, an old experienced officer, whom he ſent to take a view of the coaſt, and who returned with a fair report of the riches of the country, the poſſibility of diſcovering and ſubduing it, and the treachery and cruelty of the Spaniards ſettled in its neighbourhood. This fixed Sir Walter in his reſolution; and therefore, having provided a ſquadron of ſhips at his own expence, and thoſe of his noble friends the Lord high-admiral Howard and Sir Robert Cecil, he prepared for this adventure[y], which he alſo accompliſhed.

On the 6th of February, 1595, he ſailed from Plymouth, and arrived at the iſle of Trinidado on the 22d of March. He there made himſelf eaſily maſter of St. Joſeph's, a ſmall city, and took

[t] Naunton's fragmenta regalia. Lloyd's ſtate-worthies.

[w] Camden, p. 697. Dr. Birch's memoirs of Queen Eliſabeth, vol. i. p. 79. Naunton's fragmenta regalia. Lloyd's ſtate worthies.

[x] See the dedication prefixed to his own diſcourſe hereafter mentioned.

[y] Life of Sir Walter Raleigh by Oldys, p. 77.

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the Spaniſh governor Antonio Boreo priſoner, who gave him a full and exact deſcription of the neighbouring continent, and the trade in thoſe parts, unknown before to the Engliſh. On this information he left the ſhip at Trinidado, and with a hundred men, in ſeveral little barks, proceeded up the river Oronoque 400 miles in ſearch of Guiana. Carrapana, one of the petty kings of the country, and ſeveral others of them, reſigning their ſovereignties into his hand for the queen's uſe. But the weather was ſo hot, and the rains ſo violent, that he was forced to retire in as much danger of being borne down by the rapid torrents of water, as cruſhed by the rage and power of his enemies. The inhabitants of Cumana refuſing to bring in the contribution he aſſigned them to pay to ſave the town, he fired it, as alſo St. Mary's and Rio de la Hacha; which done, he returned home with glory and riches. Of the whole of his proceedings, the manner of his entering this hidden country, and making a farther progreſs there in a month, than the Spaniards had done in half a century; of the nature of the ſoil, and the certainty of finding many and rich mines of gold, Sir Walter has left us ſo fair, ſo copious, and ſo well-written a relation [z], that, if his ſubſequent unfortunate voyage had not thrown a ſhade over ſo bright a proſpect, we could ſcarce render a reaſon why Guiana ſhould not at this time have been as thoroughly known, and as completely ſettled by the Engliſh as Virginia.

Whatever might be pretended by the deep and cunning ſtateſmen of that age, as that many things fabulous, and more uncertain, were related in Sir Walter's account, and that it was hazarding too much to ſend a large fleet, well-manned, into ſo ſickly a climate; whatever, I ſay, of this kind was pretended, (as wiſe men will never want pretences, even when their paſſions incline them to do weak things), yet envy was certainly the true cauſe why his propoſals were poſtponed at firſt, and afterwards, notwithſtanding all his preſſing ſolicitations, abſolutely rejected [a]. Sir Walter, however, to ſhew his own entire confidence in this

[z] Under the title of "The diſcovery of the large, rich, and beautiful empire "of Guiana, with a relation of the great and golden city Manoa, called by the "Spaniards El Dorado, and performed in the year 1595, by Sir Walter Raleigh "imprinted at London by Robert Robinſon, 4to, 1596."

[a] See Captain Kemeys's dedication to Sir Walter Raleigh.

ſcheme, and perhaps with a view to make things ſo plain, that even his detractors ſhould have nothing to object, fitted out two ſhips at his own expence, the Delight and the Diſcoverer, and ſent them under Captain Kemeys, who had ſerved in the former enterprize to Guiana, as well to make farther inquiries, as in ſome meaſure to keep his word with the Indians, to whom he had promiſed, in the name of the queen his miſtreſs, ſuch aſſiſtance as might enable them to drive away the Spaniards, who were continually attempting rather to extirpate than ſubdue them. This voyage Kemeys ſucceſsfully performed, and at his return publiſhed ſuch an account of his expedition[b] as might have converted, to Sir Walter Raleigh's opinion of Guiana, all whom invincible ignorance or over-weening prejudice, had not deſtined to remain infidels.

The next important expedition in which we find Sir Walter engaged, was that famous one to Cadiz, wherein the earl of Eſſex and the Lord High-admiral Howard were joint commanders, and Sir Walter Raleigh, with many other perſons of great military ſkill and prudence, appointed of their council[c]. We have already given a general account of the nature and deſign of this expedition, and here therefore we ſhall dwell only on ſuch particulars as more immediately relate to the gentleman of whom we are ſpeaking. The fleet ſailed in the beginning of June 1596, and on the 20th of the ſame month they arrived before Cadiz. The lord-admiral's opinion was to attack and take the town firſt, that the Engliſh fleet might not be expoſed to the fire of the ſhips in the port, and that of the city and forts adjacent, at the ſame time. The council of war, which he called upon this occaſion, concurred with him in opinion, and ſo a reſolution was taken inſtantly to attack the town[d].

It ſo happened, that Sir Walter Raleigh was not at this council, and the earl of Eſſex was actually putting his men into boats, before Raleigh was acquainted with the deſign. As ſoon as he knew it, he went to the earl, and proteſted againſt it, offering ſuch weighty reaſons for their falling firſt on the galleons, and

[b] A relation of the ſecond voyage to Guiana, performed and written in 1596, by Lawrence Kemeys, gent. Hakluyt's voyages, vol. iii. p. 603. [c] Camden's annals, p. 720. [d] Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 184. Triumphs of Naſſau, fol. 187. Purchas's pilgrims, vol. iv. p. 929.

the ſhips in the harbour, that the earl was convinced of the neceſſity of doing it, and deſired Sir Walter to diſſuade the lord-admiral from landing. Sir Walter undertook it, and prevailed with him to conſent, that the fleet ſhould firſt enter the port, and fall on the Spaniſh galleons and gallies. When he returned to the earl of Eſſex with the news, crying out aloud in his long-boat, *Entramos*, the earl flung his hat into the ſea for joy, and prepared to weigh anchor. Sir Walter gave the lord-admiral a draught of the manner in which he thought beſt to begin the fight. Two great fly-boats were to board a galleon, after they had been ſufficiently battered by the queen's ſhips of war; which being agreed on, and both the generals perſuaded to lead the main body of the fleet, Raleigh in the Warſpight had the command of the van, which was to enter the harbour, and conſiſted of the Mary Roſe commanded by Sir George Carew, the Lion by Sir Robert Southwell, the Rainbow by Sir Francis Vere, the Swiftſure by Capt. Croſs, the Dreadnought by Sir Conyers Clifford, and the Nonpareil by Mr. Dudley. Theſe were followed by the fly-boats and London hired ſhips, the Lord Thomas Howard leaving his own ſhip, the Mere Honeur, to go on board the Nonpareil. Yet the action did not commence that evening, becauſe, being a matter of great importance, the council had not time to regulate the manner of it exactly [c].

On the 22d of June, Sir Walter weighed anchor at break of day, and bore in towards the Spaniſh fleet, which had thus diſpoſed itſelf to reſiſt the attack. Seventeen gallies were ranged under the walls of the city, that they might the better flank the Engliſh ſhips as they entered, and hinder them from paſſing forward to the galleons. The artillery from Fort-Philip played on the fleet, as did the cannon from the curtain of the town, and ſome culverins ſcoured the channel. When the Spaniſh admiral, the St. Philip, perceived the Engliſh approaching under ſail, ſhe alſo ſet ſail, and with her the St. Matthew, the St. Thomas, the St. Andrew, the two great galeaſſes of Liſbon, three frigates, convoy to their plate-fleet from the Havannah, two ar-

[c] Sir Walter Raleigh's relation of the action at Cadiz, publiſhed by his grandſon Philip Raleigh, Eſq; at the end of an abridgment of Sir Walter Raleigh's hiſtory of the world, 1700, 8vo. Triumphs of Naſſau, and Purchas's pilgrims, before cited.

goſies,

goſies, very ſtrong in artillery, the admiral, vice-admiral, and rear-admiral of Nueva Eſpanna, with forty other great ſhips bound for Mexico and other places. Of theſe the St. Philip, the St. Matthew, the St. Andrew, and the St. Thomas, four capital ſhips, came again to anchor under the fort of Puntal, in the ſtreight of the harbour which leads to Puerto-Real. On the ſtar-board ſide they placed the three frigates, behind them the two galeaſſes of Liſbon. The argoſies, and the ſeventeen gallies, they poſted to play on the Engliſh as they entered the harbour; and behind theſe the admiral, vice-admiral, and rear-admiral of New-Spain, with the body of the fleet, hoping by this great ſtrength to defend the entrance; their line reaching like a bridge over the ſtreight, from point to point, and was guarded by the fort of Puntal. Sir Walter, in the van of the Engliſh, was ſaluted by Fort-Philip, by the cannon on the curtain, and by all the gallies in good order. Raleigh ſcorned their fire, and anſwered with a flouriſh of trumpets, without diſcharging a gun. The ſhips that followed him beat ſo thick on the gallies, that they preſently betook them to their oars, and got up to join the galleons in the ſtreights. Sir Walter gave them ſeveral broadſides as they drove by him, and bore down on the St. Philip and St. Andrew, as more worthy of his fire. The Lord Thomas Howard came to an anchor by him; Sir Robert Southwell in the Lion did the ſame on the one ſide, and the Dreadnought and the Mary Roſe on the other; the Rainbow lay on Puntal ſide; and thus they cannonaded each other for three hours. About ten o'clock the earl of Eſſex, impatient to hear the noiſe of the guns and to be himſelf out of action, made through the fleet, headed the ſhips on the larboard ſide of the Warſpight, and anchored as near Sir Walter as poſſible. Raleigh kept always cloſeſt to the enemy, and ſtood ſingle in the head of all. After they had played ſo long on the capital ſhips, Sir Walter went in his ſkiff to the admiral, deſiring that the fly-boats which were promiſed him might come up, and then he would board the enemy; if not, he would board them with the queen's ſhip, it being the ſame to him whether he ſunk or burnt, and one of them would certainly be his fate.

The Earl of Eſſex and the Lord Thomas Howard had aſſured him they would ſecond him[f].

After a long and deſperate fight, Sir Walter deſpairing of the fly-boats, and depending on Lord Eſſex and Lord Thomas Howard's promiſes to aſſiſt him, prepared to board the Spaniſh admiral; which the latter no ſooner perceived, than ſhe, and the other capital ſhips following her example, ran aſhore. The admiral and the St. Thomas they burnt; the St. Matthew and the St. Andrew were ſaved by the Engliſh boats before they took fire. The Engliſh were merciful after their victory; but the Dutch, who did little or nothing in the fight, put all to the ſword, till they were checked by the lord-admiral, and their cruelty reſtrained by Sir Walter Raleigh. The moſt remarkable circumſtance in this whole affair ſeems to be the diſproportion between the Engliſh and Spaniſh force, there being but ſeven ſhips of the former againſt ſeventy-one of the latter. This great blow rendered the taking of the city, which followed it, the more eaſy, which, however, was performed rather by dint of valour than conduct, and with ſuch an impetuoſity, as did leſs honour to the officers than to the ſoldiers. Sir Walter Raleigh, to whom undoubtedly the chief honour of the naval victory was due, went aſhore, though he was wounded, to have ſome ſhare of this; but when he ſaw that all things were in confuſion, he very wiſely returned on board the fleet[g].

The next morning Sir Walter ſent to the lord-admiral for orders to follow the Spaniſh Weſt-India fleet outward bound, lying then in Puerto-Real, where they could not eſcape him; but in the hurry and confuſion every one was in on the taking of the town this opportunity was ſlipt, and no anſwer returned to his demand. In the afternoon the merchants of Seville and Cadiz offered two millions to ſave thoſe ſhips; and while the bargain hung, the duke of Medina Sidonia cauſed all that rich fleet to be burnt; and thus were all the galleons, gallies, frigates, argoſies, and the fleets of New-Spain, royal and trading, conſumed, except the St. Matthew and the St. Andrew, which were

[f] See the foregoing relations, and the voyage to Cadiz, in Hakluyt's collection.

[g] Camden, Triumphs of Naſſau, Hakluyt's account of the Cadiz voyage, Vere's commentaries, p. 39. and Sir Walter's own account before mentioned.

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in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh. The town was very rich in merchandiſe and plate. Many wealthy priſoners were given to the land-commanders, who were enriched by their ranſom; ſome had ten, ſome ſixteen, ſome twenty thouſand ducats for their priſoners; others had houſes and goods given them, and ſold them to the owners for vaſt ſums of money. Sir Walter got, to uſe his own words, "a lame leg and deformed; for "the reſt, he either ſpoke too late, or it was otherwiſe re"ſolved; he wanted not good words, yet had poſſeſſion of "nought but poverty and pain[h]."

In their return home they took Faro in the kingdom of Algarve; and Eſſex propoſed ſome other enterprizes, in which he was oppoſed, and the point carried againſt him by the concurring opinions of the chief land and ſea-officers. Yet, on his return, Eſſex publiſhed ſome remarks, or, as he calls them, objections in relation to this voyage, wherein (as Mr. Oldys well obſerves, and therein juſtly cenſures Sir Henry Wotton) the earl queſtions every body's conduct but his own. The queen, however, taking time to inform herſelf, made a right judgment of the whole affair; in conſequence of which, ſhe paid a due reſpect to every man's merit, and greater to none than to that of Sir Walter Raleigh[i].

Immediately after his return, our hero bethought himſelf of his favourite project, the ſettling Guiana. In order to further diſcoveries which might effectually lead thereto, he ſent a ſtout pinnace, well freighted with every thing neceſſary, under the command of Captain Leonard Berrie, which ſafely arrived there in the month of March 1597; and having entered into a friendly commerce with the inhabitants of the coaſt, and learned from them very particular accounts of the preſent ſtate and riches of the higher country, they returned again to the port of Plymouth the 28th of June following. This expedition ſeems to be an indubitable proof of two things: firſt, that Sir Walter himſelf was in earneſt in this diſcovery, otherwiſe there can be no cauſe aſſigned, why, having ſo many matters of importance upon his hands, he ſhould yet buſy himſelf in an undertaking of this kind.

[h] Camden, Vere's commentaries, p. 42. and Sir Walter's relation.
[i] Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 106.

Secondly,

Secondly, that Sir Walter's hopes were as well founded as it was poſſible for a man's to be, in a thing of this nature, ſince the account given us of this voyage is ſuch an one as is liable to no juſt objections [k].

The next public ſervice wherein we meet with Sir Walter Raleigh, is that called The Iſland-Voyage, of which we have alſo given a copious account formerly. In this undertaking, of which we have as full and clear memorials as of any in the glorious reign of Queen Eliſabeth, it very plainly appears, that Eſſex had the command, and Raleigh the abilities; which was the true reaſon why the former acquired ſo little honour, and the latter ſo much; though with a leſs jealous commander he had certainly attained more. Their diſputes began early. A misfortune fell out in Raleigh's ſhip, in the bay of Biſcay, which obliged him to lie behind the fleet; and afterwards, when this accident was repaired, and he came to the rock of Liſbon, he met with a large number of ſhips and tenders, which were by him conducted to the Azores. This ſignal ſervice the creatures of Eſſex, by a ſort of logic in which they were well practiſed, conſtrued into a high offence; for they pretended, that theſe veſſels had quitted the general, to wait on the rear-admiral; but Sir Walter having convinced the earl, that theſe ſhips came to the rock of Liſbon as the rendezvous appointed by himſelf, and that he finding them there, had brought them, as became him, to attend upon his lordſhip, Eſſex had ſenſe enough to be pacified for that time [l]: but ſoon after, things went wrong again. It was agreed in a council of war, that the general and Sir Walter Raleigh ſhould land jointly on the iſland of Fayal, where Raleigh waited four days for his lordſhip, and hearing nothing of him, held a council of war, wherein it was reſolved, by ſuch as were leſs concerned for Eſſex's honour than the nation's glory, that Sir Walter ſhould attempt by himſelf, what it was ſettled they ſhould jointly have performed. This reſolution he executed, and ſhewed therein as much perſonal courage as any private ſoldier, and all the conduct that could be expected from a very wiſe and experienced commander; ſo that we need not

[k] See the relation of this voyage by Mr. Thomas Maſham, in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 692. [l] See the accurate relation of all that paſſed in this voyage, by Sir Arthur Gorges, in Purchas's pilgrims, vol. iv. p. 1938.

wonder

wonder he met with ſucceſs, and did all that he deſigned. Eſſex, on his arrival, forgot the public ſervice, and thought of nothing but his own private diſgrace, which vexed him ſo much, that he broke ſome of the officers who had behaved gallantly under Raleigh; and ſome talk there was of trying him, and taking off his head; but at laſt, by the mediation of Lord Thomas Howard, who was vice-admiral, and Sir Walter's condeſcending to excuſe his having done ſo much, before his lordſhip did any thing, matters were made up once again. The caſhiered officers were reſtored, Raleigh returned to his care of the public ſervice, and Eſſex proceeded in his miſtakes [m]. In conſequence of theſe, they miſſed the Weſt-India fleet, though Raleigh had the good luck to take ſome prizes, the produce of which paid his men, ſo that he loſt neither credit nor money by the voyage. On his return, though Eſſex is ſaid to have found means to throw the miſcarriage of all his pompous promiſes on inevitable accidents, with the mob, and ſome of his creatures imputed them to Sir Walter; yet theſe accuſations would not paſs with the queen, who ſhewed Raleigh more favour than ever; even though he took leſs pains to vindicate himſelf, and teſtified more reſpect for the great earl than perhaps any other man would have done [n].

The next year we find him again in parliament, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf, by uniting what of late have been thought oppoſite characters, the patriot and the ſervant of the crown, but which he ſhewed to be very conſiſtent. By his intereſt with the queen, he procured ſome griping projects to be diſcountenanced; by his weight in the houſe, he promoted ſupplies; he alſo obtained ſome indulgences for the tinners in Cornwall, and ſhewed himſelf upon all occaſions a ready and a rational advocate for the poor. In 1599, when the queen was pleaſed to fit out, in the ſpace of a fortnight, ſo great a navy as ſtruck her neighbours with awe, Sir Walter was appointed vice-admiral; which honour, though he enjoyed it but for a ſingle month, yet was a high mark of the queen's confidence, ſince at that time

[m] See an excellent account of this affair by Sir Walter himſelf, in his hiſtory of the world, b. v. c. i. § 9. and in the before-mentioned relation.

[n] See Sir Arthur Gorge's account before referred to. Vere's commentaries, p. 65, 66, 67.

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ſhe was no leſs apprehenſive of ſtirs at home, than of an invaſion from abroad. In 1600, the queen was pleaſed to ſend Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh to the Dutch, and after conferring with Prince Maurice of Naſſau, Sir Walter returned again about the middle of the year, and, a little after, he was by the queen made governor of the iſland of Jerſey; but ſhe reſerved three hundred pounds a-year out of that government to be diſpoſed of as ſhe thought fit [o].

His next great ſervice was againſt Eſſex, in his inſurrection in the February following. It would be a great deal beſide our purpoſe to enter into a long detail of that perplexed affair. Let it ſuffice then that we obſerve, after a due compariſon of what contemporary writers have left us of this matter, that Lord Eſſex was his own enemy, and that he brought Sir Walter's name upon the carpet to ſcreen his own deſigns. He gave out, that the cauſe of his arming was to defend himſelf againſt his perſonal enemies, pretending that Cobham and Raleigh had contrived a ſcheme to aſſaſſinate him: whereas Sir Chriſtopher Blount had in truth made a propoſal of this ſort to Eſſex, with reſpect to Raleigh; and when this was judged impracticable, adviſed the propagating the other ſtory to colour their proceedings, as himſelf confeſſed. When the miſchief broke out, Sir Walter did his duty, and no more than his duty. Some, indeed, have reported, that after the earl of Eſſex was condemned, he preſſed the queen to ſign a warrant for his execution, and that he ſhewed a particular pleaſure in beholding his death; which, however, is not ſtrictly true; for though he had placed himſelf near the ſcaffold before the earl appeared, yet he removed from thence before his death, becauſe the people ſeemed to take his appearance there in a wrong light: but this he afterwards repented; becauſe, when the earl came to die, he expreſſed a great deſire to have ſeen and ſpoke to him, from a foreſight of which Sir Walter Raleigh had taken that poſt.

The point of fact, as to his ſentiments upon this ſubject, has been effectually cleared ſince the publiſhing this work, by the appearance of the following letter, from Sir Walter Raleigh's original, now in the collection of manuſcripts belonging to the right honourable the earl of Saliſbury, and printed by Dr.

[o] Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 126—130.

Murdin. It makes no great alteration in reſpect to what was before aſſerted, ſince Sir Walter, though he avowed a very high perſonal friendſhip for Sir Robert Cecil, yet at the ſame time eſtabliſhed his advice on his concern for the queen's ſafety. In this, which is a little ſtrange, he had the earl of Eſſex's concurrence, who declared to the preacher ſent to attend, and to worm out his ſecrets, in priſon, that the queen could never be ſafe while he lived. But to come to the letter, thus it runs:

"SIR,

"I AM not wiſe enough to give you advice; but, if you take "it for a good counſel to relent towards this tyrant, you will "repent it when it ſhall be too late. His malice is fixt, and "will not evaporate by any of your mild courſes; for he will "aſcribe the alteration to her majeſty's puſillanimity, and not "to your good-nature, knowing that you work but upon her "humour, and not out of any love towards him. The leſs "you make him, the leſs he ſhall be able to harm you and "yours. And, if her majeſty's favour faile him, he will againe "decline to a common perſon. For after-revenges fear them "not: for your own father, that was eſteemed to be the con-"triver of Norfolk's ruin, yet his ſon followeth your father's "ſon, and loveth him. Humours of men ſucceed not, but grow "by occaſions, and accidents of time and power. Somerſet "made no revenge on the duke of Northumberland's hearers. "Northumberland that now is thinks not of Hatton's iſſue. "Kelloway lives that murdered the brother of Horſey, and "Horſey let him go by all his lifetime. I could name you a "thouſand of thoſe, and therefore after-fears are but prophe-"cies, or rather conjectures from cauſes remote. Look to the "preſent, and you do wiſely. His ſon ſhall be the youngeſt "earl of England but one, and, if his father be now kept "down, Will. Cecil ſhall be able to keep as many men at his "heels as he, and more too. He may alſo matche in a better "houſe than his, and ſo that fear is not worth the fearing. "But, if the father continue, he will be able to break the "branches, and pull up the tree root and all. Loſe not your "advantage; if you do, I note your deſtiny.

" Let the queen hold Bothwell while ſhe hath him. He
" will ever be the canker of her eſtate and ſaufty. Princes
" are loſt by ſecurity, and preſerved by prevention. I have
" ſeen the laſt of her good days, and all ours, after his liber-
" tye.

" Yours, &c. W. R." [p]

Sir W. R. to Sir R. C. 1601.

There is nothing more ſhrewd and ſenſible in this letter than the giving Eſſex the name of Bothwell. This ſingular perſon was, in a baſtard line, the grandſon of James V. king of Scots. He came to the court of King James, then reigning, by the name of Captain Francis Stuart, grew into favour, was created earl of Bothwell, and made lord high-admiral of Scotland. He was not only a perſon of boundleſs arrogance and ambition, but of ſo reſtleſs and unruly a ſpirit, that he kept the king and kingdom in continual confuſion. He was forfeited over and over, but, by his factious connection with ſome of the nobility, was as often recalled and pardoned. He ſurpriſed and forced the royal palace of Holy-Rood-Houſe, he had inveſted the caſtle of Fawkland, he had entered ſword in hand into the king's bed-chamber, and took him out in his ſhirt, but eight years before, and all this purely from a ſpirit of dominion, and contempt of his maſter's miniſters; which facts, then recent and notorious, muſt occur to Cecil's remembrance on reading his name [q].

It is evident, that Sir Walter, by this admonition, meant to confirm Sir Robert Cecil in his deſign to cruſh Eſſex abſolutely; but, whether it clearly diſſuades the ſparing his life, the reader may judge. Raleigh's own life had been in great danger, which was the reaſon, when Sir Chriſtopher Blount came to die, he actually begged Sir Walter's pardon, and confeſſed the wrong that had been done him, in the reports ſpread to inflame the populace. Yet it is certain, that even this confeſſion

[p] Murdin's ſtate papers, p. 811.

[q] Spotſwood's hiſtory of the church of Scotland, p. 394, 395, 401, 407, 409. Moyſes's memoirs of the affairs of Scotland, p. 139, 154, 155, 179, 188, 206, 237. Winwood's memorials, vol. iii. p. 95, 440, 487.

did

did not quash such reports; but from this time forward Raleigh had more enemies than ever; and, which was worse, the queen's successor was prejudiced against him, by such accounts as were transmitted to him in Scotland [r].

It is not at all impossible, that those artful statesmen, who had so much address as to make the populace then, and, by employing the pen of a learned historian, the world in general now believe, they were seconds only in these quarrels, and Essex and Raleigh principals, hated both alike, and contrived to make them ruin each other; by inflaming Essex against Raleigh first, which induced him to write in his prejudice to King James, with whom, by the hands of Mr. Anthony Bacon, he kept a constant correspondence, and after bringing him to the block, allowing the truth of those informations, that they might run no hazard (in a new reign) from Sir Walter Raleigh's abilities. The conjecture is rendered probable enough from the whole thread of the relation, nor would it be a very hard task to prove it was really so from incontestible authorities. So easy it is, in courts, for malice and cunning to get the better of courage and sense.

In the summer of the year 1601, he attended the queen in her progress, and on the arrival of the duke de Biron, as ambassador from France, he received him, by her majesty's appointment, and conferred with him on the subject of his embassy. In the last parliament of the queen, Sir Walter was a very active member, and distinguished himself upon all occasions, by opposing such bills as, under colour of deep policy, were contrived for the oppression of the meaner sort of people; such as that for compelling every man to till a third part of his ground, and others of a like nature. Nor was he less ready to countenance such laws as bore hard upon the rich, and even upon traders; where it was evident, that private interest clashed with public benefit, and there was a necessity of hurting some for the sake of doing good to all. This shews that he had a just notion of popularity, and knew how to distinguish between deserving and desiring it. An instance of this appeared in his promoting a law for the restraining the exporta-

[r] Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, 133—139.

tion of ordnance, which, at that time, was of mighty advantage to ſuch as were concerned in that commerce, but of inexpreſſible detriment to the nation; becauſe it was the ſource of the enemy's power at ſea, the Spaniſh navy making uſe of none but Engliſh cannon.

In the point of monopolies, indeed, he was not altogether ſo clear; but he ſhewed that he made a moderate uſe of the grants he had obtained from the crown, and offered, if others were cancelled, to ſurrender his freely[s].

Upon the demiſe of Queen Eliſabeth, Sir Walter was not without hopes of coming into favour with her ſucceſſor, whoſe countenance he had ſought by various preſents, and other teſtimonies of reſpect, which he ſent into Scotland, and from the reception they met with, had no reaſon at all to ſuſpect that he ſtood upon ill terms with King James[t]. He was not ignorant, however, of the pains taken by Eſſex, to infuſe into the king's mind prejudices againſt him, which, however, he thought to wear out by aſſiduous ſervice. On the king's coming into England, he had, notwithſtanding common reports, frequent acceſs to him, and thereby an opportunity of diſcovering both his deſire and his capacity of ſerving his majeſty. But he quickly found himſelf cooly treated, nor was he long at a loſs for the reaſon. Sir Robert Cecil, who had been his friend and aſſociate, ſo long as they were both in danger from Eſſex, foreſeeing that, if ever Raleigh came into King James's confidence, his adminiſtration would not laſt long, drew ſuch a character of him to that prince, as he thought moſt likely to diſguſt him; and dwelt particularly upon this, that Raleigh was a martial man, and would be continually forming projects to embarraſs him with his neighbours[u]. Sir Walter, in return for this good office, did him another; for he drew up a memorial, wherein he ſhewed plainly, that the affection of the Cecils for his majeſty was not the effect of choice, but of force; that in reality, it was chiefly through the intrigues of one of that family

[s] Heyward Townſhend's collections, and Sir Simonds D'Ewes's journal of Queen Eliſabeth's parliaments.

[t] Dr. Peter Helyn's examen. hiſtoricum, p. 170. A brief relation of Sir Walter Raleigh's troubles, p. 1.

[u] Baker's chronicle, Oſborne's memorials of the reign of King James, &c.

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his mother loſt her head, and that they never thought of promoting his ſucceſſion, till they ſaw it would take place in ſpite of them [w]. This memorial was far from having the effects he expected; nor indeed would he have expected them, if he had known King James thoroughly. That timorous prince ſaw the power of Cecil at that time, and thought he had need of it, forgetting that it was the effects of his own favour, and ſo became dependent upon him, as he afterwards was upon Buckingham, whom for many years he truſted, but did not love [x]. This, with his averſion to all martial enterprizes, engaged him to turn a deaf ear to Sir Walter's propoſals, and perhaps to do more than this, if we are ſo juſt to Cecil as to ſuppoſe, that he did not afterwards perſecute Raleigh without a cauſe, I mean without perſonal offence given to him. However it was, Raleigh had the mortification to ſee himſelf, notwithſtanding the pains he had taken, ſlighted and ill uſed at court: and this might probably determine him to keep company with ſome who were in the ſame ſituation, and who were his intimate acquaintance before; which, however, proved his ruin [y].

Among theſe companions of his was Lord Cobham, a man of a weak head, but a large fortune, over whom Raleigh had a great aſcendant, and with whom he lived in conſtant correſpondence. This man, who was naturally vain, and now much diſcontented, had an intercourſe with various ſorts of people, and talked to each in ſuch a ſtyle as he thought would be moſt agreeable to them. In the reign of Queen Eliſabeth he had conferred with the duke of Aremberg, a Flemiſh nobleman in the king of Spain's ſervice, and who was now in England as ambaſſador from the arch-duke, but, in truth, with a view to negotiate a peace with Spain. With him Cobham renewed his acquaintance, and in his name propoſed giving Sir Walter a large ſum of money, if inſtead of oppoſing, as he had hitherto done, he would forward that peace [z]. In the mean time ſome

[w] See Dr. Welwood's notes on Arthur Wilſon's hiſtory of King James, as it is printed in Dr. Kennet's compleat hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 663, 664.

[x] See the earl of Briſtol's anſwer to the articles of high treaſon, exhibited againſt him in parliament, printed in Frankland's annals of King James and King Charles, p. 127, 128, 129.

[y] See Oldys's life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 152, 153.

[z] Arraignment of Sir W. Raleigh, p. 97.

popiſh

popiſh prieſts, and other diſaffected and deſigning perſons, had framed a plot againſt the king and royal family, which was to be executed by ſeizing, if not deſtroying, his majeſty and his children; and with ſome of theſe people Cobham alſo had an intercourſe by the means of his brother Mr. Brooke. This laſt treaſon being diſcovered, and traced to the perſons we have juſt mentioned, there grew a ſuſpicion of Cobham; and, in conſequence of his intimacy with Raleigh, there aroſe ſome doubts alſo as to him. Upon this they were all apprehended, and Cobham, who was a timorous man, was drawn in to charge Sir Walter with ſeveral things in his confeſſion[a]. The enemies of Raleigh contrived to blend theſe treaſons together, though they, or at leaſt Cecil, knew them to be diſtinct things; and ſo he ſtates them in a letter to Mr. Winwood, wherein he ſhews his diſlike to Sir Walter Raleigh, and his ſenſe, at the ſame time, of the want of any real evidence which might affect him; however, what was deficient in proof was made up in force and fraud. The prieſts Watſon and Clerk were firſt tried and convicted; ſo was Mr. George Brooke, who had been their aſſociate: and on the 17th of November, 1603, Sir Walter Raleigh was tried at Wincheſter, and convicted of high treaſon, by the influence of the court, and the bawling Billingſgate eloquence of the Attorney-general Coke, without any colour of evidence[b]. This is that treaſon which was ſo juſtly ſlighted in his days, and which has ſo much perplexed ours.

That there was really no truth in what was alledged againſt Sir Walter may be proved to a demonſtration, if we conſider, that all the evidence that was ever pretended, in relation to his knowledge of the ſurpriſing treaſon or plot to ſeize the king and his family, was the hearſay teſtimony of George Brooke, that his brother Cobham ſhould ſay, "That it would never be well "till the fox and cubs were taken off;" and afterwards, ſpeaking to this Brooke, "That he, Lord Grey, and others, were "only on the bye, but Raleigh and himſelf were on the main;"

a See the whole proceedings in the firſt volume of ſtate trials.

b Lord Cecil's letter to Mr. Winwood in Winwood's memorials, vol. ii. p. 8. Life of Sir W. Raleigh by Mr. Oldys, p. 157.

intimating,

intimating, that they were only truſted with leſſer matters, but that the capital ſcheme, before mentioned, was concerted between him and Sir Walter[c]. Yet when Brooke came to die, as he did deſervedly, upon his own confeſſion, he recalled and retracted this circumſtance, owning, that he never heard his brother make uſe of that phraſe about the fox and cubs[d], which takes away conſequently the credit of that other ſtory grounded upon it: and this we have upon the beſt authority that can be, that of Lord Cecil (afterwards earl of Saliſbury) himſelf, who commends Brooke for ſhewing this remorſe in his laſt moments[e]. Thus, out of his capital enemy's mouth, I have proved the innocence of Sir Walter Raleigh, who conſtantly and judiciouſly, at his trial, diſtinguiſhed between the ſurpriſing treaſon and the conferences with Aremberg. The former he denied the leaſt knowledge of; but, as to the latter, owned that Cobham had talked to him of a large preſent, in caſe he would be for a peace with Spain, and complained of the hardſhip of dying for having once heard a vain man ſay a few idle things[f].

Though the law made no diſtinction between Sir Walter Raleigh and the reſt who were involved in this treaſon, yet the king made a great deal; for he never ſigned any warrant for his execution[g], but, on the contrary, projected that ſtrange tragi-comedy, of bringing the two Lords Cobham and Grey, with Sir Griffin Markham, to the block, and then granting them a reprieve, purely to diſcover the truth of what Cobham had alledged againſt Raleigh, and what might be drawn by the fright of death from the other two[h]. As all this brought forth nothing, the king laid aſide all thoughts of taking away his life; and, if Raleigh laboured ſome time under an uncertainty of this, it ought to be attributed rather to the malice of his potent adverſaries, than to any ill intention in the king, of which I diſcern no ſigns, and of the contrary to which Sir Walter himſelf in his letters ſeems to be poſitive. Neither do I ſay this with any view of excuſing King James, but purely out of reſpect to truth, and

[c] See Sir Thomas Overbury's copy of Sir Walter's arraignment, p. 12.
[d] Winwood's memorials, vol. ii. p. 8.
[e] In the before-cited letter of Lord Cecil to Mr. Winwood.
[f] Arraignment of Sir W. Raleigh, p. 101, 106. [g] Stowe's annals, p. 831.
[h] Winwood's memorials, vol. ii. p. 11. Raleigh's remains, p. 192.

that

that it may appear how dangerous a thing it is to live under a prince who ſuffers himſelf to be abſolutely directed by his miniſters, ſince not only the vices of ſuch a monarch are deſtructive, but even his virtues become uſeleſs.

As there ſeems to be a deſire in the preſent age to know the certainty of things, without reſting in that ſcrupulous report of facts, which cautious hiſtorians, from a ſtrict regard to truth, are inclined to deliver, it may not be amiſs to acquaint the reader, in few words, with what ſeems to be the reality of this myſterious buſineſs. Lord Cobham, in the preceding reign, had been connived at in carrying on a correſpondence with one Lorenzi or Laurencie, a Flemiſh merchant at Antwerp, who was at this time in England, and through him Cobham correſponded with the duke of Aremberg. It is not my conjecture, but that of thoſe who lived in theſe times, that it was this man diſcloſed the ſecret to Sir Robert Cecil, probably by Aremberg's direction, who thought this was the ſureſt way of ruining Raleigh, and that the ſhorteſt method of coming at a peace. When Sir Walter was arreſted he ſaw his danger, but had no apprehenſion of his accuſer, and therefore, in hopes of diſentangling himſelf, directed Sir Robert Cecil by letter where to find Lorenzi and Lord Cobham. It was the ſhewing this letter that provoked Cobham to accuſe Raleigh ſo deeply; but at the ſame time it is a proof of Sir Walter's innocence, of any thing more than that Cobham had correſponded with Aremberg; for if there had been any veracity in Cobham's charge, inſtead of giving up that lord and Lorenzi, Sir Walter Raleigh would in reality have been furniſhing two witneſſes againſt himſelf. The naked truth then ſeems to be, that the duke conſidered the plot as an idle impracticable undertaking, but at the ſame time judged that he ſhould render a very acceptable ſervice to his court, in thus getting Sir Walter Raleigh involved in it; and in this light King James and his miniſters ſeem afterwards to have conſidered it. There is no great doubt, that this heightened Sir Walter's hate to the Spaniards, which ſubſiſted with the like force in them againſt him, till Count Gondomar, purſuing Duke Aremberg's blow, brought this unfortunate gentleman to the block. On many accounts, therefore, this treaſon might be ſtyled, as it was in thoſe times, RALEIGH'S RIDDLE, but in nothing more ſo than in this, that

by the arts of two Spaniſh miniſters the moſt inveterate enemy of Spain was brought to an untimely end, for having, as it was pretended, entered into a correſpondence with Spain againſt a prince, who had ſeen through the whole contrivance ſo many years before he put him to death[i].

In the month of December Raleigh was remanded to the Tower, and, upon the petition of his wife, was allowed the conſolation of her company, and by degrees obtained ſtill greater favours; for the king was pleaſed to grant all the goods and chattels, forfeited to him by Sir Walter's conviction, to truſtees of his appointing, for the benefit of his creditors and of his lady and children[k]. In a reaſonable ſpace his eſtate followed his goods; and now he began to conceive himſelf in a fair way of being reſtored to that condition from which he had fallen. In this, however, he was much miſtaken; for a new court-favourite ariſing, who had a mind to enrich himſelf by ſuch kind of grants, he diſcovered a flaw in the conveyance of Raleigh's eſtate to his ſon, which, being prior to the attainder, gave the crown a title paramount to that which was underſtood to be therein, when the forfeiture was granted back to Raleigh. Upon an information in the court of exchequer, judgment was given for the crown, and the effect of that judgment was turned to the benefit of the favourite, who, in 1609, had a complete grant of all that Sir Walter had forfeited[l]. This courtier was Sir Robert Carr, afterwards ſo well known to the world by the title of earl of Somerſet; to whom Sir Walter wrote an excellent letter, wherein he ſtated the hardſhip of his own caſe without bitterneſs, expoſtulated freely and yet inoffenſively about the wrong done him, and entreated the favourite's compaſſion without any unbecoming condeſcenſion[m]. All this, however, ſignified nothing; Sir Walter loſt his eſtate, but not his hopes.

He ſpent a great part of his confinement in writing that ſhining and immortal monument of his parts and learning, THE

[i] Winwood's memorials, p. 8. Sir Anthony Welden's court and character of King James, p. 31—41. Aulicus coquinariæ, p. 74—97. Dr. Heylin's examen hiſtoricum, p. 169—172. Oſborne's works, vol. ii. p. 107. Ruſhworth's hiſtorical collections, vol. i. p. 9. State trials, vol. i. p. 212. [k] Rymer's fœdera, tome xvi. p. 596. [l] A brief relation of Sir W. Raleigh's troubles, p. 7.
[m] Printed from a MS. in Oldys's life of Sir W. Raleigh, p. 165.

HISTORY OF THE WORLD, wherein he has ſhewn that he conſulted the wiſe rule of Horace, and fixed upon ſuch a ſubject as ſuited with his genius, and under which, if we may gueſs from former and ſubſequent attempts, any genius but his muſt have ſunk. He likewiſe devoted a part of his time to chymiſtry, to rational and uſeful chymiſtry, wherein he was no leſs ſucceſsful, diſcovering that noble medicine in malignant fevers, which bears the name of his cordial, though I think it is now doubtful whether the true receipt of it be preſerved or not[n]. Beſides theſe, he turned his thoughts on various other ſubjects, all beneficial to mankind, and in that light worthy of Sir Walter Raleigh. Of theſe treatiſes many are printed, ſome are ſtill preſerved in MS. and not a few, I doubt, are loſt. The patron of his ſtudies was Prince Henry, the glory of the houſe of Stuart, the darling of the Britiſh nation while he lived, and the object of its ſincere and univerſal lamentation by his untimely death. After his demiſe Sir Walter depended chiefly upon the queen, in whom he found a true and ſteady protectreſs while the earl of Somerſet's power laſted, whoſe hate was chiefly detrimental to Raleigh; for the king truſted him now, as he had Saliſbury before, with implicit confidence, even after he had loſt his affection: but he, by an intemperate uſe of his authority, having rendered himſelf obnoxious to the law, Sir Walter ſaw him his companion in the Tower, and his eſtates, by that favourite's forfeiture, once more in the hands of the crown[o]. His enemies thus out of the court, Sir Walter was able to obtain the favour he had been long ſeeking, which was, after thirteen years confinement, to get out of the Tower, not to lead a lazy and indolent life in retirement, for which, though cruelly ſpoiled by his enemies, he yet wanted not a reaſonable proviſion, but to ſpend the latter part of his days as he had ſpent the firſt, in the purſuit of honour and in the ſervice of his country, or, as he him-

[n] See an excellent and copious account of his writings in the life before cited. Dr. Quincy in his diſpenſary, p. 445, 446. of the 11th edit. ſeems to undervalue this medicine chiefly on account of the number of ingredients; but Mr. Oldys ſhews in his life of Sir Walter, p. 169. that great liberties have been taken with this receipt, and the number of ingredients much heightened by phyſicians.

[o] Prince Henry endeavoured to obtain it for him: at laſt Sir Walter had 8000 l. for it, as he tells us in his apology, p. 47.

ſelf

ſelf has with great dignity expreſſed it in a letter to ſecretary Winwood, by whoſe intereſt chiefly this favour was obtained; "To die for the KING, and not by the KING, is all the ambition I have in the world[p]."

The ſcheme he had now at heart was his old one of ſettling Guiana; a ſcheme worthy of him, and which, as he firſt wiſely contrived, ſo he as conſtantly proſecuted. We have ſeen how many voyages he encouraged thither in the days of Queen Eliſabeth, when, conſidering the many great employments he enjoyed, one would have thought his mind might have been otherwiſe occupied; and indeed ſo it muſt have been, if he had not been thoroughly perſuaded, and that too upon the beſt evidence in the world, his own eye-ſight and judgment, that this was the richeſt country on the globe, and the worthieſt of being ſettled for the benefit of Britain. This perſuaſion was ſo ſtrong upon him, that during his confinement he held a conſtant intercourſe with Guiana, ſending at his own charge every year, or every ſecond year, a ſhip to keep the Indians in hopes of his performing the promiſe he had made them, of coming to their aſſiſtance, and delivering them from the tyranny and cruelty of the Spaniards, who now encroached upon them again. In theſe ſhips were brought over ſeveral natives of that country, with whom Sir Walter converſed in the Tower, and from whom, queſtionleſs, he received the cleareſt and moſt diſtinct intelligence of the ſituation and richneſs of the mines that he could poſſibly deſire[q]. Upon theſe informations he offered the ſcheme for proſecuting his diſcovery to the court, three years before he undertook it in perſon; nor was there then any doubt either as to the probability of the thing, or as to its lawfulneſs, notwithſtanding the peace made with Spain, otherwiſe the king would not have made ſuch grants as he even did at that time; which ſhews that he was then convinced Sir Walter had in his firſt voyage diſcovered and taken poſſeſſion of that country for the crown of England, and that conſequently his ſubjects were juſtly entitled to any benefits that might accrue from this diſcovery, without the leaſt reſpect had to the pretenſions of the Spa-

[p] Raleigh's remains, p. 164. He had ſaid the ſame before in regard to Queen Eliſabeth. See his letter to Sir Robert Cecil in Murdin's collection of ſtate papers, p. 657. [q] Raleigh's apology, p. 52, 55.

niards[r]. It may alſo deſerve our notice, that, at the time Sir Walter firſt moved the court upon this ſubject, the Spaniſh match was not thought of; but the wants of King James were then very preſſing, and he may reaſonably be preſumed to have at this time placed as great hopes in this diſcovery as he did in that match; though, when he came to idolize this project afterwards, he grew ſomewhat out of conceit with Sir Walter's; ſo that, if he had pleaſed, he might, for ſeven hundred pounds, have had an ample pardon, and leave to relinquiſh his voyage: but he remaining firm to his purpoſe, and the king feeling his neceſſities daily increaſing, was yet willing that he ſhould proceed in his enterprize, in hopes of profiting thereby, without loſing the proſpect he then had of concluding the Spaniſh match. Such was the ſituation of Sir Walter, and ſuch the diſpoſition of the court, when he obtained leave to execute his deſign, and was empowered by a royal commiſſion (but at the expence of himſelf and his friends) to ſettle Guiana[s].

It has been a great diſpute, amongſt writers too of ſome eminence, what ſort of a commiſſion that was with which Sir Walter was truſted. According to ſome, it ſhould have been under the great ſeal of England, and directed, To our truſty and well-beloved Sir Walter Raleigh, knight[t]; according to others, and indeed according to the account given by King James himſelf, it was under the privy-ſeal, and without thoſe expreſſions of truſt or grace[u]. To end this diſpute, I have conſulted the moſt authentic collection we have of public inſtruments, and there I find a large commiſſion to Sir Walter Raleigh, which agrees with that in the declaration[w], and is dated the twenty-ſixth of Auguſt, in the fourteenth year of the king's reign over England, and over Scotland the 50th. It is likewiſe ſaid to be *per breve de privato ſigillo*; yet I think that it is not impoſſible it might paſs both ſeals, and I apprehend the conjecture is warranted by an expreſſion in one of Sir Walter's letters[x]. However, the

[r] See Harcourt's voyage to Guiana, 4to, 1613. [s] Camden's annals of King James, A. D. 1615, 1617. [t] Coke's detection of the four laſt reigns, p. 85. Rapin's hiſtory of England, and Tindal's notes. [u] See a declaration of the demeanour and carriage of Sir Walter Raleigh, knt. as well in his voyage, *&c.* 4to, 1618, p. 4. [w] Rymer's fœdera, tome xvi. p. 789.
[x] Oldys's life of Sir W. Raleigh, p. 193.

commiſſion

commiſſion was certainly a legal commiſſion; and, though the formal expreſſions of grace and truſt are omitted, yet the powers granted him are very extenſive in themſelves, and as ſtrongly drawn as words can expreſs; ſo that Sir Walter had all the reaſon imaginable to conceive, that this patent implied a pardon. By one clauſe he is conſtituted general and commander in chief in this enterprize. By another he is appointed governor of the new country he is to ſettle; and this with ample authority. By a third he has a power rarely intruſted with our admirals now, that of exerciſing martial law in ſuch a manner as the king's lieutenant-general by ſea or land, or any of the lieutenants of the counties of England had. It is impoſſible, therefore, to conceive, that, when this commiſſion was granted, Sir Walter Raleigh was looked upon as a condemned man, or that the lords of the privy-council, or the lord privy-ſeal, could think it reaſonable for the king to grant ſuch full power over the lives of others to one who had but a precarious title to his own; and therefore I think, that Sir Francis Bacon's opinion, when Sir Walter conſulted him whether it would not be adviſeable for him to give a round ſum of money for a pardon in common form, anſwered like an honeſt man and a ſound lawyer, "Sir, "the knee-timber of your voyage is money; ſpare your purſe "in this particular; for upon my life you have a ſufficient par- "don for all that is paſt already, the king having under his "broad ſeal made you admiral of your fleet, and given you "power of the martial law over your officers and ſoldiers[y]."

It is now time for us to inquire what force this gentleman had when he ſailed upon this expedition; for it appears clearly by the king's commiſſion, that the whole expence of the undertaking was to be defrayed by him and his friends; which ſhews how ſincere Sir Walter muſt have been in this matter, eſpecially if we conſider that he veſted his whole fortune therein, and even prevailed upon his wife to ſell her eſtate at Mitcham for the promoting this deſign, in the iſſue of which he intereſted alſo all his friends; and how extenſive his influence in this kind was, the following liſt of his fleet will ſufficiently inform us. Firſt, then, was the Admiral, a fine, new, ſtout ſhip, built by

[y] Howel's letters, vol. ii. p. 371.

Raleigh

Raleigh himſelf, called the Deſtiny, of the burden of 440 tons, and carrying thirty-ſix pieces of cannon. On board it were Sir Walter Raleigh general, and his ſon Walter, captain, beſides 200 men, whereof eighty were gentlemen-volunteers and adventurers, moſt of them Sir Walter's relations; which number was afterwards increaſed. Second, the Jaſon of London, 240 tons, and twenty-five pieces of ordnance, Captain John Penkington vice-admiral, eighty men, one gentleman and no more. Third, the Encounter, 160 tons, ſeventeen pieces of ordnance, Edward Haſtings captain, [no man more, except the maſter, mentioned]; but he, dying in the Indies, was ſucceeded in the command by Captain Whitney. Fourth, the Thunder, 150 tons, twenty pieces of ordnance, Sir Warham Sentleger captain, ſix gentlemen, ſixty ſoldiers, and ten land-men. Fifth, the Flying Joan, 120 tons, fourteen pieces of ordnance, John Chidley captain, twenty-five men. Sixth, the Southampton, eighty tons, ſix pieces of ordnance, John Bayly captain, twenty-five mariners, two gentlemen. Seventh, the Page, a pinnace, twenty-five tons, three rabnets of braſs, James Barker captain, eight ſailors. But before Raleigh left the coaſt of England, he was joined by as many ſhips more; ſo that his whole fleet conſiſted of thirteen ſail, beſide his own ſhip. And, though we cannot be ſo particular in the remaining part, we may yet learn thus much of it; that one ſhip, named the Convertine, was commanded by Captain Keymis; another, called the Confidence, was under the charge of Captain Woolaſton; there was a ſhallop, named the Flying Hart, under Sir John Ferne, two fly-boats under Captain Samuel King and Captain Robert Smith, and a caravel, with another named the Chudley, beſides [z].

With part of this fleet Sir Walter ſailed from the Thames on the 28th of March, 1617; but it was the month of July before he left Plymouth with his whole fleet: after which he was forced to put into Corke through ſtreſs of weather, and remained there till the 19th of Auguſt. On the ſixth of September he made the Canaries, where he obtained ſome refreſhments, and an ample certificate from the governor, that he had behaved with great juſtice and equity. Thence he proceeded

[z] Oldys's life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 197.

to

to Guiana, where he arrived in the beginning of November. He was received with the utmoſt joy by the Indians, who not only rendered him all the ſervice that could be expected from them, but would have perſuaded him to end all his labours by remaining there, and taking upon him the ſovereignty of their country; which, however, he refuſed. His extreme ſickneſs hindered him from undertaking the diſcovery of the mine in perſon, and obliged him to intruſt that important ſervice to Captain Keymis. For this purpoſe, he ordered, on the fourth of December, five ſmall ſhips to ſail into the river Oronoque; aboard theſe five veſſels were five companies of fifty men each; the firſt commanded by Captain Parker, the ſecond by Captain North, the third by Mr. Raleigh, the fourth by Captain Prideaux, the fifth by Captain Chudley[a]; Keymis, who was to conduct them, intended to have gone to the mine with only eight perſons, which Sir Walter thought too great a hazard, and therefore wrote him the following letter.

"KEYMIS, whereas you were reſolved, after your arrival "into the Oronoque, to paſs to the mine with my couſin Her- "bert and ſix muſqueteers, and to that end deſired to have "Sir John Ferne's ſhallop; I do not allow of that courſe; be- "cauſe you cannot land ſo ſecretly but that ſome Indians on the "river-ſide may diſcover you, who giving knowledge thereof "to the Spaniards, you may be cut off before you recover your "boat. I therefore adviſe you to ſuffer the captains and com- "panies of the Engliſh to paſs up weſtward of the mountain "Aio, from whence you have no leſs than three miles to the "mine, and to encamp between the Spaniſh town and you, if "there is any town near it; that, being ſo ſecured, you may "make trial what depth and breadth the mine holds, or whe- "ther or no it will anſwer our hopes. And if you find it roy- "al, and the Spaniards begin to war upon you, then let the "ſerjeant-major repel them, if it is in his power, and drive "them as far as he can: but if you find the mine is not ſo rich "as to perſuade the holding of it, and it requires a ſecond "ſupply, then ſhall you bring but a baſket or two, to ſatisfy "his majeſty that my deſign was not imaginary, but true, "though not anſwerable to his majeſty's expectation; for the

[a] Raleigh's apology for his voyage to Guiana, p. 26.

"quantity

" quantity of which I never gave aſſurance, nor could. On " the other ſide, if you ſhall find any great number of ſoldiers " are newly ſent into the Oronoque, as the Caſſique of Caliana " told us there were, and that the paſſages are already enforced, " ſo as without manifeſt peril of my ſon, yourſelf, and the " other captains, you cannot paſs towards the mine; then be " well adviſed how you land, for I know (that a few gentlemen " excepted) what a ſcum of men you have; and I would not, " for all the world, receive a blow from the Spaniards to the " diſhonour of the nation [b]."

In obedience to this order, Captain Keymis landed his men in the night, ſomewhat nearer the mine than he intended. They preſently found the Spaniards had notice of their coming, and were prepared to receive them. They ſhot at the Engliſh both with their great and ſmall arms, and the Spaniards being the aggreſſors, the Engliſh landed, drove them to the town, entered it with them, and plundered it. Mr. Raleigh, the general's ſon, was killed in the action; he himſelf ſtaid at Trinidado, with the other ſhips, reſolving rather to burn than yield, had the Spaniſh armada attacked him. Captain Keymis made up the river with his veſſels; but in moſt places near the mine he could not get within a mile of the ſhore, the river was ſo ſhallow; and where they could have made a deſcent, vollies of muſket-ſhot came from the woods on their boats, and Keymis did not proceed to the mine, ſaying in his excuſe, that the Engliſh could not defend St. Thomas, the town they had taken; that the paſſages to the mine were thick and impaſſable woods; and that, ſuppoſing they had diſcovered the mine, they had no men to work it. For theſe reaſons, he concluded it was beſt not to open it at all. The Spaniards themſelves had ſeveral gold and ſilver mines near the town, which were uſeleſs for want of negroes [c]. At Keymis's return, Raleigh told him he had undone him, and wounded his credit with the king paſt recovery; which reproach affected him ſo deeply, that he went into his cabin, from whence ſoon after the report of a piſtol was heard. Upon a boy's going in, and aſking whether he knew whence it

[b] Raleigh's apology for his voyage to Guiana, p. 21.

[c] See Raleigh's letter to his lady in his remains, p. 178. See alſo his apology, and Camden's annals of the reign of King James.

proceeded? he ſaid he fired it himſelf, becauſe it had been long charged. About two hours after he was found dead, with a great deal of blood under him; and upon ſearch it was diſcovered he had firſt ſhot himſelf, and, the wound not proving mortal, he had thruſt a knife after the ball [d]. Sir Walter, when he heard his ſon was ſlain, ſaid, that he mattered not the loſing of a hundred men, ſo his reputation had been ſaved. He was afraid of incurring the king's diſpleaſure, and with grief and ſickneſs brought very low in his health. He is blamed for not going up the river himſelf, which his indiſpoſition would not ſuffer him to do. Nine weeks was Keymis ſearching the river, all which time his maſter ſtaid at Punta de Gallo, nearer death than life: yet the misfortunes and diſappointments he met with did not alter his reſolution of returning home, though ſeveral of his men were for landing and ſettling themſelves at Newfoundland; others were for going to Holland; but the major part of his company were of his own opinion, to come back to England, happen what would: ſo, rather like a priſoner than general, he arrived with his leaky ſhips, firſt at Kinſale in Ireland, and then at Plymouth [e].

Immediately after his coming to Ireland, a proclamation iſſued, ſetting forth the king's diſapprobation of Sir Walter's conduct, and requiring ſuch as were acquainted with any parculars, relating either to his ſcheme or to his practices, ſhould give information of them to the council. This proclamation was dated the eleventh of June [f], and though it pretends to refer to Sir Walter's commiſſion, yet it plainly mentions things which are not to be found there. In the beginning of the month of July Sir Walter landed at Plymouth, and hearing of this proclamation, reſolved to ſurrender himſelf; but, as he was on the road to London [g], he was met by Sir Lewis Stucley, vice-admiral of Devonſhire, and his own kinſman, whom the court had made choice of to bring him up a priſoner [h]. This man appears to have acted very deceitfully,

[d] See Raleigh's apology, p. 39. and Howel's letters. [e] Raleigh's apology, and King James's declaration. [f] Rymer's fœdera, tome xvii. p. 92.

[g] See Captain King's narrative, a MS. quoted by Mr. Oldys. [h] Stucley's petition and information touching his own behaviour in the charge of bringing up Sir W. Raleigh, 4to, 1618. Camden's annals of K. James, A. D. 1618.

for he either ſuggeſted, or at leaſt encouraged, a deſign Sir Walter had framed for making his eſcape, and when he had ſo done, he baſely betrayed him. It was then objected to Sir Walter, that he meant to convey himſelf to France, and had actually entered into ſome unjuſtifiable correſpondence with the French king; but in reality all that Sir Walter intended, was to have gone back again to Guiana, in order to efface the memory of his late miſcarriage, by a happier undertaking[i]. On his ſecond apprehenſion he was carried to the Tower, from whence it was already ſettled he ſhould never be releaſed but by death. It was the earneſtneſs of the Spaniſh court, by their inſtrument Count Gondomar, produced this heat in the Engliſh councils[k]; and yet, if we ſtrictly conſider the matter, we ſhall find that the violence with which the Spaniſh court drove this proſecution, is one of the ſtrongeſt proofs that can be alledged in favour of Sir Walter's ſcheme; for if Guiana was a place of no conſequence, why were they ſo uneaſy about it? If Sir Walter had been no more than a projector, who ſought to reſtore his own broken fortunes by fleecing other people, as the calumny of thoſe times ſuggeſted, why was not he let alone? The more expeditions he made, the more clearly his folly would have appeared, and the greater advantage the Spaniards would have reaped from its appearance, becauſe it would have diſcountenanced all ſucceeding projects; but by thus contriving to murder him, they muſt, in the opinion of every impartial judge, raiſe the credit of his project, though they might fright people at that time from carrying it into execution. In ſhort, the Spaniards knew what Sir Walter's friends believed; the latter confided in him, the former were poſitive as he was; becauſe they knew by experience that Guiana was rich in gold, and that, if it was once thoroughly ſettled by the Engliſh, there would be an end of their empire in the Weſt-Indies[l]. But to return to Sir Walter.

It

[i] See Sir W. Raleigh's ſpeech at his death.

[k] For this the reader may find numerous authorities in Oldys's life of Sir W. Raleigh, p. 210.

[l] This I have great reaſon to ſay, having conſulted many of the Spaniſh writers while I was compoſing the ſhort hiſtory of SPANISH AMERICA. Francis Coreal, one of the beſt and lateſt Spaniſh travellers, acknowledges the country

It was difficult, though his death was already decreed, to take his life. His conduct in his late expedition, how criminal ſoever in the eyes of the court, was far from being ſo in the ſight of the nation; and, though judges could have been found who might pronounce it felony or treaſon, yet at that time of day it was not eaſy to meet with a jury, who, taking this upon truſt, would find him guilty. The commiſſioners, therefore, who had been appointed to enquire into the matter, and who had over and over examined him, finally reported, that no ground of legal judgment could be drawn from what had paſſed in this late expedition [m]. Upon this, it was reſolved to call him down to judgment upon his former ſentence, which was accordingly done, with all the circumſtances of iniquity and brutality that can well be conceived. He was taken out of his bed in the hot fit of an ague, and ſo brought to the bar of the court of King's Bench, where Sir Henry Montague, the chief juſtice, ordered the record of his conviction to be read, and then demanded what he had to offer why execution ſhould not be awarded? To this Sir Walter pleaded his commiſſion, which was immediately over-ruled: next he would have juſtified his conduct in Guiana, but that the court would not hear; and ſo execution was awarded, and the king's warrant for it produced, which had been ſigned and ſealed before-hand [n]. That this judgment was illegal, and that Sir Walter was really murdered, has been often ſaid, and I believe ſeldom doubted; but I think it has not been made ſo plain as it might be, and therefore, in reſpect to his memory, I will attempt it, by ſhewing that the judgment was abſolutely illegal, as well as it was manifeſtly iniquitous.

country to be very rich; and in the map printed with his travels, the place is marked where the lake of Parima and the city of Manoa are ſuppoſed to be; and in the French tranſlation, printed at Amſterdam in 1722, Sir Walter Raleigh's voyage to Guiana is added as a neceſſary ſupplement. Alſo, in Sanſon's map, the lake of Parima and city of Manoa are both viſible; ſo that if what is reported of them be fabulous, yet the opinion is not hitherto exploded. In ſome of De Liſle's maps they are mentioned, for I have conſulted ſeveral, and what is more, there are various mines marked in this country of which the Spaniards are ſtill ſuſpiciouſly careful.

[m] Howel's letters, vol. ii. p. 372.

[n] Rymer's fœdera, tome xvii. p. 115.

It is a maxim in our law, that the king can do no wrong: and moſt certain it is, that no king can do legal wrong, that is to ſay, can employ the law to unjuſt purpoſes. Sir Walter Raleigh after his conviction was dead in law, and therefore, if King James's commiſſion to him had not the virtue of a pardon, what was it? Did it impower a dead man to act, and not only to act, but to have a power over the lives and eſtates of the living? It either conveyed authority, or it did not. If it did convey authority, then Sir Walter was capable of receiving it; that is, he was no longer dead in law, or, in other words, he was pardoned. If it conveyed no authority, then this was an act of legal wrong. I cannot help the blunder; the abſurdity is in the thing, and not in my expreſſion. A commiſſion under the privy, if not under the great ſeal, granted by the king, with the advice of his council, to a dead man; or, to put it otherwiſe, a lawful commiſſion given to a man dead in law, is nonſenſe not to be endured; and therefore, to avoid this, we muſt conceive, as Sir Francis Bacon and every other lawyer did, that the commiſſion included, or rather conveyed a pardon. Indeed the ſame thing may be made out in much fewer words. Grace is not ſo ſtrong a mark of royal favour as truſt; and therefore, where the latter appears, the law ought, and indeed does, preſume the former. This judgment, therefore, did not only murder Sir Walter Raleigh, but in this inſtance ſubverted the conſtitution, and ought to be looked upon, not only as an act of the baſeſt proſtitution, but as the moſt flagrant violation of juſtice that ever was committed.

As the method of bringing him to his death was violent and unjuſt, ſo the manner was haſty and inhuman. The very next day, being Thurſday the 29th of October, and the Lord-mayor's day, Sir Walter was carried by the ſheriffs of Middleſex to ſuffer in the Old Palace-yard. We have many accounts of his death, and particularly one written by Dr. Robert Tounſon, then dean of Weſtminſter, afterwards biſhop of Saliſbury, who aſſiſted him in his laſt moments [o]. He tells us, that he had ſuch

[o] This account is contained in a letter from Dean Tounſon, to Sir John Isham of Lamport in Northamptonſhire, dated Weſtminſter-college, Nov. 9, 1618.

ſuch a contempt of death as ſurpriſed this divine, who expoſtulated with him thereupon. Sir Walter told him plainly, that he never feared death, and much leſs then, for which he bleſſed God; that as to the manner of it, though to others it might ſeem grievous, yet for himſelf, he had rather die ſo, than in a burning fever. That this was the effect of Chriſtian courage, he convinced the doctor himſelf; "and I think," ſays he, "all the ſpectators at his death." He ſaid nothing as to the old plot, but juſtified himſelf fully as to what had been lately objected againſt him. The doctor having put him in mind of the earl of Eſſex, he ſaid, that lord was taken off by a trick; which he told the doctor privately, but is not ſet down by him. Sir Walter eat his breakfaſt heartily that morning, ſmoaked his pipe, and made no more of death, ſays my author, than if he had been to take a journey[p]. On the ſcaffold he converſed freely with ſome of the nobility, who were there to ſee him die; juſtified himſelf clearly from all imputations, and, like a man of true honour, vindicated his loyalty, even to that puſillanimous prince who thus ſacrificed him to the Spaniards[q]. Dean Tounſon obſerves, that every body gave credit to what Sir Walter ſaid at his death, which rendered Sir Lewis Stucley, and the Frenchman who betrayed him, extremely odious. As to the latter, I know not what became of him; but as to the former, he was catched in Whitehall, clipping the gold beſtowed upon him for this infamous act, tried and condemned for it, and having ſtripped himſelf to his ſhirt, to raiſe wherewith to purchaſe a pardon, he went to hide himſelf in the iſland of Lundy, where he died, both mad and a beggar, in leſs than two years after Sir Walter Raleigh[r].

1618, which is ſtill preſerved in the family. The Dean ſays, a very particular account of all that paſſed at Sir Walter's death, was written by one Mr. Crawford, and deſigned for the preſs, himſelf having read and approved it; but whether this ever was publiſhed, I cannot ſay.

[p] See an account of his death at the end of Sir Thomas Overbury's arraignment of Sir Walter Raleigh, as alſo joined to his remains; but the particulars above-mentioned are in Dean Tounſon's account.

[q] The moſt accurate copy of this ſpeech, is in Mr. Oldys's life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 228.

[r] Aulicus coquinariæ, p. 94. Frankland's annals of King James and King Charles I. p. 32. Howel's letters, vol. ii. p. 372. Camden's annals of King James, A. D. 1620.

This

This end had our illuſtrious hero, when he had lived ſixty-ſix years[s]. We have inſiſted too long upon his life, to be under any neceſſity of dwelling upon his character, of which he who would frame a right opinion, muſt conſider attentively his actions and his writings. He raiſed himſelf to honour while living, and has ſecured an endleſs reputation after death, by a ſeries of noble and generous atchievements; he acted in very different capacities, and excelled in all. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a ſoldier by his courage, by his conduct as a commander; a bold ſailor, a hearty friend to ſeaman, and yet no admiral maintained better diſcipline; a wiſe ſtateſman, a profound ſcholar, a learned, and withal a practical philoſopher. In regard to his private life, a beneficent maſter, a kind huſband, an affectionate father; and, in reſpect to the world, a warm friend, a pleaſant companion, and a fine gentleman. In a word, he may be truly ſtyled the Engliſh Xenophon; for no man of his age did things more worthy of being recorded, and no man was more able to record them than himſelf; inſomuch, that we may ſay of him, as Scaliger did of Cæſar, "that he fought, "and wrote, with the ſame inimitable ſpirit." And thus I take my leave of one, whom it is impoſſible to praiſe enough.

As to the other ſeamen of note in this reign, they are either ſuch as have been already ſpoken of, or, living alſo in the next, may more regularly be mentioned there. I ſhall therefore conclude this chapter with obſerving, that the death of Sir Walter Raleigh was ſo diſtaſteful an act to the whole nation, that the court, to wipe off the odium, thought proper to publiſh a declaration[t], wherein, as it pretended, the true motives and real cauſes of his death were contained. But this piece was ſo far from anſwering the end for which it was ſent abroad, that it really ſerved to juſtify Sir Walter, even beyond his own apology[u]. After this, King James granted a new commiſſion for ſettling Guiana, which ſhews his abſolute ſenſe of our having a right to it[w], and demonſtrates alſo the falſhood of that re-

[s] Prince's worthies of Devon. p. 539, &c. Camden's annals, A. D. 1618.

[t] A declaration of the demeanour of Sir Walter Raleigh, knt. 4to. 1618.

[u] Francis Oſborne's traditional memoirs of King James.

[w] About a year after Sir Walter Raleigh's death, King James granted a commiſſion to Captain Roger North, to ſettle a colony in Guiana. Mr. Oldys's life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 223.

port,

port, that Sir Walter deviſed his ſettlement of Guiana only to repair his loſſes through his impriſonment. In other caſes the king was kind enough to ſuch as projected diſcoveries and ſettlements; but, taking all things in the lights his ſeveral favourites ſet them, he was ſometimes dilatory, and ever unſteady. As to Buckingham's management, within whoſe province, as lord high-admiral, theſe things principally lay, we ſhall be obliged to treat of it in the next chapter, to which it is time we ſhould proceed.

LIVES

LIVES OF THE ADMIRALS:

INCLUDING A NEW AND ACCURATE NAVAL HISTORY.

CHAP. XIV.

The Naval Hiſtory of Great Britain under the reign of Charles I. comprehending an account of our naval expeditions againſt the French and Spaniards, our differences with the Dutch about the right of fiſhing, and our dominion over the Britiſh ſea; the progreſs of navigation and commerce, ſettling colonies, and other maritime tranſactions; together with an account of the eminent ſeamen who flouriſhed within that period.

UPON the demiſe of King James his only ſon Charles, prince of Wales, ſucceeded him, not only quietly and without diſturbance, but with the general approbation of his ſubjects[a]. He was in the flower of his age, had ſhewn himſelf a perſon of great abilities, and, after the breaking off the Spaniſh match, had rendered himſelf for a time very popu-

[a] Frankland's annals, p. 107. Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, Oxford, 1712, 8vo, vol. i. p. 22, 24. Ruſhworth, vol. i. p. 165.

lar by his conduct[b]. His father left him in a ſituation much incumbered at the time of his deceaſe; for the government was deeply in debt, a war with Spain was juſt begun, and his prime miniſter the duke of Buckingham, who had been likewiſe his father's, was generally hated[c]. In this ſad ſtate of public affairs every thing was ſubject to wrong conſtructions. Eight thouſand men, raiſed for the ſervice of the Palatinate, were ordered to rendezvous at Plymouth, and, in their paſſage thither, coat and conduct money were demanded of the country, to be repaid out of the exchequer. The behaviour of theſe troops was very licentious, and the long continuance of peace made it appear ſtill a greater grievance. The clamour thereupon grew high, and the king, to remedy this evil, granted a commiſſion for executing martial law, which, inſtead of being conſidered as a remedy, was taken for a new grievance more heavy than any of the reſt[d].

The truth was, that, while Buckingham remained in the king's council, all things were attributed to him, and the nation was ſo prejudiced againſt him, that whatever was reputed to be done by him was held a grievance; and though no man ſaw this more clearly than the king, yet, by an infatuation not eaſily to be accounted for, he truſted him as much, and loved him much more than his father had ever done.

The king's marriage with the Princeſs Henrietta Maria, daughter to Henry IV. of France, had been concluded in the lifetime of King James, and after his deceaſe the king was married to her by proxy. In the month of June, 1625, Buckingham went to attend her with the royal navy, and brought her to Dover; from thence ſhe came to Canterbury, where the marriage was conſummated; and, on the 16th of the ſame month, their majeſties entered London privately, the plague daily increaſing in

[b] Wilſon's hiſtory of King James in Kennet, p. 779, 780. Frankland's annals, p. 93. Rapin, vol. ii. p. 228, 229. Sir P. Warwick's memoirs. See the parliamentary hiſtory of England, vol. vi. where the whole of the buſineſs relating to the Spaniſh match, the ſhare the prince of Wales and the duke of Buckingham took therein in parliament, and the effects it produced, are very ably as well as accurately treated. [c] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 25. Memoirs of the reign of King Charles I. by Sir Richard Bulſtrode, p. 25. Sir P. Warwick's memoirs, p. 16. [d] Ruſhworth, vol. i. p. 168. Whitlock's memorials, p. 1. Kennet, vol. iii. p. 4.

the ſuburbs [c]. It was not long before an unfortunate tranſaction rendered this marriage diſagreeable to the people; and, as this related to the navy, it falls particularly under our cognizance; which we ſhall therefore handle more at large, becauſe in moſt of our general hiſtories it is treated very confuſedly.

The marquis d'Effiat, ambaſſador from France to King James, had repreſented to his majeſty, that the power of the Catholic king in Italy was dangerous to all Europe; that his maſter was equally inclined with his Britannic majeſty to curtail it, but, wanting a ſufficient maritime force, was deſirous of borrowing from his majeſty a few ſhips to enable him to execute the deſign he had formed againſt Genoa [f]. To this the king condeſcended, and it was agreed, that the Great Neptune, a man of war, commanded by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and ſix merchant ſhips, each of between three and four hundred tons burden, ſhould be lent to the French; but, ſoon after this agreement, the Rochellers made an application here, ſignifying, that they had juſt grounds to apprehend, that this Engliſh ſquadron would be employed for deſtroying the proteſtant intereſt in France, inſtead of diminiſhing the king of Spain's power in Italy.

The duke of Buckingham, knowing that this would be little reliſhed by Captain Pennington, who was to go admiral of the fleet, and the owners of the ſhips, he gave them private inſtructions, contrary to the public contract with France, whereby they were directed not to ſerve againſt Rochelle; but, upon their coming into a French port in the month of May, they were told by the duke of Montmorency, that they were intended to ſerve, and ſhould ſerve againſt Rochelle; upon which the ſailors on board the fleet ſigned what is called by them a Round Robin, that is, a paper containing their reſolution not to engage in that ſervice, with their names ſubſcribed in a circle, that it might not be diſcerned who ſigned firſt.

[c] Stowe's annals continued by Edmund Howes, p. 1041. Hiſtory of Charles I. by Hammond L'Eſtrange, Eſq; p. 6. Dupleix, hiſtoire de Louis le Juſte, p. 254. See a relation of the glorious triumphs and order of the ceremonies obſerved in the marriage of the high and mighty Charles, king of England, and the Lady Henrietta Maria, ſiſter to the preſent king of France, on May 8, 1625; London, 1625, 4to. [f] Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p. 21. Memoirs of the duke of Rohan, book iii. p. 108. Kennet, vol. iii. p. 6. Ruſhworth's collection, tom. i. p. 174. L'Eſtrange's hiſtory of Charles I. p. 56, 57.

Pennington

Pennington upon this fairly ſailed away with the whole ſquadron, and returned into the Downs in the beginning of July, from whence he ſent a letter to the duke of Buckingham, deſiring to be excuſed from that ſervice. The duke, without acquainting the king, or conſulting the council, directed Lord Conway, then ſecretary of ſtate, to write a letter to Captain Pennington, commanding him to put all the ſhips into the hands of the French. This, however, not taking effect, the duke ſurreptitiouſly, and without the king's knowing any thing of the deſign upon Rochelle, procured his letter to Captain Pennington to the ſame effect. Upon this, in the month of Auguſt, he ſailed a ſecond time to Dieppe, where, according to his inſtructions, the merchant-ſhips were delivered to the French; but Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who commanded the king's ſhip, weighed anchor and put to ſea; and ſo honeſt were all the ſeamen on board theſe ſhips, that, except one gunner, they all quitted them, and returned to England: but as for the ſhips, they remained with the French, and were actually employed againſt Rochelle, contrary to the king's intention, and to the very high diſhonour of the nation. This affair made a great noiſe, and came at laſt to form an article in an impeachment againſt the duke of Buckingham[g].

In the mean time the deſign ſtill went on of attacking and invading Spain, and a ſtout fleet was provided for that purpoſe; but as Buckingham, in quality of lord-high-admiral, had the ſupreme direction of that affair, the nation looked upon it with an evil eye, and were not ſo much diſpleaſed at its miſcarriage as glad of an opportunity of railing at the duke, and thoſe who by his influence were intruſted with the command of the fleet, and the forces on board it[h]. The whole of this tranſaction has been very differently related, according to the humours of thoſe who penned the accounts; however, there are very authentic memoirs

[g] Frankland's annals, p. 156. Kennet's compleat hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 6. See alſo Captain John Pennington's letter to the duke of Buckingham, from on board the Vanguard in the Downs, July 27, 1625, in the cabala, p. 350. But the moſt diſtinct account is to be gathered out of the ſeventh and eighth articles of the impeachment exhibited againſt the duke of Buckingham by the Houſe of Commons in 1626, and the ſpeech of Mr. Glanvill on the ſaid articles.

[h] Frankland's annals, p. 114. Ruſhworth, Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, Kennet, Rapin.

remaining, and from theſe I ſhall give as conciſe and impartial a detail of the affair as I can, which will ſhew how dangerous a thing it is for princes to employ perſons diſagreeable to the greateſt part of their ſubjects, an error by which they almoſt neceſſarily transfer the reſentment attending their miſcarriages upon themſelves.

This war with Spain was chiefly of the duke of Buckingham's procuring, and ſeems to have proceeded more from his perſonal diſtaſte to Count Olivarez, than any ſolid or honourable motive; however, after the war was begun, it ought certainly to have been proſecuted; becauſe, though he acted from private pique, and at a time when it viſibly ſerved his own particular purpoſes, yet without queſtion the nation had been grievouſly injured by the Spaniards, and there were therefore ſufficient grounds for taking all the advantages our naval power and our alliance with the Dutch gave us, as well as the weakneſs of the enemy, and their firm perſuaſion that, whatever we might pretend, we ſhould not actually proceed to hoſtilities. But though it was his own war, though he had engaged the king to proſecute it with much heat, to draw together a great fleet, and a conſiderable body of forces which were to embark on board it, yet when all things were ready, and the fleet on the point of going to ſea, the duke declined the command, and reſolved to ſend another perſon in his ſtead, which had a very ill effect upon the whole deſign[i].

Sir Edward Cecil, grandſon to the great Lord Burleigh, was the perſon of whom the duke made choice for this command; an old ſoldier, it is true, but no ſeaman, and therefore not at all qualified for the ſupreme direction of ſuch an undertaking[k]. The earls of Eſſex and Denbigh were appointed his vice and rear-admirals; and, that he might be the fitter to command men of ſuch quality, he was created Baron of Putney and Viſcount Wimbleton, and had likewiſe the rank of lord-marſhal[l]. It was thought ſtrange, that though there wanted not many able ſeamen, ſuch as Sir Robert Manſell, Sir William Monſon, and others, yet

i Frankland's annals, p. 114. Ruſhworth's collections, vol. i. p. 196. Kennet's complete hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 12, 13. Warwick's memoirs, p. 15. Whitlocke, p. 2.

k Clarendon, vol. i. p. 40. Kennet, p. 12, 13. L'Eſtrange's hiſtory of Charles I. p. 17.

l Dugdale's baronage, vol. ii. p. 407. Kennet, p. 13. Frankland's annals.

none

none of them were intruſted, but (as if that could confer merit) merely ſuch as were in the duke's favour, which was both an unreaſonable and an impolitic thing.

The force employed was very conſiderable, *viz.* eighty ſhips, Engliſh and Dutch, and ten good regiments; neither was it at all improbable, that, if matters had been well concerted and properly executed, this expedition might have turned to the benefit of the nation, and the honour of the king and his miniſtry. The Spaniſh plate-fleet was then returning home with above a million on board; and, if they had gone to Tercera, they muſt infallibly have been maſters of them, and, by the deſtruction of fifty or ſixty galleons, had diſabled the maritime power of Spain for at leaſt a century. But the fleet did not ſail till October, and then they went upon no ſettled ſcheme, but all was left to the diſcretion of men, who in reality were no fit judges of ſuch matters, and beſides were very ſoon, in point of opinion, divided among themſelves [m].

The general ſailed from Plymouth the 7th of October, 1625; but, when the fleet had proceeded ſome leagues to ſea, their ſhips were ſeparated by a ſtorm, ſo that they were many days before they came together to their appointed rendezvous off Cape Vincent. On the 19th of October a council was held, wherein it was reſolved to attack Cadiz, which accordingly they did on the 22d of October. The earl of Eſſex ſtood into the bay, where he found ſeventeen good ſhips riding under the town, and eight or ten gallies: theſe he bravely attacked; but, for want of proper orders and due aſſiſtance, the Spaniſh ſhips were ſuffered to retire to Port-Real, whither the lord-marſhal did not think fit to follow them. Then ſome thouſands of ſoldiers were landed, and the fort of Puntal was taken; after which they proceeded to make ſome attempts upon the town. The ſoldiers, unfortunately becoming maſters of too much wine, got exceſſively drunk, and became ſo careleſs, that if the enemy had known, or been vigilant enough to have taken this advantage, few of them had returned home. The fright into which this put their officers engaged them to reimbark their forces; and then it was concluded to cruize off Cape St. Vincent for the flota.

[m] See a copious account of the motives to, and miſcarriages in this voyage, by Sir William Monſon in his ſecond book of naval tracts.

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The men by this time grew ſickly, and by the ſtrangeſt management that ever was heard, that is, diſtributing the ſick under pretence of taking better care of them, two in each ſhip, the whole fleet was infected, and that to ſuch a degree as ſcarce left them hands enough to bring it home. This, however, they performed in the month of December, having done little hurt to the enemy, and acquired leſs honour themſelves [n]; all which was foreſeen, nay, and foretold too, before the fleet left England. On their return a charge was exhibited againſt the general by the earl of Eſſex, and nine other officers of diſtinction: Lord Wimbleton juſtified himſelf in a long anſwer to their charge. Both pieces are yet remaining, and ſerve only to demonſtrate, that want of experience, and, which was worſe, want of unanimity, proved the ruin of this expedition [o]. Theſe proceedings increaſed the people's diſcontents, expoſed the duke, if poſſible, to ſtill greater odium, and leſſened the reputation of our naval force, which quickly produced, as under like circumſtances will be always the caſe, numerous inconveniencies.

While the clamour ſtill ſubſiſted on the want of ſucceſs attending the fleet abroad, the duke of Buckingham fell into another error in the execution of his office, as lord high-admiral at home. He was vexed at the noiſe that had been made about the merchant-ſhips put into the hands of the French, and employed againſt Rochelle [p], and therefore took occaſion, in the latter end of the year 1626, to cauſe a French ſhip, called the St. Peter, of Havre de Grace, to be arreſted. The pretence was, that it was laden with Spaniſh effects; which, however, the French

[n] See the ſeveral accounts of this voyage in the authors before cited.

[o] Both the officers charge and Lord Wimbleton's anſwer are printed in the genuine works in verſe and proſe of the Right Honourable George Lord Lanſdowne, vol. iii. p. 197. edit. 1736, 12mo. The reader, who ſhall compare theſe with Sir William Monſon's reflections on this lord's conduct, will diſcern, that he is hardly and unjuſtly treated. Sir William arraigns him for calling councils when he ſhould have been acting; the officers accuſe him for not calling councils, but acting of his own head. The truth ſeems to be, he had no notion of a ſea command, and his officers no inclination to obey him.

[p] Sir Philip Warwick accounts for this diſtaſte of the duke towards the French. He ſays, that Cardinal Richlieu duped the Dutch and Engliſh both, by pretending to execute a very feaſible ſcheme for preventing the Spaniards ſending any ſupplies into Germany, and under that pretence procuring their ſhips, and then uſing them againſt the Rochellers.

denied,

denied, and aſſerted, that all the goods in the ſhip belonged to French merchants, or to Engliſh and Dutch [q]. Upon this a commiſſion was granted to hear evidence as to that point, and it appearing plainly there was no juſt ground of ſeizure, the ſhip was ordered to be, and at laſt was releaſed, but not before the French king made ſome repriſals, which ſo irritated the nation, that this alſo was made an article in the duke's impeachment [r]. The matter, however, was compromiſed between the two kings, and the good correſpondence between their ſubjects for a time reſtored; but at the bottom there was no cordial reconciliation: and ſo this quarrel, like a wound ill cured, broke quickly out again, with worſe ſymptoms than before [s].

The war in which the king was engaged, in order to have procured the reſtitution of the Palatinate to his brother-in-law, had drawn him into a league with Denmark, which obliged him to ſend a ſquadron of ſhips to that king's aſſiſtance; and this being attended with ſmall ſucceſs, he was called upon for further ſupplies. His parliaments all this time were little inclined to aſſiſt him, becauſe he would not part with Buckingham; and this obliged him to have recourſe to ſuch methods for ſupply as his lawyers aſſured him were juſtifiable. Amongſt the reſt, he obliged all the ſea-ports to furniſh him with ſhips; of the city of London he demanded twenty, and of other places in proportion.

The inhabitants thought this ſo hard, that many who had no immediate dependence on trade were for quitting their reſidence in maritime places, and retiring up into the country. This conduct of theirs made the burden ſtill more intolerable upon thoſe who ſtaid behind, and the conſequence of their remonſtrances was a proclamation, requiring ſuch as had quitted the ſea-coaſt to return immediately to their former dwellings; and this it was gave riſe to the firſt diſturbances in this unfortunate reign [t]. They were quickly increaſed by the raſh management of Buck-

[q] Kennet's complete hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 28.

[r] It is the fifth article of the impeachment; and the duke, in his anſwer drawn by Sir Nicholas Hide, juſtifies himſelf very plauſibly.

[s] Ruſhworth, Frankland, Baker, Echard, Rapin.

[t] Kennet, vol. iii. p. 28. Frankland's annals, p. 206, 207. Whitlocke, p. 7, 8. Ruſhworth's collections, vol. i. p. 415, 416.

ingham,

ingham, who, though he ſaw his maſter ſo deeply embarraſſed with the wars in which he was already engaged, yet plunged him into another with France, very precipitately, and againſt all the rules of true policy.

The queen's foreign ſervants, who were all bigotted Papiſts, had not only acted indiſcreetly in matters relating to their religion, but had likewiſe drawn the queen to take ſome very wrong, to ſay the truth, ſome ridiculous and extravagant ſteps; upon which Buckingham engaged his majeſty to diſmiſs her French ſervants, which he did the firſt of July 1626, and then ſent the Lord Carleton to repreſent his reaſons for taking ſo quick a meaſure to the French king[u]. That monarch refuſed him audience, and, to ſhew his ſenſe of the action, immediately ſeized one hundred and twenty of our ſhips, which were in his ports, and undertook the ſiege of Rochelle; though our king had acted but a little before as a mediator between him and his Proteſtant ſubjects[w]. Upon this the latter applied themſelves to King Charles, who ordered a fleet of thirty ſail to be equipped for their relief, and ſent it under the command of the earl of Denbigh; but this being ſo late in the year as the month of October, his lordſhip found it impracticable to execute his commiſſion, and ſo, after continuing ſome time at ſea in hard weather, returned into port, which not only diſappointed the king's intention, but alſo blemiſhed his reputation; for the Rochellers began to ſuſpect the ſincerity of this deſign, and doubted whether he really intended to aſſiſt them or not[x].

The Duke of Buckingham, to put the thing out of diſpute, cauſed a great fleet to be drawn together the next year, and an army of ſeven thouſand men to be put on board it, reſolving to go himſelf as admiral and commander in chief. He ſailed from Portſmouth the 27th of June, and landed on the iſland of Rhe; though at firſt he intended to have made a deſcent on Oleron, and actually promiſed ſo much to the duke of Soubize, whom

[u] Hammond L'Eſtrange's hiſtory of Charles I. p. 58, 59. Bulſtrode's memoirs, p. 31. Memoirs of the duke of Rohan, b. iv. p. 129, 130.

[w] Dupleix hiſtoire de Louis le Juſte, p. 298. Le Gendre hiſtoire de France, tome v. p. 174. Aubre hiſtoire du Cardinal duc de Richlieu, Paris, 1660, fol. liv. ii. chap. 11. Ruſhworth, vol. i. p. 424. [x] Kennet, vol. iii. p. 29. L'Eſtrange's hiſtory of Charles I. p. 62, 63. Frankland's annals.

he ſent to Rochelle to acquaint the inhabitants of his coming to their relief. They received this meſſage coldly; for the French king having corrupted ſome by his gold, and terrifying many more by his power, the Rochellers were now afraid to receive the very ſuccours they had demanded [y].

The duke landed his troops on the laſt of July, not without ſtrong oppoſition from Mr. de Toyras the French governor, whom he forced to retire, though with ſome loſs. Upon this occaſion the Engliſh fell into the very ſame errors in conduct which they had committed in the Cadiz expedition. The fort of la Prê, which covered the landing-place, they neglected, though the French themſelves in their fright had ſlighted it; ſo that it might have been taken without any trouble, and was a place of ſo great conſequence, that, if it had been in the hands of the Engliſh, it would have prevented the French from introducing any ſupplies. At firſt, it is certain, the French court was exceedingly alarmed, and it is ſaid the king fell ſick upon it; but their terrors quickly diminiſhed, when they were informed that the duke had no great capacity as a commander, and withal too much pride to take advice.

The town of St. Martin's, however, was ſpeedily taken by the Engliſh, and his grace then inveſted the citadel, but gave evident proofs of his want of military ſkill in managing the ſiege. At firſt he quartered his troops about the place without entrenching; which at laſt, however, he was forced to do: then he entered into conferences with the governor, and, refuſing to communicate the ſubſtance of them to his officers, diſcouraged his own people, and enabled the French to deceive him by a ſham treaty, during which the fort received a conſiderable ſupply. By this time the Rochellers had declared for the Engliſh, their confidence being as unſeaſonable for themſelves, as their ſuſpicions had been before for their friends; for this declaration of theirs, and the expectation he had of ſuccours from England, which were to be ſent him under the command of the earl of Holland, engaged Buckingham to remain ſo long in his camp, that his troops were much diminiſhed.

[y] Ruſhworth's collections, vol. i. p. 426. Memoirs of the duke of Rohan, b. iv. p. 132. See Sir Richard Grenville's journal of the expedition to the iſle of Rhe, *anno* 1627, in Lord Lanſdowne's works, vol. iii. p. 246.

At length, on the 6th of November, he made a general aſſault; when it appeared that the place was impregnable, at leaſt to forces under ſuch circumſtances as his were. Two days after he reſolved upon a retreat, which was as ill conducted as the reſt of the expedition. It was made in the ſight of an enemy as ſtrong in foot, and more numerous in horſe than themſelves, over a narrow cauſeway, with ſalt-pits on each ſide: yet there was no precaution taken by erecting a fort, or ſo much as throwing up a retrenchment to cover the entrance of the paſſage; by which miſtake and neglect the army was ſo much expoſed, that abundance of brave men were killed, which the beſt accounts now extant ſum up thus: fifty officers of all ranks, two thouſand common ſoldiers, and thirty-five volunteers of note. With equal ſhame and loſs, therefore, the duke concluded this unlucky expedition, embarking all his forces on the 9th of the ſame month, and ſending the poor Rochellers a ſolemn promiſe, that he would come back again to their relief; which, however, he did not live to perform. To complete his misfortune, as he entered Plymouth he met the earl of Holland with the promiſed ſuccours ſailing out, who now returned with him. There never was (its immediate effects and future conſequences conſidered) a more fatal undertaking than this. It was highly prejudicial to the king, and entirely ruined the duke. The merchants were diſcouraged from carrying on trade by impreſſing their ſhips; and the treaſury was ſo little in a condition to pay the ſeamen, that they came in crowds and clamoured at Whitehall [z].

To remedy thoſe evils, a parliament was called in the beginning of 1628, wherein there paſſed nothing but diſputes between the king and the commons; ſo that at laſt it was prorogued without granting ſupplies. The king, however, exerted himſelf to the utmoſt, in preparing a naval force to make good what the duke of Buckingham had promiſed to the inhabitants of Rochelle. With this view, a fleet of fifty ſail was aſſembled at Plymouth in the ſpring, and a large body of marines embarked; the command of it was given to the earl of Denbigh, who was

[z] Kennet, vol. iii. p. 38—40. Whitlocke, p. 9. L'Eſtrange's hiſtory of Charles I. p. 68—71. Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p. 24—28. Sir Richard Bulſtrode's memoirs.

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brother-in-law to Buckingham, and who ſailed from that port on the 17th of April, coming to anchor in the road of Rochelle on the 1ſt of May. On his arrival he found twenty ſail of the French king's ſhips riding before the harbour, and, being much ſuperior in number and ſtrength, he ſent advice into the town, that he would ſink the French ſhips as ſoon as the wind came weſt, and made a higher flood. About the 8th of May the wind and tide ſerved accordingly, and the Rochellers expected and ſolicited that deliverance. But the earl, without remembering his promiſe, or embracing the opportunity, weighed anchor and ſailed away, ſuffering four of the French ſhips to purſue, as it were, the Engliſh fleet, which arrived at Plymouth on the 26th of May.

The ſecond inglorious expedition was ſtill a greater diſcouragement to the poor Rochellers, and increaſed the fears and jealouſies of a Popiſh intereſt at home. One Le Brun, a Frenchman, but captain in the Engliſh fleet, gave in depoſitions before the mayor of Plymouth on the 16th of May, which argued treachery, or apparent cowardice, in the management of this late expedition. This account was certified by the mayor of Plymouth, and the two burgeſſes of that town in parliament, by whom it was communicated to the council-table, from whence a letter was directed to the duke of Buckingham as lord high-admiral, dated the 30th of May, 1628, to ſignify his majeſty's pleaſure, that the earl of Denbigh ſhould return back to relieve the town of Rochelle, with the fleet under his charge, and with other ſhips prepared at Portſmouth and Plymouth. But, notwithſtanding this order of council, no ſuch return was made, nor any inquiry into the diſobedience of the king's order for it [a].

Notwithſtanding theſe repeated defeats, the cries of the Rochellers, and the clamours of the people were ſo loud, that a third fleet was prepared for the relief of that city, now, by a cloſe ſiege, reduced to the laſt extremity. The duke of Buckingham choſe to command in perſon, and to that end came to Portſmouth; where, on the twenty-third of Auguſt, having

[a] Kennet, vol. iii. p. 48. Memoirs of the Duke of Rohan, p. 171. Whitlocke, p. 10. Frankland's annals. Ruſhworth's collections, vol. i. p. 586, 587.

been at breakfaſt with Soubize, and the general officers, John Felton (late lieutenant of a company in a regiment of foot under Sir John Ramſay) placed himſelf in an entry through which the duke was to paſs, who walking with Sir Thomas Frier, and inclining his ear to him in a poſture of attention, Felton, with a back blow, ſtabbed him on the left ſide into the very heart, leaving the knife in his body, which the duke pulled out with his own hand, and then fell down, ſaying only, "The villain "hath killed me!" Felton ſlipped away, and might have gone undiſcovered, but that either his conſcience or his inſolence betrayed him; for while the general rumour was, that the murderer muſt be a Frenchman, and ſome began to ſuſpect Soubize as a party in it, Felton ſtepped out, and ſaid, "I am the man "who did the deed: let no man ſuffer that is innocent." Upon which he was apprehended, and ſent priſoner to London.

This accident did not prevent the king's proſecuting his deſign; the very next day his majeſty made the earl of Lindſey admiral, Monſon and Mountjoy vice and rear-admirals; and, as an illuſtrious foreign writer aſſures us, his care and preſence had ſuch an effect in the preparing for this voyage, that more was deſpatched now in ten or twelve days than in many weeks before[b]: which is a demonſtrative proof of two things, of which many of our writers of hiſtory have affected to doubt, *viz.* that the king was hearty in his deſign, and that the Rochellers were convinced of it. This expedition, however, was not more fortunate than the former. The fleet ſailed the 8th of September, 1628, and arriving before Rochelle, found the boom raiſed to block up the entrance of the port ſo ſtrong, that though many attempts were made to break through it, yet they proved vain, ſo that the Rochellers were glad to accept of terms from their own prince, and actually ſurrendered the place on the 18th of October, the Engliſh fleet looking on, but not being able to help them; and, to complete their misfortunes, the very night after the city was given up, the ſea made ſuch a breach as would have opened an entrance for the largeſt ſhip in the Engliſh

[b] Duke of Rohan's memoirs, p. 188. His brother, the Duke of Soubize, was here at the time, and on the ſpot, and conſequently witneſs of the great preparations made, as well as of the great diligence exerted on the occaſion.

fleet.

fleet [c]. With this expedition ended the operations of the war with France, though a peace was not made till the ſucceeding year [d].

From this time, the French began to be ambitious of raiſing a maritime power, and to be extremely uneaſy at the growth of the Engliſh ſhipping. This was the effect of Richlieu's politics, who beſt underſtood the different intereſts of the ſeveral European powers, and how to manage them, ſo as to make them ſubſervient to the ends of France, of any miniſter that nation ever had, or, it is to be hoped, for the peace of Chriſtendom, will ever have. He brought in the Swedes to deſtroy the power of the houſe of Auſtria in Germany, and had addreſs enough to engage us to aſſiſt in that deſign, upon the plauſible pretence of favouring the Proteſtant intereſt [e]. Then his agents in Holland very dextrouſly infuſed a jealouſy of our dominion over the narrow ſeas, our claim to the ſole right of fiſhing, or permitting to fiſh in them, and expecting the honour of the flag, at a conſiderable diſtance from our own ſhores. After theſe notions had been a while the ſubjects of common diſcourſe among the Dutch, the famous Hugo Grotius was induced to write a treatiſe under the title of MARE LIBERUM, wherein, with great eloquence, he endeavoured to ſhew the weakneſs of our title to dominion over the ſea; which, according to his notion, was a gift from GOD, common to all nations [f].

This was anſwered by Selden, in his famous treatiſe, entitled, MARE CLAUSUM; wherein he has effectually demonſtrated,

[c] Frankland's annals, p. 338. Kennet, vol. iii. p. 49. Ruſhworth, vol. i. p. 635. L'Eſtrange's hiſtory of Charles I. p. 93. Memoirs of the duke of Rohan, p. 190.

[d] Rymer's fœdera, tome, xix. p. 66—86. The duke of Rohan wrote a very long and pathetic letter to the king, which the reader will meet with in Ruſhworth's collections, under the year 1629, p. 4. imploring his further aid on the behalf of the reformed churches in France, prior to the treaty of peace; but his majeſty, as he informed that nobleman in his anſwer, having been conſtrained to diſſolve the parliament, from whom he expected ſupplies, being in no condition to contribute any farther aſſiſtance thereto, recommended it to him, and thoſe intereſted, to make the beſt terms they could with the court of France.

[e] This matter is very fairly ſtated by Sir Philip Warwick, in his memoirs, p. 37.

[f] The title of this book runs thus, Mare Liberum; ſeu, de Jure quod Batavis competit ad Indica Commercia: Lug. Bat. Elzevir. 1609. 8vo. reprinted about this time.

from

from the principles of the law of nature and nations, that a dominion over the ſea may be acquired; from the moſt authentic hiſtories, that ſuch a dominion has been claimed and enjoyed by ſeveral nations, and ſubmitted to by others for their common benefit: that this in fact was the caſe of the inhabitants of this iſland, who at all times, and under every kind of government, had claimed, exerciſed, and conſtantly enjoyed ſuch a dominion; which had been confeſſed by their neighbours frequently, and in the moſt ſolemn manner [g]. All this, with learning, induſtry, and judgment ſuperior to praiſe, this great man hath fully and unqueſtionably made out for the ſatisfaction of foreigners; as it is the deſign of this work, (if I may be allowed to mention it in the ſame page with Mr. Selden's), to impreſs the ſame ſentiment on the minds of all ſenſible Britons, *viz.* "That they have an hereditary, uninterrupted right "to the ſovereignty of their ſeas, conveyed to them from their "earlieſt anceſtors, in truſt for their lateſt poſterity." This book of Mr. Selden's was publiſhed in 1634, and by the countenance then, and afterwards, ſhewn by King Charles towards this extraordinary performance, we may fairly conclude, that he had very juſt and generous notions of his own and his people's rights in this reſpect, though he was very unfortunate in taking ſuch methods as he did to ſupport them [h].

The French miniſter perſiſted ſteadily in his Machiavellian ſcheme, of uſing the power and induſtry of the Dutch to interrupt the trade, and leſſen the maritime force of Britain. With this view alſo, a negociation was begun between that crown and the States of Holland, for dividing the Spaniſh Netherlands between them; and, under colour of thus aſſiſting them in ſupport of their pretenſions to an equal right over the ſea, and in promoting their trade to the prejudice of ours, Richlieu carried on ſecretly and ſecurely his darling project, of raiſing a naval force in France; to promote which, he ſpared not either for pains or expence, procuring from all parts the ableſt perſons in all arts and ſciences any way relating to navi-

[g] Selden's title is ſhort and plain, Mare Clauſum; ſeu, de Dominio Maris, lib. i. Londini, 1635. fol.

[h] See Ruſhworth, under the year 1636, p. 320. Frankland's annals, p. 476 Whitlocke, L'Eſtrange.

gation,

gation, and fixing them in the French ſervice, by giving them great encouragement.

Our king formed a juſt idea of his deſign, and ſaw thoroughly into its conſequences, which he endeavoured to prevent, by publiſhing proclamations for reſtraining ſhipwrights, and other artificers, from entering into foreign ſervice; for aſſerting his title to the ſovereignty of the ſea, and for regulating the manner of wearing flags[i]. If to theſe precautions he had joined a reaſonable condeſcenſion to the temper of his ſubjects, in diſmiſſing from his ſervice ſuch as were obnoxious to them, either through their arbitrary notions, or bad behaviour, and had thereby fixed them, and their repreſentatives, firmly in his intereſt, without doubt he had gained his point, and carried the glory of this nation higher than any of his predeceſſors. But his want of ſkill in the art of gaining the affections of the people, and, to ſpeak without reſerve, that want of true public ſpirit in ſome who were now eſteemed patriots by the people, prevented the good effects of the king's laudable intentions, and turned what he meant for a cordial, into a corroſive poiſon.

I am far from affecting an allegorical ſtyle; but there are ſome things of ſo nice a nature, and the tempers of men are in ſome ſeaſons ſo ſtrangely turned, that it is not expedient either for them to hear, or for the hiſtorian to tell, even truth too bluntly. Yet it is equally dangerous, on the other hand, for one who undertakes ſuch a taſk as this, to be afraid of delivering his ſentiments freely, even ſuppoſing his fears to flow from an apprehenſion of injuring, what he thinks it his duty to recommend. Under a ſtrong ſenſe, therefore, of what in one reſpect it becomes me to ſay, for the ſervice of my country, and what in regard to the opinions of very great men, who have thought in another way, it is unfit for me to ſhew myſelf poſitive; I come now to ſpeak of ſhip-money, a ſubject exceedingly tender in the laſt age, and little leſs ſo at preſent[k].

i Kennet's complete hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 74. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 24. Frankland's annals, p. 471. Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs. L'Eſtrange's life of Charles I. p. 130, 131.

k Compare our modern hiſtories with thoſe written near thoſe times.

The

The apprehenſions which the king had entertained of this new league between the French and Dutch were ſo heightened in the year 1635, by the junction of the fleets of thoſe two powers, and the intelligence he had, that France was ſhortly to declare war againſt Spain, and from thence to derive that occaſion they had been ſo long ſeeking, to divide the Netherlands between themſelves and their new allies, all whoſe pretenſions, in reſpect to the right of fiſhing in, and uſing an unreſtrained navigation in the ſeas, they had undertaken to ſupport, that he reſolved to be no longer paſſive [l]. In order to defeat this deſign, and maintain the ſovereignty annexed to the Engliſh crown, as well as the nation's credit as a maritime power, the king ſaw that it was neceſſary to equip and put to ſea a ſuperior naval force.

This it ſeemed exceeding hard to do, without the aſſiſtance of a parliament; and yet the delays in granting aids had been ſo great in former parliaments, that his majeſty was very doubtful of ſucceeding, if for this he truſted to a parliamentary ſupply. His lawyers, knowing both the nature of the caſe and his deep diſtreſs, ſuggeſted to him, that upon this occaſion he might have recourſe to his prerogative; which opinion having been approved by the judges, he thereupon directed writs to be iſſued, for the levying of ſhip-money. Theſe writs were, for the preſent, directed only to ſea-ports, and ſuch places as were near the coaſt, requiring them to furniſh a certain number of ſhips, or to grant the king an aid equivalent thereto. The city of London was directed to provide ſeven ſhips for twenty-ſix days, and other places in proportion. To make the nation the more eaſy under this tax, the king directed, that the money raiſed thereby, ſhould be kept apart in the Exchequer, and that a diſtinct account ſhould be given of the ſervices to which it was applied. Yet, in ſpite of theſe precautions, the people murmured grievouſly; which, however, did not hinder this project from being carried into execution [m].

[l] Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 289. Frankland's annals, p. 468.

[m] Kennet's complete hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 81. Whitlocke, p. 22, 24. Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p. 51. Clarendon, vol. i. p. 68. Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 334, 335. Bulſtrode's memoirs, p. 36, 37.

But

But as our neighbours were likely to be as much alarmed from the equipping of so strong a fleet, as our people were disturbed at home by the method taken to defray the expence of it; secretary Coke, by the king's orders, wrote a letter to Sir William Boswell, then charged with his majesty's affairs at the Hague, in order fully to explain what that fleet was to perform; which letter, for the honour of those times, shall be inserted here, and is as follows:

"SIR,

"BY your letters, and otherwise, I perceive many jealousies "and discourses are raised upon the preparations of his ma- "jesty's fleet, which is now in such forwardness, that we doubt "not but within this month it will appear at sea. It is there- "fore expedient, both for your satisfaction and direction, to "inform you particularly what was the occasion, and what is "his majesty's intention in this work.

"First, we hold it a principle not to be denied, that the "king of Great-Britain is a monarch at land and sea, to the "full extent of his dominions; and that it concerneth him, as "much to maintain his sovereignty in all the British seas, as "within his three kingdoms; because without that, these can- "not be kept safe, nor he preserve his honour, and due respect "with other nations. But commanding the seas, he may cause "his neighbours, and all countries, to stand upon their guard, "whensoever he thinks fit. And this cannot be doubted, that "whosoever will encroach upon him by sea, will do it by land "also, when they see their time. To such presumption, "MARE LIBERUM gave the first warning piece, which must "be answered with a defence of MARE CLAUSUM, not so "much by discourses, as by the louder language of a powerful "navy, to be better understood, when overstrained patience "seeth no hope of preserving her right by other means.

"The degrees by which his majesty's dominion at sea hath "of later years been first impeached, and then questioned, are "as considerable as notorious.

"First, to cherish, as it were, to nurse up our unthankful "neighbours, we gave them leave to gather wealth and strength "upon our coasts, in our ports, by our trade, and by our

" people. Then they were glad to invite our merchants reſi-
" dence, with what privileges they could deſire. Then they
" offered to us even the ſovereignty of their eſtates, and then
" they ſued for licence to fiſh upon the coaſts, and obtained it,
" under the great ſeal of Scotland, which now they ſuppreſs.
" And when thus by leave, or by connivance, they had poſ-
" ſeſſed themſelves of our fiſhing, not only in Scotland, but in
" Ireland and in England, and by our ſtaple had raiſed a great
" ſtock of trade, by theſe means, they ſo increaſed their ſhip-
" ping and power at ſea, that now they endure not to be kept
" at any diſtance: nay, they are grown to that confidence, to
" keep guards upon our ſeas, and then to project an office and
" company of aſſurance, for the advancement of trade, and
" withal prohibit us free commerce, even within our ſeas, and
" take our ſhips and goods, if we conform not to their pla-
" carts. What inſolencies and cruelties they have committed
" againſt us heretofore, in Iceland, in Greenland, and in the
" Indies, is too well known to all the world. In all which,
" though our ſufferings, and their wrong, may ſeem forgotten,
" yet the great intereſt of his majeſty's honour is ſtill the ſame,
" and will refreſh their memories as there ſhall be cauſe. For
" though charity muſt remit wrongs done to private men, yet
" the reflection upon the public, may make it a greater charity
" to do juſtice on crying crimes. All this notwithſtanding,
" you are not to conceive, that the work of this fleet is either
" revenge, or execution of juſtice for theſe great offences paſt,
" but chiefly for the future, to ſtop the violent current of that
" preſumption, whereby the men of war and free-booters of
" all nations, abuſing the favour of his majeſty's peaceable
" and gracious government, whereby he hath permitted all his
" friends and allies to make uſe of his ſeas and ports, in a
" reaſonable manner, and according to his treaties, have taken
" upon them the boldneſs, not only to come confidently, at all
" times, into all his ports and rivers, but to convey their mer-
" chant ſhips as high as his chief city, and then to caſt an-
" chor cloſe upon his magazines, and to contemn the commands
" of his officers, when they required a farther diſtance. But,
" which is more intolerable, have aſſaulted and taken one ano-
" ther within his majeſty's channels, and within his rivers, to

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" the ſcorn and contempt of his dominion and power; and this " being of late years an ordinary practice, which we have en- " deavoured in vain to reform, by the ways of juſtice and trea- " ties, the world, I think, will now be ſatisfied, that we have " reaſon to look about us. And no wiſe man will doubt, that " it is high time to put ourſelves in this equipage upon the ſeas, " and not to ſuffer that ſtage of action to be taken from us, " for want of our appearance.

" So you ſee the general ground upon which our counſels " ſtand. In particular you may take notice and publiſh, as cauſe " requires, that his majeſty by this fleet intendeth not a rupture " with any prince or ſtate, nor to infringe any point of his trea- " ties, but reſolveth to continue and maintain that happy peace " wherewith God hath bleſſed his kingdom, and to which all " his actions and negociations have hitherto tended, as by your " own inſtructions you may fully underſtand. But withal, con- " ſidering that peace muſt be maintained by the arm of power, " which only keeps down war by keeping up dominion, his ma- " jeſty, thus provoked, finds it neceſſary, for his own defence " and ſafety, to reaſſume and keep his ancient and undoubted " right in the dominion of theſe ſeas, and ſuffer no other prince " or ſtate to encroach upon him, thereby aſſuming to themſelves " or their admirals any ſovereign command, but to force them " to perform due homage to his admirals and ſhips, and to pay " them acknowledgments as in former times they did. He will " alſo ſet open and protect the free trade both of his ſubjects " and allies, and give them ſuch ſafe conduct and convoy as " they ſhall reaſonably require. He will ſuffer no other fleets, " or men of war, to keep any guard upon theſe ſeas, or there " to offer violence, or take prizes or booties, or to give inter- " ruption to any lawful intercourſe. In a word, his majeſty is " reſolved, as to do no wrong, ſo to do juſtice both to his ſub- " jects and friends within the limits of his ſeas. And this is the " real and royal deſign of this fleet, whereof you may give part, " as you find occaſion, to our good neighbours in thoſe parts, " that no umbrage may be taken of any hoſtile act or purpoſe " to their prejudice in any kind. So wiſhing you all health and " happineſs, I reſt.

" Whitehall, April 16, 1635."

One would imagine, that leſs care had been taken to ſatisfy the minds of the people at home about the genuine intent of this tax, levied for the equipping of a fleet ſufficient for theſe neceſſary purpoſes, ſince otherwiſe the public welfare ſeemed to be ſo nearly concerned, that public acquieſcence at leaſt might have been expected. But the truth of the matter was, his majeſty did in this reſpect all that was in his power to do, by directing the Lord-keeper Coventry [n] to put the judges in mind, before they went the ſummer-circuit, to ſatisfy the minds of the people in relation to the levying of ſhip-money, which moſt of them did, but, as Whitlocke aſſures us, very ineffectually; though the ſame author acknowledges, that the money was aſſeſſed and levied with great care and equality, much beyond what was obſerved in following taxes.

With the help of this money the king, in the month of May 1635, fitted out a fleet of forty ſail, under the command of Robert earl of Lindſey, who was admiral, Sir William Monſon vice-admiral, Sir John Pennington rear-admiral; as alſo another of twenty ſail under the earl of Eſſex. The firſt of theſe fleets ſailed from Tilbury-hope on the 26th of May. Their inſtructions were, to give no occaſion of hoſtility, and to ſuffer nothing which might prejudice the rights of the king and kingdom. The French and Dutch fleets joined off Portland the laſt of this month, and made no ſcruple of giving out, that they intended to aſſert their own independency, and to queſtion that prerogative which the Engliſh claimed in the narrow ſeas; but as ſoon as they were informed that the Engliſh fleet was at ſea, and in ſearch of them, they quitted our coaſt, and repaired to their own [o].

Our admiral ſent a bark upon the coaſt of Britanty to take a view of them; and, from the time of the return of this bark to the 1ſt of October, this fleet protected our own ſeas and ſhores, gave laws to the neighbouring nations, and effectually aſſerted that ſovereignty which the monarchs of this kingdom have ever claimed. The good effects of this armament, and the reputation we gained thereby abroad, in ſome meaſure quieted the minds of

[n] Memorials, p. 24. The keeper's ſpeech to the judges is ſtill extant in Sanderſon's hiſtory of King Charles I. p. 204, 205, 206.

[o] Letters and deſpatches of Thomas earl of Stafford, vol. i. p. 416, 417, 419, 446. Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, book ii. p. 290.

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the people, as it convinced them, that this was not an invention to bring money into the exchequer, without reſpect had to the end for which it was raiſed [p].

The king, perfectly ſatisfied with what had been done this year, and yet well knowing that it would ſignify little if another, and that at leaſt as good a fleet, was not ſet out the next, to raiſe the money neceſſary for equipping ſuch a force, had recourſe again to his writs for levying of ſhip-money; but now the aid was made more extenſive. What was before rated as a particular proviſion, to be raiſed by the reſpective ports for their own immediate ſafety, was now converted into a national tax, and ſo became the more grievous for want of authority of parliament. The burden indeed in itſelf was far from being preſſing; at the utmoſt it did not amount to above 236,000 l. *per annum*, which was not quite 20,000l. a month throughout the whole kingdom; yet the making it an univerſal aid, and the aſſeſſing and collecting it in the parliamentary methods, without parliamentary authority, gave it an air of oppreſſion, and made it extremely odious, though the neceſſity was far from being diſſembled, and the benefits reſulting from the care taken of the narrow ſeas, which had afforded matter of inquiry and expoſtulation to every parliament the king had called, could not be denied [q].

In order to prevent all doubts from his own ſubjects, and alſo to prevent any falſe ſurmiſes gaining ground in foreign nations as to the deſign of this potent armament, the king thought fit to expreſs his royal intentions to the world in the moſt public, and in the moſt authentic manner, that at one and the ſame time it might appear what himſelf demanded, and what had been paid in acknowledgment of the right of his anceſtors in regard to thoſe things, as to which theſe demands were made. That inſtrument ran thus:

[p] We have a clear and full account of this expedition written by Sir William Monſon himſelf, who was an eye-witneſs and a competent judge of ſuch matters, in his naval tracts, p. 289.

[q] Kennet's complete hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 81. Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p. 51. Frankland, p. 477. Whitlocke, p. 24.

A Pro-

A Proclamation for reſtraint of fiſhing upon his Majeſty's ſeas and coaſts without licence.

"WHEREAS our father of bleſſed memory, King James, did, "in the ſeventh year of his reign of Great-Britain, ſet forth a "proclamation touching fiſhing, whereby, for the many important reaſons therein expreſſed, all perſons of what nation or "quality ſoever (being not his natural-born ſubjects) were reſtrained from fiſhing upon any the coaſts and ſeas of Great-"Britain, Ireland, and the reſt of the iſles adjacent, where "moſt uſually heretofore fiſhing had been, until they had orderly demanded and obtained licences from our ſaid father, "or his commiſſioners in that behalf, upon pain of ſuch chaſtiſement as ſhould be fit to be inflicted upon ſuch wilful offenders; ſince which time, albeit, neither our ſaid father nor "ourſelf have made any conſiderable execution of the ſaid proclamation, but have with much patience expected a voluntary conformity of our neighbours and allies to ſo juſt and reaſonable propoſitions and directions as are contained in the "ſame.

"And now, finding by experience that all the inconveniencies "which occaſioned that proclamation are rather increaſed than "abated, we, being very ſenſible of the premiſes, and well knowing how far we are obliged in honour to maintain the rights of "our crown, eſpecially of ſo great conſequence, have thought "it neceſſary, by the advice of our privy-council, to renew the "aforeſaid reſtraint of fiſhing upon our aforeſaid coaſts and ſeas, "without licence firſt obtained from us, and by theſe preſents "to make public declaration, that our reſolution is, at times "convenient, to keep ſuch a competent ſtrength of ſhipping upon our ſeas as may (by God's bleſſing) be ſufficient both to hinder ſuch farther encroachments upon our regalities, and aſſiſt "and protect thoſe our good friends and allies, who ſhall "henceforth by virtue of our licences (to be firſt obtained) "endeavour to take the benefit of fiſhing upon our coaſts and "ſeas in the places accuſtomed.

"Given at our palace of Weſtminſter the 10th day of May, "in the 12th year of our reign of England, Scotland, "France, and Ireland."

In

In 1636 the king ſent a fleet of ſixty ſail to ſea, under the command of the earl of Northumberland admiral, Sir John Pennington vice-admiral, and Sir Henry Marom rear-admiral[r]. They ſailed firſt to the Downs, and from thence to the north, where the Dutch buſſes were fiſhing upon our coaſt. The admiral required them to forbear, which they not ſeeming diſpoſed to do, he fired upon them; this put them into great confuſion, and obliged them to have recourſe to other methods. The Dutch, therefore, applied themſelves to the earl of Northumberland, deſired him to mediate with the king, that they might have leave to go on with their fiſhing this year, for which they were content to pay 30,000l. and expreſſed alſo a willingneſs to obtain a grant from the king, for his permiſſion for their veſſels to fiſh there for the time to come, paying an annual tribute[s].

Such is the beſt account that can be collected of the cauſes and conſequences of this expedition from our beſt hiſtorians. But the earl of Northumberland delivered a journal of his whole proceedings, ſigned with his own hand, which is, or at leaſt was preſerved in the paper-office. In that journal there are ſeveral memorable particulars. The Dutch fiſhing-buſſes, upon the appearance of his lordſhip's fleet, did take licences to the number of 200, though he arrived amongſt them pretty late in the year. He exacted from them twelvepence per ton as an acknowledgment, and affirms, that they went away well ſatisfied. It was pretended by the Dutch, in King Charles the Second's time, that this was an act of violence, and that nothing could be concluded as to the right of this crown from that tranſaction, ſince the Dutch did not pay becauſe they thought what was inſiſted upon to be due, but becauſe they were defenceleſs. His lordſhip's journal ſets this pretence entirely aſide, ſince it appeared from thence, that they had a ſquadron of ten men of war for their protection, as alſo that, Auguſt the 20th, 1636, the Dutch vice-admiral Dorp came with a fleet of twenty men of war; but, inſtead of interrupting the earl in his proceedings, he ſaluted him by lowering his topſails, ſtriking his flag, and firing his guns; after which he came on board, and was well entertained by the

[r] Lord Stafford's letters, vol. i. p. 524.

[s] Kennet's compleat hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 84. Whitlocke, p. 25. Frankland, p. 477. Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p. 117.

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earl of Northumberland. It is farther mentioned in that journal, that, upon his lordſhip's return from the north and anchoring in the Downs, he had notice of a Spaniſh fleet of twenty-ſix ſail, bound for Dunkirk; to reconnoitre which he ſent one of the ſhips of his ſquadron, called the Happy Entrance, to which ſingle ſhip that fleet paid the marks of reſpect which were due to the Engliſh flag, whenever it appeared.

The king meant to have continued both this method of raiſing money, and of fitting out fleets annually, and, by giving ſeveral young noblemen commands at ſea, to have rendered them the more capable of ſerving their country in times of greater danger[t]; but he quickly found this impracticable. The nation grew ſo exceedingly diſſatisfied with this method of raiſing money, and the great caſe of Mr. Hampden made it ſo clear, that a conſtant and regular levying of this tax was dangerous to the conſtitution, and to the freedom of the ſubject, that the king was obliged to lay aſide this ſcheme, and to content himſelf with uſing all the methods that could be thought of to awake the people's attention in regard to the ſovereignty of the ſea[u]. With this view his majeſty made an order in council, that a copy of Mr. Selden's book upon that ſubject ſhould be kept in the council-cheſt, that another copy ſhould be depoſited in the court of exchequer, and a third in the court of admiralty, there to remain as perpetual evidence of our juſt claim to the dominion of the ſeas[x].

Happy had it been, if the king had at this time called a parliament, and, after excuſing the manner in which the money was levied, had ſhewn how well it was applied, how effectually our navigation had been protected, and all the deſigns of the French and Dutch defeated; for it may be then preſumed, that the parliament would have provided in a legal manner for the maintenance of theſe fleets, which muſt have been of infinite advantage in reſpect to the trade of this kingdom. But it happened otherwiſe to the great detriment of the commonwealth. Some courtiers ſpoke of the royal wiſdom as infallible, and the regal power as not to be reſiſted, in order to raiſe themſelves, which gave high and juſt offence to prudent men; others, in the mean

[t] Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 299. Warwick's memoirs, p. 53.

[u] Rushworth's collections, Frankland's annals, Clarendon's hiſtory, Whitlocke's memorials. [x] See the order of council in Frankland's annals, p. 476.

time, that they might become popular, heightened every little error into a grievous crime, and magnified ſuch irregular things as were done through neceſſity into deliberate acts of tyranny. By this means theſe nations were plunged in blood, whoſe unanimity had rendered them rich, powerful, happy, and arbiters of the fate of Europe!

Mr. D'Eſtrades, as he tells us in his negociation, was ſent over in the latter end of the year 1637, with a private commiſſion from the cardinal, to prevail on our king to ſtand neuter, whilſt France and Holland in conjunction attacked the maritime places of the Spaniſh Netherlands; and to offer him, at the ſame time, very advantageous conditions in return for his inactivity. King Charles anſwered with equal firmneſs and prudence, that he could never ſuffer his hands to be tied up by a neutrality ſo prejudicial to his own honour and the intereſt of his kingdom, and that he would keep a fleet in the Downs, with fifteen thouſand men ready to be tranſported to the relief of the firſt town which ſhould be inveſted by the arms of the French king or the States; and as to the aſſiſtance which his eminence had offered to him againſt any domeſtic diſturbance, he thanked him for it; but thought it quite unneceſſary, ſince he depended on his own authority and the laws of the land for the ſuppreſſing and puniſhing of all ſuch rebellious attempts[y].

The vindictive cardinal no ſooner received the account of this conference from his agent, than he reſolved to take an immediate revenge, and deſpatched without delay, to Edinburgh, Abbé Chamber, his almoner, whom he inſtructed to encourage the covenanters in their deſign, with the hopes of aſſiſtance from France, and to improve the correſpondence which D'Eſtrades had formed amongſt them during his ſhort ſtay in England. This abbé performed his part ſo well, that the prince of Orange told Monſieur D'Eſtrades, that the cardinal had employed a very notable inſtrument in Scotland, by whoſe practices the king's intereſt in that country was entirely ruined[z].

Nothing

[y] Lettres, memoirs, & negotiations de Monſieur le Comte D'Eſtrades, à Bruxelles, 1709, 12mo, tome i. The count's letter to the cardinal, in which the king of England's anſwer is contained, bears date, London, Nov. 24, 1637.

[z] Ruſhworth's collections under the year 1638, p. 840. Frankland's annals, p. 768. Whitlocke, p. 33. Memoirs de Monſieur le Comte D Eſtrades, tome i.

Nothing of conſequence occurs in regard to naval affairs till the year 1639, when the Spaniards fitted out a powerful fleet, conſiſting of ſixty-ſeven ſail of large ſhips, manned with 25,000 ſeamen, and having on board 12,000 land-forces, deſigned for the relief of Flanders. The Dutch had two or three ſquadrons at ſea; the Spaniſh fleet, coming up the Channel, was met in the ſtreights by one of them, conſiſting of ſeventeen ſail, under the command of Martin the ſon of Herbert Van Tromp, who, notwithſtanding the enemy's great ſuperiority, attacked them; but finding himſelf too weak, was obliged to ſheer off towards Dunkirk, where being joined by the other ſquadrons, he ſo roughly handled the Spaniſh fleet, under the command of Don Antonio de Oquendo, that at laſt he forced them on the Engliſh coaſt near Dover[a].

Admiral Van Tromp finding himſelf in want of powder and ball, ſtood away for Calais, where he was liberally ſupplied by the governor, and then returned to attack the enemy. Upon his approach the Spaniards got within the ſouth-foreland, and put themſelves under the protection of our caſtles. Things being in this ſituation, the Spaniſh reſident importuned King Charles, that he would oblige the Dutch to forbear hoſtilities for two tides, that the Spaniards might have an opportunity of bearing away for their own coaſt; but the king being in amity with both powers, was reſolved to ſtand neuter: and whereas the Spaniards had hired ſome Engliſh ſhips to tranſport their ſoldiers to Dunkirk, upon complaint made thereof by the Dutch ambaſſadors, ſtrict orders were given, that no ſhips or veſſels belonging to his majeſty's ſubjects ſhould take any Spaniard on board, or paſs below Graveſend without licence.

'The reader will find theſe facts fully proved, if he pleaſes to peruſe the cardinal's letter to the count, dated Rouel, Dec. 2, 1637, which he wrote in anſwer to the count's letter already cited, and the count's letter to the cardinal, dated Hague, Jan. 21, 1641. Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p. 129, 140. Lord Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. iii. p. 93. See the letters likewiſe of Robert earl of Leiceſter, the king's ambaſſador in France, to Sir Francis Windibank, ſecretary of ſtate, in the Sydney papers, vol. ii. p. 562, 599, 646.

[a] The Dutch hiſtorians ſay, the king miſtook his true intereſt in croſſing the deſigns of France and Holland, and having a bias in favour of the Spaniards. But experience has clearly evinced the king judged right, and with great reaſon apprehended more danger from the conjunction of the French and Dutch, than from the declining power of Spain.

However,

However, after much plotting and counter-plotting on both ſides, the Spaniard at length outwitted his enemy, and found means, by a ſtratagem, in the night to convey away through the Downs, round by the North Sand-head and the back of the Godwin, twelve large ſhips to Dunkirk, and in them four thouſand men. In excuſe of this groſs neglect of the Dutch admirals, in leaving that avenue from the Downs unguarded, they affirmed they were aſſured by the Engliſh, that no ſhips of any conſiderable burden could venture by night to ſail that way. The two fleets had now continued in their ſtations near three weeks, when King Charles ſent the Earl of Arundel to the admiral of Spain, to deſire him to retreat upon the firſt fair wind; but by this time the Dutch fleet was, by continual reinforcements from Zealand and Holland, increaſed to a hundred ſail, and ſeeming diſpoſed to attack their enemies, Sir John Pennington, admiral of his majeſty's fleet, who lay in the Downs with thirty-four men of war, acquainted the Dutch admiral, that he had received orders to act in defence of either of the two parties which ſhould be firſt attacked. This tranſaction ſhews plainly how much it imported England to have had a ſuperior fleet at ſea, which was prevented by the general diſcontent about ſhip-money, and the religious diſturbances in Scotland, ſo that probably nothing more than was done could be done, though ſome blame fell upon Sir John Pennington in thoſe days.

The Spaniards, however, growing too preſumptuous on the protection they enjoyed, a day or two after fired ſome ſhot at Van Tromp's barge, when himſelf was in her, and killed a man with a cannon-ball on board of a Dutch ſhip, whoſe dead body was preſently ſent on board Sir John Pennington, as a proof that the Spaniards were the firſt aggreſſors, and had violated the neutrality of the king of England's harbour. Soon after this the Dutch admiral, on receiving freſh orders from the States, came to a reſolution of attacking the Spaniards; but before he put it in execution, he thought fit to write to admiral Pennington, telling him, that the Spaniards having infringed the liberties of the King of England's harbours, and being clearly become the aggreſſors, he found himſelf obliged to repel force by force, and attack them, in which, purſuant to the declaration he had made to him, he not only hoped for, but depended on

his aſſiſtance; which, however, if he ſhould not pleaſe to grant, he requeſted the favour that he would at leaſt give him leave to engage the enemy, otherwiſe he ſhould have juſt cauſe of complaint to all the world of ſo manifeſt an injury [b].

This letter being delivered to the Engliſh admiral, Van Tromp immediately weighed, and ſtood to the Spaniards in ſix diviſions, cannonading them furiouſly, and vigorouſly preſſing them at the ſame time with his fire-ſhips, ſo that he quickly forced them all to cut their cables, and of fifty-three, which the Spaniards were in number, twenty-three ran aſhore, and ſtranded in the Downs; of theſe three were burnt, two ſunk, and two periſhed on the ſhore, one of which was a great galleon (the vice-admiral of Galicia) commanded by Don Antonio de Caſtro, and mounted with fifty-two braſs guns. The remainder of the twenty-three, which were ſtranded and deſerted by the Spaniards, were manned by the Engliſh, to ſave them from falling into the hands of the Dutch. The other thirty Spaniſh ſhips, with Don Antonio de Oquendo, the commander in chief, and Lopez, admiral of Portugal, got out to ſea, and kept in good order, till a thick fog ariſing, the Dutch took advantage thereof, interpoſed between the admirals and their fleet, and fought them valiantly till the fog cleared up, when the admiral of Portugal began to flame, being ſet on fire by two Dutch ſhips fitted for that purpoſe. Oquendo perceiving this, preſently ſtood away for Dunkirk, with the admiral of that place, and ſome few ſhips more; for, of theſe, thirty-five were ſunk in the fight, eleven taken and ſent into Holland, three periſhed upon the coaſt of France, one near Dover, and only ten eſcaped. The firſt hoſtility having been indiſputably committed by the Spaniards, was a plea of which the Dutch made uſe in their juſtification to us; and at the ſame time became a ſufficient argument to defend the conduct of the Engliſh government, which otherwiſe would have appeared repugnant to the law of nations, in ſuffering one friend to deſtroy another within its chambers [c].

b Commelyn Leeven van Fred. Hen. fol. 55. Lettres D'Eſtrades, tom. i. p. 40. Le Clerc hiſtoire des Provinces Unies, liv. xii. p. 193, 194.

c See Sir John Pennington's relation of this engagement in Frankland's annals, p. 793, 794. Whitlocke, p. 31, 32. Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p. 119, 120. Memoirs de monſieur le Counte D'Eſtrades, tom. i. See the count's letter to the Cardinal de Richlieu, dated Bergen-op-zoom, Sept. 20, 1639, acquainting him with the defeat of the Spaniſh fleet.

It

It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that in reality the people of England were not ſorry for this misfortune which befel the Spaniards, though the court took all the care imaginable to prevent it; and the reaſon of this was, that ſome ſurmiſed this to be a new Spaniſh armada, fitted out nominally againſt the Dutch; but, in truth, intended to act againſt heretics in general. At firſt ſight this may appear a wild and extravagant ſuggeſtion; but, perhaps, the reader will in ſome meaſure change his opinion, when he is told, that in the next parliament there really appeared ſome kind of proof of it, a popiſh book being produced, in which, among other ſuperſtitious things, were prayers for the holy martyrs who periſhed in the fleet ſent againſt the heretics in England [d]. However it was, the bare report undoubtedly was more than ſufficient to alarm the populace, and revive their reſentments againſt the Spaniards. Some of our own writers have affected to repreſent the conduct of the Dutch as derogatory on this occaſion from our ſovereignty at ſea, but foreigners, who are the beſt judges in ſuch caſes, intimate nothing of this kind [e], though, it muſt be allowed, our affairs were then in ſuch confuſion, that it is very doubtful whether his majeſty could have properly reſented any indignities, in caſe they had offered it.

I had like to have ſlipped over, as ſome of our hiſtorians have done, the expedition of the Marquis of Hamilton againſt the Scots, which was undertaken this year; and indeed there is very little in it worth mentioning, except to ſhew how exceeding difficult it is to come at truth in relation to theſe affairs. Biſhop Burnet, in his memoirs of the Hamilton family, has given us a very plauſible account of this matter. He ſays, the duke embarked at Yarmouth about the middle of April, 1639; that he had with him about five thouſand men, among whom there were not above two hundred that knew how to fire a gun: but he does not ſay what number of ſhips he had, or of what burden; only that the troops were tranſported in colliers, and arrived in the Frith of Forth the firſt of May. There he continued for ſome time, treating with the Scots to little or no pur-

[d] Ruſhworth, under the year 1639, p. 974. Prynne's royal favourite, p. 59. Fiery Jeſuits, a 4to pamplet, printed in 1667. p. 118.

[e] See Nanis's hiſtory of Venice, b. xi. p. 472, 473.

poſe,

poſe, till, the ſeaſon being loſt, he returned without effecting any thing[f].

Another gentleman, who lived in thoſe times, and ſeems to have known much of them, gives a quite different detail, which, as it is very ſhort, may not be unworthy of the reader's notice, in his own words. "Hamilton," ſays he, "was to be a "diſtinct general both by ſea and land, and with a good fleet "was to block up the Scots ſeas; nay, to my knowledge, he "promiſed ſo to viſit his countrymen on their coaſts, as that "they ſhould find little eaſe or ſecurity in their habitations: "for he had three good Engliſh regiments on board him; but "the very choice of his ſhips ſhewed he had more mind to "make war upon the king's treaſure than on his own country "or countrymen; for he had choſen ſome of the ſecond and "third rate, whereas the leaſt frigates would have done the "greateſt ſervice; thus by the very bulk of his ſhips obliging "himſelf to an inactivity. One might well have expected, that "he who had ſo prodigally, as a commiſſioner, laviſhed his "majeſty's honour, and unhinged the government, would have "vigorouſly employed thoſe forces under his command to have "reſtored both, and that a man of his importance would have "found ſome party ready to have countenanced and aſſiſted "him; but inſtead thereof, when he comes and anchors in "the Frith, his mother (a violent-ſpirited lady, and a deep "Preſbytereſs) comes on board him; and ſurely ſhe had no "hard taſk to charm him. Afterwards the great ſhips (like "the great formidable log let down to be a king) lying ſtill, he "had ſeveral viſits from many of the great men who were "moſt active againſt the king; as if he had been rather re-"turned from an Eaſt-India voyage than come as a powerful "enemy[g]."

The fleet was from this time forward ſo entirely out of the king's power, that I think the naval hiſtory of this reign ends properly here: and therefore having already related, as fairly

f Memoirs of James and William dukes of Hamilton, p. 121, 139. Ruſhworth under the year 1639, p. 930—935. Kennet, vol. iii. p. 99. Lord Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. i. p. 114, 120, 121. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 30. Davis's hiſtory of the civil wars of England, p. 11.

g Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p. 131, 132.

and

and impartially as I could, the ſeveral expeditions undertaken by his authority, I come now to mention the progreſs of trade, the increaſe of ſhipping, and the encouragement of our plantations, during the ſame ſpace.

This prince, however, before the rebellion broke out, among others, added one ſhip to the royal navy of England, which, on account of its ſize and other remarkable particulars, deſerves to be mentioned in this place, more eſpecially as it has eſcaped the notice of all our naval writers. This famous veſſel was built at Woolwich in 1637. She was in length, by the keel, one hundred and twenty-eight feet; in breadth forty-eight feet; in length, from the fore-end of the beak-head to the after-end of the ſtern, two hundred thirty-two feet; and in height, from the bottom of her keel to the top of her lanthorn, ſeventy-ſix feet: bore five lanthorns, the biggeſt of which would hold ten perſons upright; had three fluſh-decks, a fore-caſtle, half-deck, quarter-deck, and round-houſe. Her lower tier had thirty ports, middle tier thirty ports, third tier twenty-ſix ports, fore-caſtle twelve ports, half-deck fourteen ports, thirteen or fourteen ports more within board, beſides ten pieces of chace-ordnance forward, and ten right-aft, and many loop-holes in the cabbins for muſket-ſhot. She had eleven anchors, one of four thouſand four hundred pounds weight. She was of the burden of one thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-ſeven tons. She was built by Peter Pett, Eſq; under the inſpection of Captain Phineas Pett, one of the principal officers of the navy [h].

It appears from Sir William Monſon, and indeed from all the unprejudiced writers of thoſe times, who were competent judges of theſe matters, that the commerce of this iſland increaſed exceedingly during the firſt fifteen years of this king's reign; inſomuch that the port of London only could have ſup-

[h] A true deſcription of his majeſty's royal ſhip, built this year, 1637, at Woolwich in Kent; to the great glory of the Engliſh nation, and not paralleled in the whole Chriſtian world: publiſhed by authority, London, 4to, 1637. This little piece is addreſſed to Charles I. by its author Thomas Heywood, who appears to have been employed in contriving the emblematical devices or deſigns, and in compoſing the mottoes which adorned and embelliſhed this royal veſſel.

plied

plied a hundred ſail, capable of being eaſily converted into men of war, and well furniſhed with ordnance [i]. The trade to the Eaſt Indies, which was but beginning in his father's time, became now very lucrative, and our ſhips gave law in thoſe parts to almoſt all foreign nations. The trade to Guinea grew likewiſe to be of conſiderable benefit to the Engliſh ſubjects, and our intercourſe with Spain, after the ending of the war, proved of infinite advantage likewiſe [k]. It is true, there happened ſome conſiderable diſputes, between the government and the merchants, about cuſtoms, which ſome of the miniſters of the crown thought depended immediately thereupon, and might be taken by virtue of the prerogative only; whereas others conceived, as moſt of the merchants themſelves did, that nothing of this kind could be levied but by the conſent of parliament: but theſe very diſputes ſhew, that trade was in a flouriſhing condition; for if the cuſtoms had not riſen to a conſiderable height, beyond what they did in former times, no miniſtry would have run the hazard of ſuch a conteſt [l].

But the principal ſource of our naval ſtrength then, (as it has been ever ſince), was our plantations, to the encouragement and augmentation of which even thoſe accidents highly contributed, which might have been otherwiſe fatal to ſociety; ſuch as our civil and eccleſiaſtical diviſions, which inclined numbers of ſober, induſtrious, and thinking people to prefer liberty, and whatever they could raiſe in diſtant and hitherto uncultivated

[i] Naval tracts, p. 293. [k] Idem, ibid.

[l] Many of our ableſt writers of Engliſh hiſtory, particularly ſuch as lived in thoſe days, and have diſcourſed of them, ſpeak with rapture of the great felicity of thoſe times, and of the wealth and proſperity of the nation at the period mentioned in the text. We will inſtance only a few, though it would be no difficult matter to aſſemble a cloud of witneſſes to verify what we have aſſerted. Lord Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. i. p. 74—76. Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p. 62—64. Bulſtrode's memoirs, p. 5. Dr. Bates's elencus motuum, p. 19, 21. Heath's chronicle, p. 1. Sir William Dugdale's ſhort view of the late troubles in England, p. 63. And, for the ſtill farther ſatisfaction of the reader, we refer him to that admirable picture of the ſtate of Europe in general, and of this country in particular, left us by the earl of Clarendon, in his life lately publiſhed, edit. 1759, 8vo, vol. i. p. 70, 71.

lands, to the uneaſy ſituation in which they found themſelves at home [m].

The colony of Virginia had ſtruggled under great difficulties, from the time it fell under the direction of a company, till the king was pleaſed to take it into his own hands; which he did very ſoon after his coming to the crown, and then directed the conſtitution of that colony to be, a governor, council, and aſſembly, conformable to that of this kingdom, and under which the colony quickly began to flouriſh. But this happy ſituation of affairs did not laſt long: Sir John Harvey, whom the king had made governor, did ſo many illegal and groſs actions, that the colony being at length no longer able to endure, cauſed him to be ſeized and ſent home as a priſoner, in 1639. This behaviour the king exceedingly reſented, and therefore ſent him back to his government without ſo much as hearing the complaints that were alledged againſt him.

But this re-eſtabliſhment was with a view only to ſupport the dignity of the crown; for, very ſoon after, Sir William Berkley was ſent over to ſucceed him, who proved as good a governor as ever this colony had [n]. That of New-England had its name beſtowed by his majeſty when prince, and was better ſettled in King James's time than any other of our colonies, and throughout the whole reign of King Charles I. was conſtantly ſupplied with large draughts of people; ſo that by degrees it was divided into four governments, under which, it is ſuppoſed, there might be near twenty-five thouſand inhabitants; whence it is evident, that the commerce carried on between this colony and its mother-country muſt have been very conſiderable even in this early period [o].

The Papiſts in England finding themſelves liable to many ſeverities, and being very apprehenſive of more and greater falling upon them, were deſirous of having an aſylum in the new world, as well as other nonconformiſts; and this gave riſe to

[m] Mr. Neale, in his hiſtory of the Puritans, obſerves, that Archbiſhop Laud drove thouſands of families to New-England by the ſeverities he exerciſed here.

[n] The Britiſh empire in America, vol. i. p. 372. The hiſtory and preſent ſtate of Virginia, by Col. R Beverley, p. 48, 49. The hiſtory of the Britiſh plantations in America, by Sir William Keith, bart. p. 144, 145.

[o] Hiſtory of the Britiſh ſettlements in North America by William Douglas, M. D. vol. i. § 8.

the planting of Maryland, a country which had been hitherto accounted part of Virginia, between 37 and 40 degrees of N. L. granted by King Charles, the 20th of June, 1632, to the anceſtor of the preſent Lord Baltimore, and derived its name of Maryland from his queen Henrietta-Maria. It was more eaſily and more ſucceſsfully planted than any former colony had been, and the honourable Mr. Leonard Calvert, brother to the lord-proprietor, was the firſt governor, and continued to exerciſe his authority till that of the crown grew too feeble to protect him, and then the parliament ſent over a governor of their own[p].

The Summer-Iſlands, which were planted in the laſt reign, and ſettled under a regular government in the year 1619, flouriſhed exceedingly, the country being extremely pleaſant and fruitful, and the air much more wholeſome than in any other part of America[q]. As for the iſland of Barbadoes, which had been regularly planted about the beginning of the king's reign, it was granted to the earl of Carliſle, who gave ſuch encouragement to all who were inclined to go thither, and moſt of thoſe who went became ſo ſpeedily rich, that it was quickly well peopled, and, even within this period, was eſteemed the moſt populous of all our plantations[r]. The iſlands of St. Chriſtopher and Nevis were alſo ſettled about this time.

I am now to take notice of ſuch ſeamen as flouriſhed within the compaſs of this reign, and have not hitherto been particularly mentioned.

MEMOIRS of Sir ROBERT MANSEL.

Sir Robert Mansel claims the firſt place amongſt theſe, though the memoirs we have of him are far from being ſo full as might be wiſhed. He was deſcended from a very ancient, and, in our own times, though now extinct, noble family in Glamorganſhire, being the third ſon of Sir Edward Manſel, knight,

[p] Britiſh empire in America, vol. i. p. 323.

[q] The general hiſtory of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer-iſles, by Capt. John Smith, London, 1627, fol. b. v.

[r] A true and exact hiſtory of the iſland of Barbadoes, by Richard Ligon, London, 1657, fol. p. 43.

by

by his wife the Lady Jane, daughter to Henry earl of Worceſter[s]. He addicted himſelf early to the ſea, and under the patronage of the famous Lord Howard of Effingham, lord high-admiral of England, came to be a conſiderable officer in the fleet, and in the Cadiz expedition received the honour of knighthood from the earl of Eſſex[t], who thenceforward received him into his ſpecial favour; and in the iſland voyage he was captain of the admiral's own ſhip[u]. Upon his return he adhered to his old patron the earl of Nottingham, and ſo remained in Queen Eliſabeth's favour during all her reign, in which he was often employed at ſea, eſpecially in the defence of the coaſt; and in this ſervice was remarkably ſucceſsful[w], particularly in 1602, when, as we have ſhewn elſewhere, Sir Robert Manſel attacked ſix of the Spaniſh gallies going to Flanders, ſunk three, and diſperſed the reſt. This gallant action the Dutch, and after them the French hiſtorians, having very much miſrepreſented, Sir Robert in his own juſtification drew up a complete relation of this ſervice, which he addreſſed to his great friend and patron the lord high-admiral, an extract from which curious and authentic paper, agreeable to our promiſe, we here preſent the reader, moſtly in his own words.

"ON the 23d of September, being in the Hope, and having "in my company the Advantage only of the queen's ſhips, "which Capt. Jones commanded, and two Dutch men of war, "I rid more than half-channel over towards the coaſt of France "upon a north-weſt and ſouth-eaſt line, myſelf being neareſt "that coaſt, Capt. Jones next to me, and the Dutch men of "war a-ſea-board, and to the weſtward of him. The ſmall force "at that time preſent, and with me, remaining thus diſpoſed "for the intercepting of the gallies, having diſmiſſed the Dutch "men of war, that ſerved under me, upon their own entreaty, "to revictual and trim, and having employed the reſt of the "queen's ſhips upon eſpecial ſervices, I deſcried from my top-"maſt heads ſix low ſails, which ſome made for gallies, others "affirmed them to be ſmall barks that had ſtruck their top-

[s] Dugdale's baronage, vol. ii. p. 293.
[t] Dr. Birch's memoirs of Eliſabeth, vol. ii. p. 50. Stowe, p. 775.
[u] Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 189. [w] Camden, p. 895.

" ſails, and bound from Dieppe towards the Downs. To which
" opinion, though I inclined moſt, yet I directed the maſter to
" weigh and ſtand with them, that I might learn ſome news of
" the gallies, which, by your lordſhip's advertiſement ſent me,
" I knew had either paſſed me that night, or were near at hand,
" unleſs the ſea had ſwallowed them up in the ſtorms which
" had raged three days before. Having ſet myſelf under ſail,
" the weather grew thick, which obliged me to laſk ſome two
" points from the wind towards the Engliſh coaſt, leſt the con-
" tinuance of that dark weather might give them power to run
" out a-head of me. About 11 o'clock the weather cleared,
" when I diſcovered them plainly to be the Spaniſh gallies ſo
" long time expected, at which time with the reſt I plied to re-
" ceive them by croſſing their fore-foot as they ſtood along the
" channel, which they endeavoured till they perceived that, by
" the continuance of that courſe, they could not eſcape the
" power of my ordnance.

" All this time theſe two fly-boats were between them and
" me; and, as the ſlaves report that ſwam aſhore at Dover,
" they determined with three gallies to have boarded each of
" thoſe ſhips, and could have executed that reſolution but for
" the fear of her majeſty's great galleon, (as they termed the
" Hope), whoſe force that they ſhunned in that kind, (conſi-
" dering the diſadvantage that twice ſix of the beſt gallies that
" ever I ſaw hath by fighting againſt one ſhip of her force), I
" do as much commend, as otherwiſe I do deteſt their ſhame-
" ful working, in that, full of cowardlineſs and weakneſs, they
" rowed back to the weſtward, and ſpent the day by running
" away, in hopes that the darkneſs of the night would give
" them liberty ſufficient to ſhun the only ſhip they feared, or
" that was indeed in the ſea at that time to give them the cauſe
" of fear, I mean between them and Dunkirk or Newport.
" This error only of theirs bred their confuſion, as you may
" perceive by the ſequel.

" For they no ſooner began that courſe of rowing back again,
" but I inſtantly made ſigns for Capt. Jones in the Advantage
" of the queen's to come to me, whom I preſently directed to
" repair to Calais road, and thence to ſend the alarm into the
" States army aſſembled before Sluys, and to adviſe ſuch men

" of

" of war as kept on the coaſt of Flanders, upon any other oc-
" caſion, to ſtand off to the ſea, to meet with the gallies in the
" night, which ſhould be chaced by me, with my lights in my
" top-maſt heads, and a continual diſcharging of my ordnance.
" Capt. Jones having ſhaped his courſe according to my direc-
" tions, I gave orders for hoiſting and trimming of my ſails by
" the wind to keep ſight of the gallies; the two fly-boats,
" being ſtill a-weather of me, did the like.

" Which chace we held till ſun-ſetting, obſerving this courſe
" following all the day. They, being a-weather of me, kept
" their continual boards, that the gallies were always between
" them; and myſelf, being to leeward, made ſuch ſhort turns,
" as I kept all the afternoon, in a manner even in the very eye
" of their courſe, between them and the place of their deſign,
" ever diſcharging my beſt ordnance to warn the Anſwer of her
" majeſty's, that rid by my directions at the Downs upon im-
" portant ſervice, as your lordſhip knoweth; and the Flemings
" that were there, having left the ſea, upon unknown grounds
" to me, (yet ſent from Portſmouth by the moſt provident di-
" rection of her ſacred majeſty to await the coming of the gal-
" lies, upon advertiſements that her highneſs received of their
" being put to ſea), to ſet ſail, who elſe had received no un-
" derſtanding of the gallies, neither came they within ſhot of
" them till after night, howſoever the reputation of the ſervice
" is wholly challenged by them.

" Having given your lordſhip an account how this day was
" thus ſpent by me from 8 o'clock until the evening, and with
" theſe only helps, I beſeech your lordſhip to be pleaſed to un-
" derſtand, that with the ſetting of the ſun I could both diſcern
" the ſhips laſt mentioned under ſail at the Downs, and the gal-
" lies to have ſet their ſails, directing their courſe cloſe aboard
" our ſhore, each of them being out of ſight of the other, and
" my Dutch conſorts by this time to have been left by the gal-
" lies to a ſtern chace. When I perceived them to hold that
" courſe, which would bring them within ſhot of the Anſwer
" and the reſt that were in the Downs, I held a clean contrary
" courſe from them, towards the coaſt of France, to confirm
" the ſecure paſſage they thought to find on our coaſt, which I

" continued

" continued until the report of their battery gave me assurance " of the gallies being engaged with them.

" How the battery began, who began it, how it was conti- " nued, how ended, and to whom the reputation of the service " is due, I leave to be considered by your lordship by the per- " usal of the true discourse following. The Answer of the " queen which Capt. Broadgate commanded, as she rid more " southerly at the Downs than the Flemings, so came she first " to the gallies, and bestowed twenty-eight pieces of ordnance " on them, before the Flemings came in, who at length second- " ed him with very many shot.

" During this battery of ours upon the gallies, which I so " term, because they never exchanged one shot, at the very first " report of the Answer's ordnance, I directed the master of " my ship to bear up with the south end of the Goodwin, with " which directions I delivered my reasons publicly as I stood on " the poop of my ship, *viz.* that, if I stood directly into them, " the gallies, before I could recover the place, would either be " driven ashore or sunk, and so there would prove no need of " my force, or else by their nimble sailing they would escape the " ships, of whom (once getting a-head) they could receive no " impediment; for there was no one ship but the Advantage in " the sea that could hinder them to recover any port in Flan- " ders, or the east countries, (Sluys only excepted), unless I " stayed them at that sand-head.

" Having recovered as near that place as I desired, I stayed " at least a quarter of an hour before I could either see the gal- " ley, hear or see any of those ships, their lights, or report of " their ordnance, which made me and all my company hold " opinion, that they had outsailed the Answer and the rest of the " Flemings, and shunned fight of me, by going a-seaboard of " my ship, which I so verily believed, as I once directly deter- " mined to sail for Sluys, with hope only, that the preparation " which I know the States had there, would be able to prevent " their entrance into that place. Whilst I remained thus doubt- " ful, or rather hopeless to hinder their recovery of Dunkirk or " Newport, in case they had been a-seaboard of me, some of " my company descried a single galley plying from the shore to " get a-head of my ship. When she approached within caliver-

" shot,

" ſhot, I diſcharged about thirty pieces of ordnance of my lower
" and upper tier at her alone; myſelf with many other in my
" ſhip ſaw when her main-yard was ſhot aſunder, heard the
" report of many ſhot that hit her hull, heard many their moſt
" pitiful outcries, which when I perceived to continue, and, in-
" ſtead of making way from me, to near me what ſhe could, I
" forbore ſhooting, and commanded one that ſpoke the Portu-
" gueze language to tell them, that I was contented to receive
" them to mercy, which I would accordingly have performed,
" had not the other five gallies offered to ſtand a-head of me at
" that very inſtant, and thereby would have left me, as they had
" both the firſt two Dutch ſhips, and afterwards the Anſwer,
" with the reſt of the Flemings, had I omitted any ſmall time
" of executing the advantage I had of their being on my broad-
" ſide, which, as appears, was ſo effectually employed, (how-
" ſoever the night wherein this ſervice was performed might
" hinder the particular mention of their hurts), as none can de-
" ny but that God pleaſed thereby only to work their confuſion:
" for ſince that time, none hath ſaid or can ſpeak of any one
" ſhot made towards them; yet four of them are ſunk and
" wrecked, the fifth paſt doing the enemy ſervice, and the ſixth
" they are forced to new-build at Dunkirk, where (if I be not
" much deceived) ſhe will prove more chargeable than profita-
" ble, if the default reſt not in ourſelves.

" The diſagreement between the Dutch captains themſelves,
" touching the ſtemming and ſinking of the gallies, (whereof
" one challenged before your lordſhip, and in many other pub-
" lic places, to have ſtemmed and ſunk two himſelf), and the
" printed pamphlet, containing the ſtemming and ſinking of
" three gallies, gives the reputation thereof to three ſeveral cap-
" tains, amongſt whom no mention is made of the firſt; and,
" whereas there are but two in all ſunk, I leave to be reconci-
" led among themſelves, and to your lordſhip, whether that the
" ſame of right appertaineth not to her majeſty's ſhip the Hope,
" in reſpect of the allegations before mentioned, every particu-
" lar whereof being to be proved by the oaths of my whole
" company, and maintained with the hazard of my life, with
" that which followeth:

" 1. As

" 1. As the ſhooting of the ſingle galley's main-yard; my " beſtowing above thirty pieces of ordnance upon that one " galley within leſs than caliver-ſhot.

" 2. That they in the galley made many lamentable outcries " for my receiving them into mercy.

" 3. That I would accordingly have received them, but for " giving them over, to encounter with the other five gallies, " which elſe had left me to a ſtern-chace.

" To theſe reaſons I add the aſſertion of the vice-admiral " himſelf, who told me (whatſoever he ſpake in other places) " that one of the gallies which he ſtemmed had her main- " yard ſhot aſunder before his coming aboard her; by whom- " ſoever ſhe was then ſtemmed, your lordſhip may judge who " ruined her, conſidering ſhe made no reſiſtance by his own " report, but by crying to him for mercy.

" Touching the other galley ſtemmed and ſunk, I have al- " ready proved how ſhe (as all the reſt) had got a-head the " Anſwer of the queen's not named, and the reſt of the States " men of war with her, who challenge the whole credit of this " ſervice. They, as all other ſeamen, cannot deny but that " the gallies will outſail all ſhips in ſuch a loome gale of wind " and ſmooth ſea as we had that night.

" The gallies being then quicker of ſail than they, how could " they by any means poſſible fetch them up but by ſome im- " pediment? Impediment they received none but by my ord- " nance, which amounted to fifty great ſhot at thoſe five " which came laſt from the ſhore, when all the ſhips were " above a mile aſtern.

" Some, notwithſtanding, out of their detracting diſpoſitions, " may perchance ſay, that the two which were wrecked at " Newport would have periſhed by ſtorm, though they had " not been battered: whereto though I have ſufficiently an- " ſwered, firſt, in ſhewing that they might have recovered any " of the places thereabouts before eight o'clock that night, but " for me, and then the ſecond time before the morning, had " they not been encountered by me alone, at the South-ſand " head; yet, for further proof that they miſcarried by our bat- " tery only, I ſay, that if one of the gallies which received " leaſt damage by our ordnance did outlive Friday's ſtorm,

" continuing till Saturday noon, being driven among the iſlands " of Zealand, to recover Calais, then ſurely thoſe two (unleſs " they had been exceedingly torn) would have made ſhift to " have recovered the ports of Newport, Graveling, or Dun- " kirk; eſpecially ſince from the place where I battered them " they might have been at the remoteſt of thoſe places, about " four hours before any ſtorm began. But ſuch ſeemed their " haſte to ſave their lives, as their thought ran of a ſhore, and " not of a harbour.

" Now that I have delivered unto your lordſhip the whole " and true diſcourſe of this buſineſs, I ſhall forbear to trouble " your patience with any further relation of that night, and " next day's ſpending my time, (though the ſame in their chace " had like to have coſt her majeſty her ſhip, and the lives of " as many as were in her), and conclude with admiration of " their not holding her majeſty's ſhip, nor I, (her unworthieſt " ſervant), and then, and yet, by her highneſs's grace, and " your lordſhip's favour, admiral of the forces in that place, " am not once mentioned, eſpecially ſince the ſix gallies might " ſafely have arrived, before ſeven o'clock that night, at any of " the ports of Flanders to the weſtward of Oſtend. And that " the Dutch ſhips had not come from an anchor in the Downs, " but for the ſigns (ſignals) they received from me. Then, that " the force of her majeſty's ſhip wherein I was, enforced them " to keep cloſe aboard the Engliſh ſhore, whereby thoſe ſhips " in the Downs had power given them to come to fight, which " fight was begun by the Anſwer of the queen's.

" And, laſtly, ſince the gallies eſcaped their battery, and " had gotten a-head thoſe ſhips above a mile at leaſt, and never " received any impediment after but only by me, who lingered " them (as you have heard) until the coming up of thoſe ſhips " that challenge to ſtem them; which being granted, I cannot " ſee how any other credit can rightly be given them (for that " ſtem I mean) than to a lackey for pillaging of that dead body " which his maſter had ſlain."

There were three motives which induced me to inſert this relation, long as it is, in this work. Firſt, becauſe the paper is very curious in itſelf, and well drawn. Next, becauſe it does

honour to the memory of its author, Sir Robert Manſel, and comes in with great propriety here. Laſtly, as it ſhews the correctneſs of thoſe times, when every thing was examined into, and ſifted to the very bottom, which made officers ſo tender of their characters, that they were ever ready, upon any ſuch occaſion as this before us, to render a ſtrict account of their conduct, in ſo full and circumſtantial a manner, as abſolutely ſilenced calumny, and left no farther room for diſpute.

On the acceſſion of King James he was continued in his poſt of vice-admiral, to which he had been raiſed by the intereſt of the earl of Nottingham, and remained in favour for ſeveral years. When the lord high-admiral's enemies had ſo far alienated his Majeſty's affections as to procure a commiſſion for reforming abuſes in the navy, (which was equally detrimental to his reputation and authority), Sir Robert Manſel choſe rather to adhere to his friend, than to make court at his expence; and with this view adviſed his lordſhip not to ſubmit to this commiſſion, for which Sir Robert was committed priſoner to the Marſhalſea, and continued there ſome months, in the year 1613[x]. In conſequence of this inquiry, many abuſes were however really diſcovered and corrected, ſo that 25,000l. a-year were ſoon after ſaved to the crown[y]; from a juſt ſenſe of which, Sir Robert adviſed his patron to reſign his high office, perceiving that he began to outlive his abilities, and that his longer continuance therein might become more and more detrimental both to the public and himſelf.

To prevent the navy from receiving any prejudice by the earl

[x] Winwood's memorials, vol. iii. p. 460.

[y] This is affirmed by King James in his ſpeech to his parliament, A. D. 1610, in Frankland's annals, p. 49. His majeſty rewarded the ſeveral commiſſioners with the honour of knighthood for the ſervices rendered the public in this reſpect, as well as for the great pains they exerted on the occaſion. The names of theſe gentlemen were, —— Forteſcue, John Oſborne, —— Gaughton, —— Sutton, and William Pitts, Eſqrs. Mr. Camden's annals of the reign of James I. under the year 1619. Sir William Monſon, as the reader will find, ſuffered ſeverely in the opinion of ſome, for having deviſed ſo right as well as ſo honeſt a meaſure. A like commiſſion, which demonſtrates that wiſe prince's early care of, and attention to the navy, iſſued in the ſecond year of the reign of Charles I. directed to James earl of Marlborough, George duke of Buckingham, Robert earl of Lindſey, and other lords. Rymer's fœdera, tom. xviii. p. 758.

of

of Nottingham's reſignation, Sir Robert Manſel applied himſelf to the duke of Buckingham, whom he adviſed to obtain that office; and when he excuſed himſelf on account of his youth and want of experience, told him plainly why he thought him fitteſt for the place. He obſerved, that in time of peace the beſt ſervice that could be done was to look well to the conſtant repair of the navy, and to rebuild occaſionally ſuch ſhips as wanted it; and that, by applying himſelf aſſiduouſly to the duty of his office, he might acquire all the knowledge that was neceſſary, before any war ſhould call him into action. Thus the duke was brought into the office of high-admiral by the perſuaſion of Sir Robert Manſel, and upon very juſt motives: neither was it at all to the prejudice of his old maſter; for the earl of Nottingham had a penſion of one thouſand pounds a-year, and the duke made a preſent to the counteſs of Nottingham of three thouſand pounds. This tranſaction happened in 1616, and, in conſequence thereof, Sir Robert Manſel was, by the duke of Buckingham's intereſt, made vice-admiral for life.

The duke, by his advice, did another thing which was very commendable. He procured a commiſſion to be granted to ſeveral able and experienced perſons for the management of the navy, which had very good effects: nay, there is ſtrong reaſon to believe, conſidering the great confuſion into which things afterwards fell, that the fleet, if it had not been for this commiſſion, would have been abſolutely ruined; whereas, by the help of it, it was ſo well preſerved, that Buckingham, upon his impeachment, acquitted himſelf better in what related thereto, than in regard to any other article [z].

In 1620, Sir Robert Manſel commanded the fleet fitted out againſt the pirates of Algiers, of which we have given an impartial account in its proper place [a]. However unfortunate he was in the management of that expedition, yet there ſeems to be no reaſon to conceive he was in any great fault. It is admitted, that he adviſed it from a generous and public-ſpirited motive, the deſire of raiſing the Engliſh reputation at ſea, and freeing our trade from the inſults of theſe rovers; but it ſeems he

[z] See all theſe facts fully ſtated in the duke of Buckingham's anſwer to the firſt article of his impeachment, in Frankland's annals, p. 188.

[a] See before, p. 475, 476.

was ſent abroad with ſo limited a commiſſion, and had ſo many raw and unexperienced officers employed in the fleet, through the favour of eminent courtiers, that from theſe and other croſs accidents he was diſabled from performing what he intended, though he did all that was in his power, and is on that account commended by the moſt knowing writers of thoſe times [b].

This unlucky affair, however, and perhaps his declining in the favour of the duke of Buckingham, hindered him from being employed in the reign of King Charles; and the very neglect of him is mentioned as one of the errors therein [c]. He continued, notwithſtanding, in poſſeſſion of his office of vice-admiral, and lived till after the breaking out of the civil wars, when he died with the reputation of being a great ſeaman, and a perſon of unblemiſhed integrity; leaving, ſo far as I have been able to learn, no iſſue [d].

In the courſe of this work, Sir William Monſon has frequently been mentioned as an admiral, and full as often cited as an author; we ſhall now take occaſion to throw together ſuch particulars as relate to him, and which are ſcattered in a variety of books, in order to preſerve, as entire as may be, the memory of ſo worthy a perſon, and of the principal actions by him atchieved; ſome of which he has alſo left us recorded by his own pen.

[b] See an account of this expedition, printed by authority in 1621, 4to. Ruſhworth's collections, vol. i. p. 34. Frankland's annals, p. 55.

[c] Kennet, vol. iii. p. 13. L'Eſtrange's hiſtory of Charles I. p. 17. Ruſhworth's collections, vol. i. p. 195.

[d] Engliſh baronetage, vol. i. p. 489. His knowledge in his profeſſion muſt have been very extenſive, as well as his character as a gallant officer, ſince we find him recommended by Sir John Pennington to the king, in 1642, as the propereſt perſon to ſeize the fleet for that prince's ſervice: his authority, as vice-admiral of England, as well as his known and great reputation with the ſeamen, being, as was ſuggeſted, like to meet with little reſiſtance from the power of the earl of Warwick, who had found means the year before to bring it under the dominion of the parliament; but his majeſty was apprehenſive leſt Sir Robert's advanced age, and the infirmities that attended thereon, might render the attempt hazardous, though he had a great opinion of his courage and integrity. Sir Robert at this time reſided at Greenwich. Lord Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, vol. ii. p. 675.

MEMOIRS of Sir WILLIAM MONSON.

THE family of Monſon has been long ſettled in Lincolnſhire, of which this gentleman was a native[e]. He was the fourth ſon of John Monſon, Eſq; by Mary, daughter of Sir Robert Huſſey, and was born about the year 1569[f]. He went very early to ſea, as himſelf informs us, about the beginning of the Spaniſh wars, and in the condition only of a private man; his wages, according to the frugality of that time, being no more than ten ſhillings a month; from whence he was gradually advanced to the great commands he afterwards bore. His firſt voyage was in the year 1585, in which he engaged without the knowledge either of his father or mother, and wherein he ſaw the ſharpeſt ſervice he met with throughout his life. He was on board a privateer, which was but a ſmall veſſel, and in conſort with another ſtill ſmaller. They ſailed from the iſle of Wight in the month of September, and ſoon after came up with a ſtout Spaniſh ſhip of three hundred tons, well manned. The crew, however, of the two privateers reſolved to board her, which they did towards evening; but the wind growing high, and the night dark, their veſſels fell off, and they were left on board the Spaniards. The fight continued all night, with variety of ſucceſs; but at laſt, about ſeven o'clock in the morning, the Spaniards yielded[g]. In 1587, he had the command of a ſhip, and was employed afterwards throughout the whole reign of the queen.

In the year 1589, he ſerved as vice-admiral in the earl of Cumberland's fleet, and did excellent ſervice; but in the courſe of that expedition endured ſuch hardſhips as brought upon him a fit of ſickneſs, which detained him in England a whole year[h]. In 1591, he ſerved again under the command of the earl of Cumberland, when he had the misfortune to be taken by the Spaniards, and remained a priſoner near two years[i]. This did not diſcourage him from acting under the earl again, almoſt as ſoon as he had recovered his liberty, in the year 1593[k].

[e] Fuller's worthies in Lincolnſhire, p. 163. Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. i. col. 336.

[f] Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 505.

[g] Ibid. p. 246.

[h] Ibid. p. 505.

[i] Ibid. p. 179, and 504.

[k] Ibid. p. 181.

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In the famous expedition to Cadiz, in the year 1596, he was captain of the Repulſe, the earl of Eſſex's own ſhip, to whom he did great ſervice, by his wiſe and moderate counſel, and was, therefore, very deſervedly knighted[l]. In the iſland-voyage he commanded the Rainbow; and if the earl of Eſſex had then followed the informations he gave him, he had certainly taken moſt of the Spaniſh galleons[m]. In 1599, he had the command of the Defiance in the Downs, and in 1602, being vice-admiral, he had the good luck to take a great carrack of 1600 tons, which with its cargo was worth a million of pieces of eight[n]. In 1602 he was at ſea again, and had the command of a ſquadron, in which, though he performed no great ſervice, yet he brought it home ſafely through many perils[o]. I have not gone into the particulars of theſe ſervices, becauſe they have been all of them treated at large already, and with due reſpect to the accounts given of them by this gentleman in his writings; ſo that to have entered into the circumſtances of them, would have involved us in needleſs repetitions.

At the acceſſion of King James, no ſeaman appeared to have a fairer title to his favour than Sir William Monſon, whoſe attachment to his intereſt had engaged the Lords of the privy-council to place an extraordinary confidence in his management of the fleet, of which we have before taken notice[p]. It does not, however, appear, that Sir William throughout the courſe of that reign received any extraordinary gratifications, but rather the contrary. He had the charge of the narrow ſeas for twelve years, that is, from the beginning of the year 1604, to the year 1616, in which time he did remarkable ſervice[q], in ſupporting the honour of the Engliſh flag againſt the encroachments of the Dutch and French, and in his remarkable voyage round Great-Britain and Ireland, to ſcour the ſeas of pirates, of which likewiſe we have given an account in its proper place[r].

After ſo many and ſo great ſervices rendered to the crown, and ſo many years ſpent in duty to his country, Sir William

l Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 184. m Ibid. p. 189.
n See the naval hiſtory of Queen Elliſabeth, in this volume, p. 381, 384.
o Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 189.
p Naval hiſt. of King James, in this vol. p. 454.
q Ibid. p. 459. r Ibid. p. 465.

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had the misfortune to fall into disgrace, and to find all that he had done, and all that he had advised, which perhaps was of no less consequence, misunderstood, and turned to his disadvantage. As this is the most remarkable part of his personal history, so it seems to deserve our and the reader's attention on another account, I mean the relation it has to the state of maritime affairs in those days; and therefore I shall give as clear and concise an account thereof as I can. It is a very dangerous thing either to offend the great, or fall into the dislike of the many. Sir William Monson was so unlucky as to run into both these misfortunes; the former he incurred through a desire of serving his country, and the latter by his zeal in discharging his duty on a ticklish occasion. His great knowledge in maritime affairs, and the confidence which the seamen had in him, brought to his view most of the grievances in the navy, which he honestly laboured to redress. This gave rise to a commission for that purpose, that has been often mentioned; and that commission gave great distaste to the earl of Nottingham, then lord high-admiral, and to those who under him had the chief management of the fleet. It went on notwithstanding; a great reformation was made, and the king saved abundance of money in this article; which, however, did not lessen the spleen conceived against Sir William Monson for having set this design on foot [s].

The other accident which hurt him with the people was this: the Lady Arbella having made her escape, orders were sent to Sir William Monson to prevent, if possible, her getting either into France or Flanders; and though he did not receive these orders till twenty-four hours after her departure, yet he executed them most effectually, and retook her in a bark bound for Calais, within four miles of that place [t]. This was the same lady, concerning whom so much noise had been made in

[s] See naval tracts, p. 370. where our author enumerates the many abuses committed in the navy, with the means of reforming them, and which abuses he says began to creep in, like rust into iron, at the latter end of Queen Elisabeth's reign.

[t] Winwood's memorials, vol. iii. p. 280. This lady is in most of our historians called the Lady Arabella; but in the proclamation published upon her flight, and which is extant in Rymer's fœdera, vol. xvi. p. 710. she is styled the Lady Arbella, and so she wrote her name.

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the buſineſs of Sir Walter Raleigh's plot; and as ſhe was a great object of popular pity, ſo upon this occaſion many ſtrange ſtories were circulated, which ſerved to raiſe the odium for retaking her; though it was his duty, and what the court ought to have looked upon as an important ſervice[u]. The Dutch too, who were angry with him for his conduct in the narrow ſeas, found means to do him ill offices; ſo that upon ſome very ſlight pretences he was committed cloſe priſoner to the Tower in 1616[w]: but, after he had been examined by the Chief-juſtice Coke and Secretary Winwood, he was diſcharged; and he afterwards wrote a large vindication of his conduct, while admiral in the narrow ſeas.

He very ſoon recovered his credit; for in 1617 we find him called to council, in order to give his opinion how the Algerines might be beſt reduced[x]. In the ſucceeding reign, of which we are now ſpeaking, he had likewiſe a great intereſt, and his advice was aſked in all maritime affairs; but, as he differed in opinion from thoſe who were then in poſſeſſion of power and favour, and as he cenſured the expedition to Rhé, and that againſt Cadiz, we need not wonder that he was not employed[y]. Yet in 1635, when the king came to have better notions of things, and to be truly concerned for his ſovereignty of the ſeas, Sir William Monſon was appointed vice-admiral of the fleet commanded by the earl of Lindſey; which effectually vindicated the king's honour, and the rights of the nation[z]. After this he ſpent his days in privacy and peace, and, about the year 1640[a], compoſed that work of his, of which we have made ſo great uſe, and of which, conſidering its ſubject, I think it cannot be amiſs to give a ſhort account.

It is divided into ſix books, all on different ſubjects, and yet all equally curious and inſtructive. The firſt book is, for the moſt part, a collection of every year's actions, in the war againſt Spain, on our own, upon the Spaniſh coaſt, and in the Weſt Indies: a brief narrative; for no more is ſaid, but the force they were undertaken with, and the ſucceſs of the enter-

[u] See the introduction to the ſecond book of his naval tracts.

[w] Camden's annals of King James in Kennet's complete hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 646.

[x] Sir William Monſon's naval tracts. p. 250.

[y] Ibid. p. 258—277.

[z] Ibid. p. 290.

[a] Ibid. p. 295.

prize: yet the deſign is to ſhew the reaſons, either why they miſcarried, or why ſo little advantage was made where they ſucceeded. In ſome he is more particular than in others; and, what perhaps may be ſtill of uſe, he at laſt ſets down the abuſes in the fleet, and the methods for redreſſing them. His ſecond book continues ſomewhat of the method of the firſt, beginning with fatherly inſtructions to his ſon; whence he proceeds to the peace with Spain, which puts an end to the warlike naval actions, yet not to his command, being afterwards employed againſt pirates. He inveighs againſt the Dutch, ſhews the ill management of a deſign againſt Algier, and makes very curious remarks on the attempt upon Cadiz by King Charles I. diſcloſing methods how Spain might have been much more endangered; with other particulars about the ſhipping of England, and ſovereignty of the ſeas.

The third book only treats of the admiralty, that is, of all things relating to the royal navy, from the lord high-admiral to the meaneſt perſon employed aſhore, and to the cabbin-boys at ſea; and from a compleat fleet to the ſmalleſt veſſel, and the part of it; with inſtructions for all officers, the ſize of all ſorts of guns, all kinds of allowances on board the king's ſhips, and excellent directions for fighting at ſea; an account of all the harbours in theſe three kingdoms, with many others, and thoſe important matters, for thoſe times, accurately handled. The fourth book is of a very different nature from any of the reſt, being a brief collection of Spaniſh and Portugueſe diſcoveries and conqueſts in Africa, Aſia, and America, with ſome voyages round the world, and ſomewhat of the firſt ſettling both of Engliſh and French plantations. The fifth book is full of projects and ſchemes for managing affairs at ſea to the beſt advantage for the nation. The ſixth and laſt treats of fiſhing, and is intended to ſhew the infinite addition of wealth and ſtrength it would bring to England; with ſuch inſtructions as are neceſſary for putting ſuch a deſign in execution [b].

The writing and collecting theſe pieces were the laſt efforts of his genius; for he died in the month of February 1642,

[b] Theſe tracts are printed in the third volume of Churchill's collection of voyages. It is very plain, from the prefaces and dedications, the author intended them for the preſs, though he did not live to publiſh them.

being in the 73d year of his age, at Kynnerſley in Surry, the place he had choſen for his retirement, and where he left a numerous poſterity [c].

As for Sir John Pennington, Sir Henry Marom, and ſome other ſeamen who roſe in this reign to be admirals, we meet with nothing relating to them of importance enough to deſerve the attention of the reader, or which can any way tend to the enlightening this part of our hiſtory; and therefore we ſhall conclude our account of this reign, with a liſt of the ſhips added to the royal navy by King Charles I [d].

Ships.	Men in harbour.	Men at ſea.
Ten Whelps,	3	60, ſome 70
The Henrietta Pinnace,	3	25
The Mary Pinnace,	3	25
The Charles,	9	250
The Henrietta-Maria,	9	250
The James,	9	260
The Victory,	9	250
The Leopard,	7	170
The Swallow,	6	150
The Sovereign,		

[c] Collins's peerage of England, vol. iv. p. 342.
[d] Sir W. Monſon's naval tracts, p. 277.

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